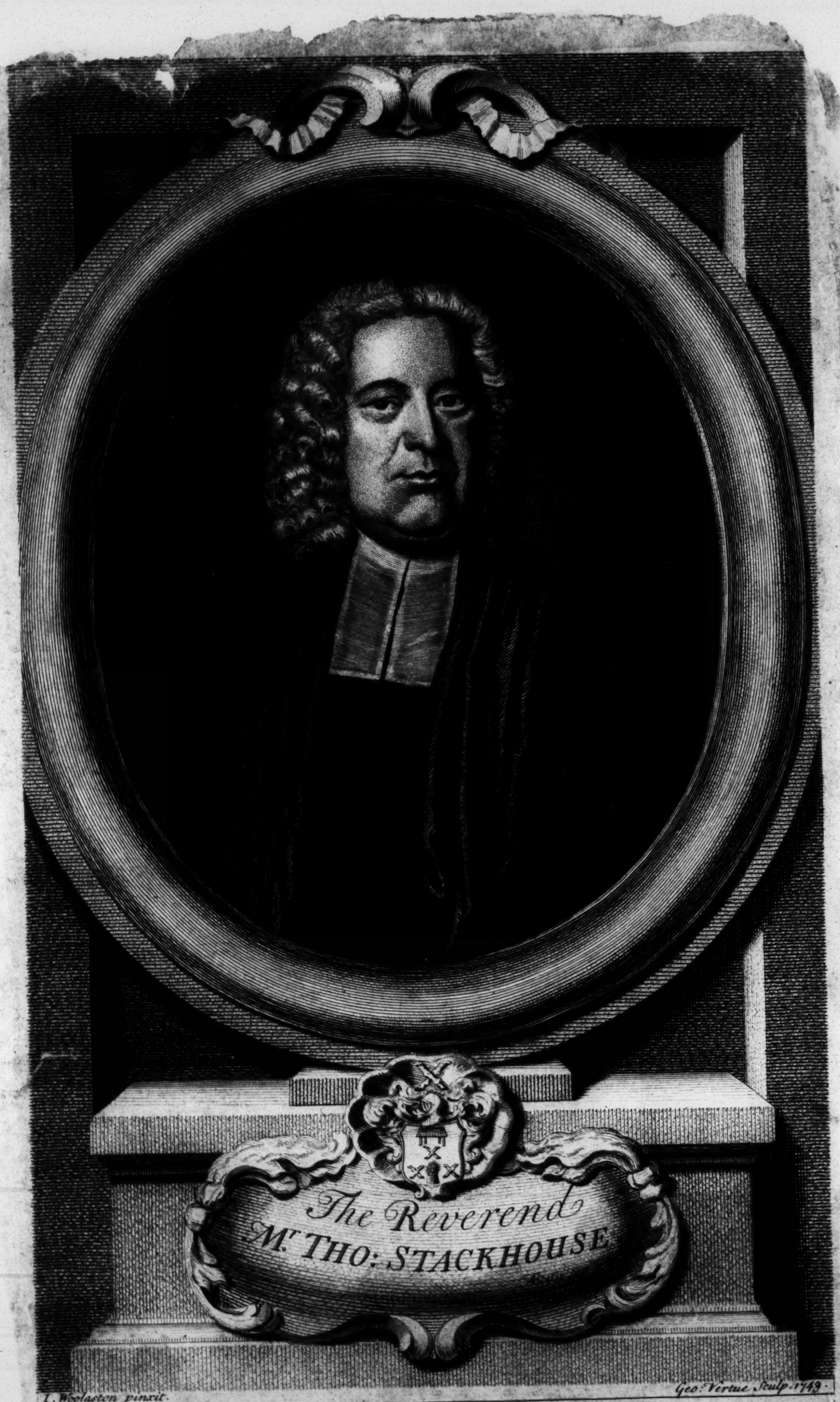

The Reverend
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A

NEW HISTORY

OF THE

HOLY BIBLE,

FROM THE

Beginning of the World,

TO THE

Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity.

WITH

ANSWERS to moſt of the Controverted QUESTIONS,

DISSERTATIONS upon the moſt remarkable PASSAGES,

AND A

CONNECTION of PROFANE HISTORY all along.

To which are added,

NOTES, explaining difficult Texts, rectifying Miſ-Tranſlations, and reconciling ſeeming Contradictions.

The Whole illuſtrated with *One Hundred and Four* uſeful and ornamental MAPS and SCULPTURES, engraved by the beſt Hands, from *Original Paintings*.

By the Reverend THOMAS STACKHOUSE, *A. M.*
late Vicar of Beenham *in* Berkſhire.

VOL. I.

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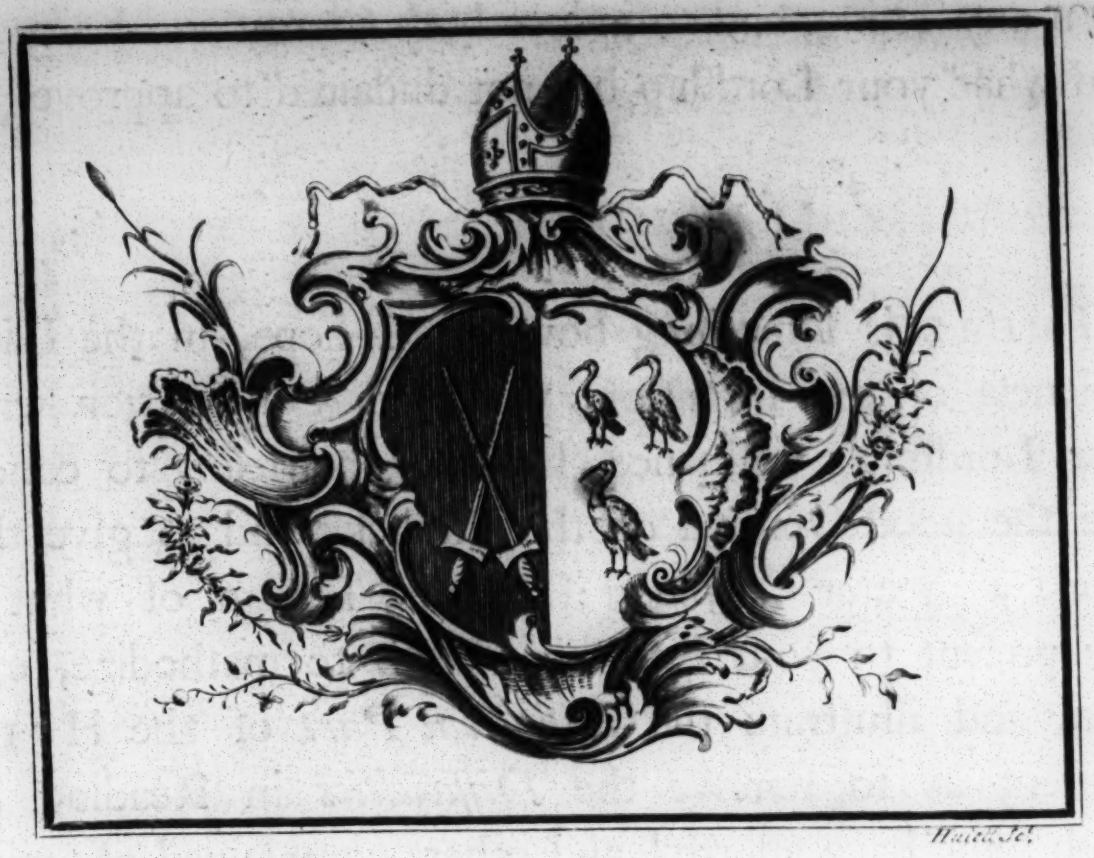
GEORGE R.

GEORGE the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *Great-Britain, France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting: Whereas our Truſty and Well-beloved *Stephen Auſten*, of our City of *London*, Bookſeller, hath humbly repreſented unto Us, That he is now Printing a Second Edition of a Work, entitled, *A New Hiſtory of the Holy Bible, from the Beginning of the World, to the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, with Anſwers to moſt of the Controverted Queſtions, Diſſertations upon the moſt remarkable Paſſages, and a Connection of Profane Hiſtory all along. To which are added Notes, explaining difficult Texts, rectifying Miſ-Tranſlations, and reconciling ſeeming Contradictions.* In two Volumes in Folio. Compiled and written by Our Truſty and Well-beloved *Thomas Stackhouſe*, Maſter of Arts, and Vicar of *Beenham* in our County of *Berks*. And whereas the ſaid *Stephen Auſten* has informed Us, that the ſaid Work has been perfected with great Labour, Study, and Expence, and that the ſole Right and Title of the Copy of the ſaid Work (as now publiſhing) is veſted in him, he has therefore prayed Us to grant unto him the ſaid *Stephen Auſten*, Our Royal Privilege and Licence for the ſole Printing, Publiſhing, and Vending the ſaid Work, for the Term of Fourteen Years. We being graciouſly inclined to give Encouragement to all Works that may be of publick Uſe and Benefit, and eſpecially to thoſe of this Kind, which tend ſo much to the Advancement of Religion, and the general Good of Mankind, are pleaſed to condeſcend to his Requeſt, and do, by theſe Preſents (as far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that Caſe made and provided) grant to the ſaid *Stephen Auſten*, his Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators, and Aſſigns, Our Royal Privilege and Licence for the ſole Printing, Publiſhing, and Vending the ſaid Work, during the Term of Fourteen Years, to be computed from the Date hereof; ſtrictly forbidding and prohibiting all our Subjects, within our Kingdoms and Dominions, to reprint or abridge the ſame, either in the like, or any other Volume or Volumes whatſoever, or to import, buy, vend, utter, or diſtribute, any Copies thereof reprinted beyond the Seas, during the aforeſaid Term of Fourteen Years, without the Conſent or Approbation of the ſaid *Stephen Auſten*, his Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators, and Aſſigns, by Writing under his or their Hands and Seals firſt had and obtained, as they will anſwer the contrary at their Peril: Whereof the Commiſſioners, and other Officers of our Cuſtoms, the Maſter, Wardens, and Company of Stationers of *London*, and all other Officers and Miniſters whom it may concern, are to take Notice, that ſtrict Obedience be given to Our Pleaſure herein ſignified.

Given at our Court at St. James's, *the Eighth Day of* January, 1741-2, *in the Fifteenth Year of Our Reign.*

By His Majeſty's Command,

HARRINGTON.



Wale del.

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

EDMUND,

Lord Biſhop of *LONDON*,

AND ONE OF

HIS MAJESTY's Moſt Honourable PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

THAT a Book of this Size, by a Perſon of my Obſcurity, ſhould, in ſo ſhort a Space of Time, after ſo large a Number already printed off, come to its ſecond Impreſſion, muſt be imputed very much to the Influence of your Lordſhip's Name in the

Front, which is of Weight ſufficient to ſtamp Authority upon any Thing, and to induce both Clergy and Laity to read what your Lordſhip has not diſdain'd to approve.

THERE is ſomething however, I hope, in the Laudableneſs of my Intention, which, in Conjunction with your Lordſhip's Influence, has been a Means to conciliate the good Opinion of the Publick, and to give the Work a greater Currency: For the Deſign of what I now preſent to your Lordſhip, is, ſo to methodize, explain, and illuſtrate the *Hiſtorical Part* of the HOLY BIBLE, as to remove the *Difficulties* in Reading it, which ſome have aſſerted, and others complained of, with an Intent I fear, to prejudice the World againſt it: And, were I under no previous Obligations to your LORDSHIP, the very Nature of my Subject would remit me to *One*, who has always been a known Encourager of Works of this Kind, and who has himſelf ſo glorioufly maintained the *Truth* and *Authority* of thoſe *Sacred Records*, and both the *Evidences* and *Excellency* of the Chriſtian Diſpenſation.

SINCE it is our Fate, my LORD, to live in an Age wherein Divine *Revelation* is rejected, the Senſe of antient *Prophecies* perverted, the *Miracles* of our Bleſſed Saviour degraded, the *Myſteries* of our Holy Religion ridiculed, its *Laws* and *Conſtitutions* ſlighted, and its *Guides* and *Miniſters* treated with Deſpite; we ought to account it the peculiar Bleſſing of Heaven, that in this great *Metropolis*, we have One *preſiding* over us, who is ſo well qualified to withſtand this *Inundation* of Impiety, who is both able

and willing to *vindicate* the Cauſe of God and Religion, and, by his Example and Encouragement, to *animate* us in Defence of it.

To you, my LORD, we owe a full *Confutation* of Infidelity in your Lordſhip's moſt excellent PASTORAL LETTERS. To you we owe that wiſe Syſtem of *Directions* for our private Conduct, and the honourable Diſcharge of our Miniſterial Office, which, if duly obſerved, would make *us unto God a ſweet Savour of Chriſt*, and a glorious *Clergy* indeed. To you we owe the Knowledge of our Eccleſiaſtical *Laws* and *Conſtitutions*, which your Lordſhip, with great Care, and Pains indefatigable, has digeſted and explain'd. To you we owe the Defence of thoſe *Immunities* and *Privileges*, and the Preſervation of thoſe *Rights* and *Poſſeſſions*, with which thoſe *Laws* and *Conſtitutions* have inveſted us. And (however other Tongues may be ſilent) my Gratitude, I hope, will always oblige me to declare, that to you I owe the preſent comfortable Leiſure I have for Study, and the Generous Encouragement your Lordſhip has always been pleaſed to give to my weak, but well-intended Labours.

WHATEVER then, my LORD, the Perverſeneſs of this *preſent* Generation may be, *future* Ages muſt be told, what an exquiſite Judge and Maſter of all uſeful Learning, what a firm *Friend* to Men of Merit, what a true *Patriot* to your Country, what a zealous *Defender* of the *Chriſtian* Cauſe, what a wiſe *Guide* and *Governor* of *Chriſt's Church*, what a kind *Protector* of his Miniſters, and ſtre-

nuous

nuous *Aſſertor* of their *Rights* and *Privileges*, you have all along been; in how large a *Sphere* your Lordſhip, theſe many Years, has mov'd, and with what Luſtre you have always adorn'd it.

THAT the great *Giver of every Good and Perfect Gift* may long preſerve your Lordſhip, a publick Bleſſing to this Church and Nation, is the daily fervent Prayer of,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's

Moſt Humble,

Obliged, and

Beenham in *Berkſhire*,
7 *April*, 1744.



Devoted Servant,

THOMAS STACKHOUSE.



THE

APPARATUS

To the Hiſtory of the

OLD TESTAMENT.

BEFORE we enter upon the *Hiſtory* of the *(a) Holy Bible*, it may not be improper to enquire a little into the *Truth* and *Authority*, the *Perfection* and *Excellency*, the *Antiquity*, *Stile*, and other Properties of that Part of it, which we call the *Old Teſtament* (for what we have to ſay concerning the *New* muſt be reſerv'd to another Place) the *Number*, and *Nature* of the Books, whereof it is compos'd, and the ſeveral *Tranſlations*, and other incidental *Changes*, which, ſince the Time of it's Publication, it has undergone. And this we are the rather induc'd to do, becauſe a bolder Spirit of *Infidelity* than uſual, has, of late, gone out into the World; teaching *ſome*, to look upon all Religion, as a mere *Trick*, contriv'd by the *Arts* of *Princes*, and conſerv'd by the *Intereſt* of *Prieſts*; others, to call in Queſtion the *Genuineneſs* of ſome particular Books of Scripture, thereby to make way for the Subverſion of the *whole*; others, to diſparage the *whole*, as a *rude* and *immethodical*, a *flat* and *inſipid* Compoſition, un-

(a) The Books, which we look upon as the Foundation of our holy Religion, go under different Names. They are ſtiled *Sacred* and *Divine Books*, *Holy Writ*, and *Holy Scriptures*, becauſe they were wrote by Perſons divinely inſpir'd, and do contain the Commandments of God himſelf. Our *Saviour* calls them *the Scriptures*, by way of Eminence, becauſe no other Book is comparable to them. Several of the Ancients gave them the Name of *Pandect*, and *Bibliotheca Sancta*, as containing all the Tracts, which were wrote upon the ſame Divine Subject. Of later Ages the Word *Bible*, (which comes from the *Greek* Βιβλια, ſignifying *Books*) has univerſally prevailed; but how the Word *Teſtament* came to be applied to the Holy Scriptures, is not ſo eaſy a Matter to define; only we may obſerve, that the *Septuagint's* uſing the Word Διαθηκη, (which ſignifies a *Teſtament*) might probably induce the *Latin* Interpreter to tranſlate it by *Teſtamentum*: But then we muſt remember, that this Word muſt not be us'd in its ordinary Senſe, as it means a Man's *laſt Will*, that is to be executed after his Death; but, in a more general Signification, to denote a *ſolemn Declaration* of the *Will* of God towards Men, containing his Laws, his Precepts, his Promiſes, and the Covenant which he has contracted with them. And for this Reaſon it is likewiſe call'd by the *Latins*, *Inſtrumentum*, i. e. an authentick *Deed*, containing ſolemn Ordinances, or Treaties, and Compacts. The Books, which comprehend what God reveal'd to the *Jews*, are called *the Old*, and thoſe, which contain what he declared by *Jeſus Chriſt*, and his Apoſtles, are ſtiled *the New Teſtament*. *Du Pin's* Hiſt. of the Canon, &c.

becoming the Spirit of God to dictate, or Men of *Letters* to read; and others again, from the pretended *Sufficiency* of *Natural Religion*, to deny the Neceſſity of any *Divine Revelation* at all.

A Divine Revelation what.

WHAT we are to underſtand by a *Divine Revelation* needs no great Pains to diſcover. *(b)* In the moſt ſimple and obvious Senſe of the Word, *Revelation* is the making that known, which was ſecret before; and ſo, when applied to a *Religious* Uſe, "'tis God's making known himſelf, and his Will to Mankind, over and above "what he has made known by the Light of Nature or Reaſon." To this Purpoſe we may obſerve, that the Objects of our Knowledge are of three Kinds: Some are diſcernable by the *Light* of Nature without Revelation; ſuch is the Knowledge of God from the Effects of his Power and Wiſdom, as the Apoſtle *(c)* argues: Others knowable, not at all by the Light of Nature, but by Revelation only; ſuch is the Salvation of Mankind by the Death of *Jeſus Chriſt*, *which* (as the Apoſtle *(d)* expreſſes it) *has, from the Beginning, been hid in God:* And others, diſcoverable by the Light of Nature indeed, but very *imperfectly*, and therefore ſtand in need of a Revelation to give them a farther Proof and Evidence; and of this Kind is that *Life and Immortality*, which (the ſame Apoſtle *(e)* tells us) our Saviour *brought to Light by the Goſpel*: But now be the Revelation of what Degree ſoever, whether *partial* or *entire*, whether a total Diſcovery of ſome unknown Truths, or only a fuller, and clearer Manifeſtation of them, it muſt be *ſupernatural*, and proceed from God.

The Poſſibility *of God's making one.*

THAT God can make a *Revelation* of his Will, either *immediately* to our Minds and *inward* Faculties, or *mediately* to our Underſtandings, by the Intervention of our *outward* Senſes, can never be queſtion'd by any one, who conſiders him as the Author of his *Being*, and therefore intimately acquainted with all the Springs and Movements of his Soul. *(f)* We find ourſelves capable of communicating our Thoughts to one another, either by Means of a Sound of Words, which ſtrikes the *Ear*, or by Writing, or other Signatures of our Intentions, which affect the *Eye*; and why cannot God make uſe of the like Means to impreſs what Idea he thinks fit on our Minds, or to give ſuch Motions to the *Brain*, as may occaſionally excite whatever Thoughts he deſigns to produce in us? or rather indeed, why may not he, without any intermediate or occaſional Cauſe at all, enlighten the Mind by a direct and naked View of ſuch Truths, as he deſires it ſhould know? for *(g) he that planted the Ear*, and *he that formed the Eye*, ſhall not he have Acceſs to them? or ſhall not he have Power of communicating his Thoughts, *who teacheth Man Underſtanding?*

The Probability *that he did.*

SINCE therefore it cannot be deny'd, but that it is *poſſible* for God to reveal his Will to Mankind, let us, in the next Place, conſider, which is moſt *probable*, which moſt agreeable to the Notions we have of him, whether he *ſhould*, or *ſhould not*, make ſuch a Revelation. Now, if we may judge of this by the general Senſe of Mankind, we ſhall hardly find any one, that believed the Exiſtence of a God, who did not believe likewiſe ſome kind of *Commerce* and Communication between God and Men. *(h)* This was the Foundation of all the religious *Rites* and Ceremonies, which every Nation pretended to receive from their God's: And, what gave Birth to all their ſuperſtitious Arts of Divination, was the Perſuaſion that their Gods had a perpetual Intercourſe with Men, and, by ſundry Means, gave them Intelligence of Things to come.

AND indeed 'tis hardly to be imagin'd, that God ſhould make reaſonable Creatures on purpoſe to know him, and to be happy in the Knowledge, and Love, and Admiration of him, and yet withdraw himſelf from them, without giving them any viſible Tokens of his Preſence, or communicating any farther Knowledge of himſelf to them, than what they might perceive in the *Reflection* of his Works. A Deſire to be acquainted

(b) Biſhop *Williams*'s Sermons at *Boyle*'s Lectures. (c) Rom. i. 20. (d) Eph. iii. 9. (e) 2 Tim. i. 10.
(f) *Fiddes*'s Body of Divinity, Vol. I. (g) Pſal. xciv. 9. (h) Dr *Sherlock*'s Sermons.

quainted with the Will of the *Supreme Being* ſeems to be ſo connatural to the Soûl of Man, that, in the more civiliz'd Parts of the World, we ſcarcely know any People of Note, who had not their *Sibyls*, ſuch as they accounted the *Mouth* of their Gods; and, without all doubt, none were without an *Oracle*, to which, upon all Exigencies, they had Recourſe, and to whoſe Injunctions they willingly ſubmitted. And if *ſuch* a Deſire be implanted in us, the Conſideration of God's Goodneſs will not ſuffer us to doubt, but that he has made a proper Proviſion to anſwer *this*, as well as our other natural Appetites. Whereupon we cannot but conclude, that the ſame Power and Wiſdom, which made Man a *reaſonable and inquiſitive* Being, and allow'd him a World of Wonders to employ his intellectual Faculties in the Contemplation of, has likewiſe taken Care to ſatisfy that noble *Deſire* of knowing what the Will of his *Maker* is, and what relates to his own eternal Welfare: And that is *Revelation*.

WITHOUT this, indeed, the Caſe is with him, as with one, that is born blind, *(i)* who, whatever other Evidence he may have of the Being of a God, wants *one*, the moſt convincing of all, *i. e.* the Wonders of an Almighty Power, and incomprehenſible Wiſdom, conſpicuous in the *Frame* of Nature, and the viſible Parts of the Creation. And, in like manner, whatever Senſe ſuch Men, as have only Reaſon for their Guide, may attain of the Mercy and Goodneſs of God; whatever they may obſerve, in the Courſe of his Providence, to confirm them in the *Belief* of it; whatever Hopes they may entertain of it from a general Notion of the Divine Nature; whatever *Deſire* they may have for it from the Senſe of their own *Miſery*; yet they want that *Evidence* of it, which alone can ſatisfy, and compoſe their *doubtful* and diſtracted Minds, and that is *Certainty*, or, which is the ſame, *Revelation*; by which, and nothing leſs, that *Certainty* is to be attain'd.

The Neceſſity of his doing it.

THE plain Truth is, if there be no Revelation, we are, as it were, *without God in the World*; and, conſidering the Nature of ſome *Events*, cannot aſſuredly ſay, whether the *Divine Providence* interferes in the Government of it, or *Fate* and *Chance happen to all Things (k)*. If there be no *Revelation*, *we are ſtill in our Sins*, and have no Sanctuary againſt the Accuſations of our enrag'd Conſciences, the Fears of our guilty Minds, or the Juſtice of an incens'd Deity. If there be no *Revelation*, we have *no Hope*, can have no Comfort in our Death, nor any Aſſurance of Immortality after it. In a Word, if there be no *Revelation*, we are in a perpetual *Maze*, as if we were at Sea, without Star or Compaſs, and knew not what Courſe to take to gain our Harbour. And therefore the ſame Reaſon, which we have to believe that God is *good* and *gracious* in all his other Diſpenſations, we have to believe likewiſe, that, from the firſt Creation of the World, he always vouchſafed Mankind ſome *Revelation* of his Will, whereby to direct their Conduct.

To the firſt Man.

ADAM, no doubt, was created, at firſt, in the full Perfection of his Reaſon; and yet, if we take a View of him in that State, we ſhall ſoon perceive, that he cou'd not attain a competent Knowledge of many Things, without the Aſſiſtance of Divine Revelation. *(l)* He felt indeed himſelf to *be*, but how he came to *be*, he knew not; for he

(i) Our excellent *Milton*, in that *Epiſode* upon *Light*, wherein he bewails his own Want of Sight, very feelingly, has expreſſed his Thought with a great deal of Tenderneſs and Beauty:

——Thus with the Year
Seaſons return, but not to me return
Day, or the ſweet Approach of Ev'n or Morn,
Or Sight of vernal Bloom, or Summer's Roſe,
Or Flocks, or Herds, or human Face divine.
But Cloud inſtead, and ever-during Dark
Surrounds me, from the chearful Ways of Men
Cut off, and, for the Book of Knowledge fair,
Preſented with an univerſal Blank
Of Nature's Works, to me expung'd and raz'd,
And Wiſdom at one Entrance quite ſhut out.

BOOK III.

(k) Biſhop *Williams*'s Sermons at *Boyle*'s Lectures.

(l) *MILTON*, whom I take to be a good Commentator upon what happened to *Adam* in his State of Innocence, introduces him thus expreſſing himſelf;

Myſelf, I then perus'd, and Limb by Limb
Survey'd, and ſometimes went, and ſometimes ran
With ſubtle Joints, as lively Vigour led.
But who I was, or where, or from what Cauſe
Knew not: To ſpeak I try'd, and forthwith ſpake

he ſaw nothing about him, that could either be ſuppos'd to have given him that *Being*, or could inform him how he came by it. He ſaw he had a Body, but what that Body was originally made of, he could not poſſibly tell; for how could he ſuppoſe, that ſuch warm, ſoft, and tender Fleſh, ſuch firm and well-compacted Joints, ſuch bright and radiant Eyes, *&c.* were ever form'd of cold, ſhapeleſs, and unactive Earth? He felt his Body move obſequious to his Will, but what that inward *Principle* was, which mov'd it, he was wholly ignorant, nor could he poſſibly, of himſelf, conceive, that there was an *immaterial* Spirit, of a diſtinct Nature and *Subſiſtence*, vitally united to it, and what gave the *Spring* to all its Motions. He caſt his Eyes up to the Heavens, and there ſaw that glorious *Luminary*, which gave Light (as he perceiv'd) to all about him; but whether it was an *intelligent* Being or no, or, when it came to decline and *ſet*, whether it might not be incloſed in perpetual Darkneſs, he could not underſtand. He found, towards the Approach of Night, an heavy Stupidneſs begin to ſeize him, and that he was forc'd to ſubmit to its Power; but he did not know, but that it was to be the *Extinction* of his Being, and that he was to cloſe his *Eyes*, and conclude *his Life* together. This we may very well ſuppoſe to have been the Caſe of *Adam*, at his firſt looking about him, immediately upon his Creation. For, tho' he had, what we call Reaſon, in a *ſovereign* Degree, yet even that Reaſon muſt have been his Torment for a while, when it made him *inquiſitive*, but could give him no Satisfaction: And therefore it is proper to believe, (the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God conſtrain us to believe) that, in order to relieve him under this Perplexity, God took Care, either by the *Miniſtry* of his holy *Angels*, or by ſome immediate *Inſpiration*, and *Impreſſion*, to inform him of every Thing, that was neceſſary for him to know, in the State wherein he had placed him.

He had placed him now in a beautiful *Garden*, and given him great Variety of Fruits for his Nouriſhment and Support; but might not ſome of theſe Fruits be deſign'd for other Purpoſes than Food? or might they not have ſome bad and pernicious Qualities in them, how apparently fair ſoever and inviting? *(m)* Without making the *Experiment*, it was impoſſible for *Adam* to know what Food was proper for his Conſtitution, which Experiment (for ought he knew) might have proved fatal to him; and therefore we find God giving him this Direction: *(n) Of every Tree in the Garden thou mayeſt freely eat, but of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil thou ſhalt not eat of it, for in the Day that thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt ſurely die.*

He had placed him, naked and defenceleſs, in the midſt of ſavage Creatures, all able and inclin'd to deſtroy him, had they not been reſtrain'd by ſome inviſible Power; and, in this Condition, he muſt have been miſerable beyond all Imagination, and under perpetual Apprehenſions, that the firſt Lion, or Tyger he met, wou'd certainly devour him; but, to eaſe his Mind in this Particular, we find God giving him Aſſurance to the contrary, and inveſting him with this Authority: *(o) Have Dominion over the Fiſh of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and over every living Thing, that moveth upon the Earth.*

He had formed a Woman, to be a Conſort and Companion to him; but how he ſhould know any Thing of a future State of Marriage, and the Ties of *conjugal* Affection among his Poſterity, *(p)* (as his Words plainly indicate) how he ſhou'd have a perfect Notion of *Father* and *Mother*, before there was any ſuch Thing as Father and Mother in the World; ſhould have clear Ideas, of the Affection and Endearments ariſing from that Relation, and yet, at the ſame Time, ſhou'd perceive, that the Affection

My Tongue obey'd, and readily cou'd name
Whate'er I ſaw: "Thou Sun, ſaid I, fair Light!
"And Thou, enlighten'd Earth, ſo freſh and gay!
"Ye Hills, and Dales! ye Rivers, Woods, and Plains!
"And Ye, that live, and move, fair Creatures! tell,
"Tell (if ye ſaw) how came I thus, how here——
"Not of myſelf—by ſome——I know——great,
"In Goodneſs and in Power pre-eminent.
"Tell me how I may know him, how adore,
"From whom I have, that thus I move, and live,
"And feel that I am happier than I know."

BOOK VIII.

(m) Revelation examin'd. *(n)* Gen. ii. 16, 17.
(o) Ibid. i. 26. *(p) Ibid.* ii. 24.

fection and Endearments, arising from Marriage, would ſo far get the better of them, as to attach a Man nearer to a *Stranger*, taken into his *Boſom*, than to thoſe very *Parents*, whoſe Blood ran in his Veins; is a *Problem*, which cannot be reſolved without having Recourſe to Divine Revelation; and therefore we find our Saviour thus expounding it; *(q) Have ye not read, that he, who made them in the Beginning, made them Male and Female; and ſaid, for this Cauſe ſhall Man leave Father and Mother, and ſhall cleave to his Wife, and they twain ſhall be one Fleſh?* So that the Words of *Adam*, upon this Occaſion, were the Declaration of God himſelf, and only pronounc'd by *Adam*, in Conſequence of an expreſs Revelation from God. And if a Revelation, in theſe and ſuch like Inſtances, was needful for the Conduct of Man in his State of *Integrity*, much more was it neceſſary in a State of Defection and general Depravity.

And his Poſterity.

WHETHER we believe then, or not believe the Account, which *Moſes* gives of the Devil's deceiving our *firſt Parents* in the Form of a *Serpent*; yet, unleſs we will deny the Truth of all Hiſtory, we muſt allow, that in Proceſs of Time, (both before, and after the *Flood)* the Corruption of Mankind became univerſal; and that their grand *Adverſary* had ſo enlarg'd his Empire, as even to outvie the *God of Heaven* in the Splendor of his *Temples*, the Number of his *Votaries*, and the Pomp and Solemnity of his *Worſhip*. *(r)* In this Caſe, we do not indeed ſay, that Man had any *Right* to the Divine Aſſiſtance; *that* he had forfeited by his *Apoſtacy*; and where the Neceſſity is created by our own Fault, there lies no Obligation upon the Creator to provide a *Remedy*: But tho' God was under no Obligation to do it, yet, conſidering the miſerable Circumſtances Mankind were in after the *Fall*, more eſpecially through want of a Revelation, we may reaſonably conclude, that the *Benignity* of his Nature would no leſs incline him to give them *one*, than if he had been oblig'd to it by a ſpecial *Promiſe* or *Covenant*.

FOR how can we believe, that a Being of *infinite Perfection*, when he ſaw Mankind under the Deception of Sin, and the Deluſions of *Satan*, ſhould take no Care to rectify their Miſtakes, and reform their Manners? *(s)* Can we ſuppoſe it conſiſtent with *infinite Truth*, to ſuffer all Nations to be expos'd to the wicked Deſigns of ſeducing and *apoſtate* Spirits, without ever offering them any Means to undeceive them? Can we imagine, that a God of *infinite Majeſty* and *Power*, who is a *jealous* God, and will not *give his Honour to another*, ſhould allow the World to be guilty of Idolatry; to make themſelves Gods of *Wood* and *Stone*; nay, to *offer their Sons and Daughters unto Devils*, without concerning himſelf to vindicate his own Honour, by putting a Stop to ſuch *Abominations?* We have no true Notion of God, if we do not believe him to be infinite in Knowledge, Holineſs, Mercy, and Truth; and yet we may as well believe there is no God at all, as imagine, that a God of *infinite Knowledge* ſhould take no Notice of what is done here below; that *infinite Holineſs* ſhould behold the whole World overſpread with Wickedneſs, and find no Way to redreſs it; and that Superſtition, and Idolatry, and all the Tyranny of Sin and Satan, for ſo long a Time, ſhould enſlave and torment the Bodies and Souls of Men, and there ſhould be no Compaſſion in *infinite Mercy*, nor any Care over a deluded World in a *God of Truth*. We may therefore juſtly conclude, that ſince, a *Revelation*, in the State of Man's *Defection*, was ſo neceſſary in itſelf, and ſo agreeable to the known Attributes of God, there is abundant Reaſon to be perſuaded, that God was always inclinable to impart *one* to Mankind, whenever their Occaſions required it.

An Objection.

" BUT *what Occaſion could there be for any Divine* Revelation *(t), when, by giving*
" *them the* Light of Reaſon *(that* perfect *and* unerring *Guide) and implanting in them*
" *the* Law of Nature, *God had made an ample and* ſtanding *Proviſion, both for the In-*
" *ſtruction of their Minds, and the Direction of their Lives? when, by a due Attention*

C " *to*

(q) Matth. xix. 4, *&c.* *(r)* Biſhop *William's* Sermons. *(s)* *Jenkin's* Reaſonableneſs of the Chriſtian Religion, Vol. I. *(t)* Chriſtianity as old as the Creation, *paſſim.*

" *to* theſe, *they might, at any Time, be enabled to* perceive *all, that was neceſſary for*
" *them to* know, *and to* practice *all that was requir'd of them to* do, *without any* ſuper-
" natural *Intervention, which, in this Caſe, ſeems highly needleſs and* ſuperfluous."

Anſwer'd by ſhewing the Imperfection.

We readily grant, indeed, that the great Principle of Action, in human Nature, is *Reaſon*; inſomuch, that to judge according to it's Directions, is not the Privilege of the *Philoſopher* only, but a Thing *eſſential* to our very Beings, and as much inſeparable from all Perſons, as is the Senſe of their own *Exiſtence:* But then we are to conſider how ſmall a Portion of *Light* any Man's Reaſon has, that he can properly call it's own. For, *(u)* as we derive our Nature from our Parents, ſo *that*, which we generally call *natural Knowledge*, or the *Light of Nature*, is a Knowledge and Light, that is made natural to us by the ſame Authority, which makes a certain *Language*, certain *Cuſtoms*, and Modes of Behaviour, Natural. Nothing, in this Caſe, ſeems to be our *own*, but a bare *Capacity* to be inſtructed, or a Nature fitted for any Impreſſions; as capable of *Vice*, as *Virtue*; and as liable to be made an *Hottentot*, by being born among *Hottentots*, as to be made a *Chriſtian*, by being born among *Chriſtians*. So that our *Moral* and *Religious* Knowledge is not to be imputed to the *internal* Light of our own Reaſon or Nature, but to the Happineſs of having been born among reaſonable Beings, who have made a Senſe of Religion and Morality as *natural* to our Minds, as articulate Language is to our Tongues.

We allow again, that there is a moral Diſtinction between *Good* and *Evil*, *Right* and *Wrong*, founded in the Nature of Things; but then we affirm, that this is not from a *Philoſophical* Contemplation of the *Fitneſs* of the one, and the *Unfitneſs* of the other; that we prefer Virtue to Vice; but from the Inſtruction of thoſe, who had the Care of our *Education*, and the Formation of our Judgments from our *Infancy*. When we arrive at an Age of more *Maturity*, indeed, and happen to have a Genius fitted for *Philoſophical* Enquires, we may then deduce Proofs, that will eſtabliſh our Notions of ſuch a *moral Diſtinction*; but theſe, we muſt allow, are an *After-knowledge*, not common to Men, but *accidental* Confirmations of that Senſe of *Religion* and *Morality*, which, more or leſs, was fix'd in us by the Inſtitution and Authority of thoſe, among whom we had the good Fortune to live. Now, if this be the true State of Reaſon, as it is *originally* in us; if this be all the *Light*, that we have from our own Nature, *viz.* a bare *Capacity* of receiving good or bad Impreſſions, right or wrong Opinions and Sentiments, according to the particular Country we chance to be born in; if we are nothing without the Aſſiſtance of Men; nay, if we are fooliſh and helpleſs *Animals*, till Education and Experience have revealed unto us the Wiſdom and Knowledge of other Men; then are we but weakly qualified to aſſert and maintain the *abſolute Perfection* of human Reaſon, in Oppoſition to the Neceſſity and Advantage of a *Divine Revelation*. But this is not all.

And Depravity *of human Reaſon.*

It is not only the *Imperfection* of our Reaſon, but it's frequent *Depravity* likewiſe, that ought to abate our Confidence in it; ſince, upon farther Examination, we ſhall find, that all the *Mutability* of our Tempers, the *Diſorder* of our Paſſions, and *Corruption* of our Hearts; all the Extravagancies of the Imagination, all the *Contradictions* and Abſurdities, which are to be found in human Life, and human Actions, are ſtrictly and properly, the Mutability, Corruption, and Abſurdities of human Reaſon. We, indeed, in the common Forms of Speech, talk of our Reaſon, as a diſtinct Principle from our Paſſions, Affections, and Humours; but this is only a Diſtinction of Language made at Pleaſure, and without any real Diſtinction in the Things themſelves. *(x)* The ſame *Principle*,

(u) Law's Caſe of Reaſon, or Natural Religion fairly and fully ſtated *(x) Ibid.* St *Paul*, indeed, in his Epiſtle to the *Romans* (Ch. vii.) ſeems to ſpeak of two diſtinct Things, when he tells us of the *Law in his Mind*, and the *Law in his Members*; but in this he might accommodate himſelf, in ſome Meaſure, to the known Forms of Diction, and yet poſſibly mean no more, than one and the ſame Principle, conſider'd in different Views, or acting differently. Without the *Will* or Choice, there can be neither Virtue nor Vice in any Act we do; and yet it is a receiv'd *Maxim*, that *voluntas*

Principle, which is the Agent of all that is *good* in us, muſt be equally the Agent of all that is *evil*; for the Action and Power of Reaſon are as much requir'd to make any Thing *vicious*, as to make it *virtuous:* And if ſo, Reaſon is certainly the *worſt*, as well as the *beſt* Faculty we have; and not only the Principle of Virtue, but the certain Cauſe likewiſe of all that is baſe, and ſhameful in human Life.

BRUTES, we know, are incapable of *Imprudence* and *Immorality*, becauſe none of their Actions are Actions of Reaſon; and therefore, if our Reaſon be the only Faculty, which diſtinguiſhes us from *Brutes*, it muſt certainly follow, that all the Irregularities, whether of Humour, Paſſion, or Affection, which cannot be imputed to Brutes, muſt ſolely be aſcrib'd to the *Faculty*, whereby we are diſtinguiſh'd from them, and, conſequently, every Thing that is vain, ſhameful, falſe, or baſe, muſt be the ſole Product of our Reaſon; ſince, if they proceeded from any other Principle, they could have no more Vanity, Falſeneſs, or Baſeneſs in them, than we have in our *Hunger* or *Thirſt*. And if the Matter ſtand thus with our Reaſon; if all that is wiſe or abſurd, holy or profane, glorious or ſhameful, in Thought, Word, or Deed, is to be imputed to it; then is it as groſs an Abſurdity to talk of the *abſolute Perfection* of human Reaſon, as of the unſpotted *Holineſs* of human Life, or the abſolute *Infallibility* of human Conjectures; ſince, upon Examination, it is found to be a Principle of an *ambiguous* Nature, productive of Vice, as well as Virtue; and capable of leading us into *Error*, as well as diſcovering *Truth*.

The Ignorance *of the beſt Philoſophers.*

IT will be no Diſparagement, I hope, to the preſent Age, to ſuppoſe that the *ancient* Philoſophers had as great Strength of Reaſon and Judgment, as ſincere a Deſire to find out Truth, and as great Diligence in enquiring after it, as any of our modern *Unbelievers*; and yet, if we look into their Writings, we ſhall find that they were utterly *ignorant* in many great and important Points of Religion, and ſtrangely *inconſiſtent* with themſelves in others.

THEY were ignorant of the true Account of the *Creation* of the World, and the Original of Mankind; and therefore ſome of them *(y)* held all Things to be *Eternal*, while others *(z)* imputed them to *Chance*; and thoſe, who allow'd them a *Beginning*, knew nothing of the Manner and *Gradations*, whereby they roſe up into ſo beautiful an Order.

THEY were ignorant of the Origin of *Evil*; whereupon they deviſed two contrary *Principles*, in perpetual Conflict with one another; and though they were ſenſible that human Nature was ſtrangely corrupted, yet they acknowledg'd, that its Corruption was a *Diſeaſe*, whereof they knew not the Cauſe, and could not find out the Cure.

THEY were ignorant of any *Form of Worſhip*, that might be acceptable to God, and of a proper Way to appeaſe his Diſpleaſure, when they were conſcious of their Offences againſt him; and therefore we find *Cicero*, the greateſt and beſt Philoſopher that *Rome*, or perhaps any other Nation, ever produc'd *(a)* " allowing Men to continue in " the Idolatry of their Anceſtors, and adviſing them to conform themſelves, to the " ſuperſtitious Religion of their Country, in offering ſuch *Sacrifices* to different Gods, " as were by Law eſtabliſh'd."

THEY were ignorant, at leaſt they taught nothing of the exceeding Love of God towards us; of his Deſire of our Happineſs, and his Readineſs to conduct us in the Ways of Virtue; and therefore *(b) ſome* of them made their ſupreme *Jupiter* a *ſolitary* kind of Being, wholly taken up in the *Contemplation* of his own Perfections, and leaving the Government (of all ſublunary Things at leaſt) either to ſome inferior *Agents*, or the Guidance of a *blind*, unthinking *Chance*.

THEY

voluntas ſequitur ultimum Intellectus practici Judicium; and, tho' that *Judicium* does not always happen to be right, yet ſtill it is the *Spring* and Cauſe of our Actions, be it right or wrong. *(y)* Peripateticks. *(z)* Epicureans. *(a)* A Patribus acceptos Deos placet coli. *De Leg. L.* 2. Item illud ex Inſtitutis Pontificum & Aruſpicum non mutandum eſt, quibus hoſtis immolandum cuique Deo. *Ibid.* *(b)* Epicureans.

THEY were ignorant, at leaſt *(c)* they taught nothing of *Divine Grace* and Aſſiſtance towards our Attainment of Virtue, and Perſeverance in it; and therefore we find *(d) others* of them *equalling* themſelves to the Gods, and ſometimes taking *Precedency*; "becauſe we have Difficulties, *ſay they*, to encounter, which make the "Conqueſt of Vice, and the Improvements in Virtue, more glorious in us, than in "the Gods, who are good by the *Neceſſity* of their Nature."

AND as theſe great Philoſophers were utterly *ignorant* of ſome, ſo were they far from being *clear* and *conſiſtent* with themſelves in other great *Articles of* Religion. They had but dark and confus'd Notions of the *Nature of God*; and therefore the renowned *Socrates* ingenuouſly confeſs'd, that all he knew of God was, that *he knew nothing*; and, for this Reaſon, endeavoured to draw Men off from *divine* and *heavenly* Contemplations, (as being what he found too high for human Reaſon to underſtand) and to betake themſelves to the Study of *civil* Life.

THEY had but dark and confus'd Notions of the *Summum Bonum*, or ſupreme Felicity of Man; and therefore *Cicero* tells us, that there was ſuch a *Diſſention* among them upon this Head, that it was almoſt impoſſible to reckon up their different Sentiments, even while himſelf is ſetting down the Notions of above *twenty* of them, all equally extravagant and abſurd.

THEY had weak and uncertain Notions of the *Immortality of the Soul*; for, however they might perceive it to have a ſpiritual Exiſtence, yet they could from thence deduce no Argument, but that God might deſtroy it, if he pleas'd: And therefore *(e) Cicero* plainly declares that, *which of the two Opinions* (that the Soul is mortal, or that it is immortal) *be true, God only knows:* Which, among other Declarations of the like Nature, might probably induce *Seneca* to ſay, *(f)* "That Immortality (however "deſirable in itſelf) was rather promis'd, than prov'd by theſe great Men."

THEY had weak and uncertain Notions of a *future State*; for, tho' their Poets had prettily fancied an *Elyſium* and an *Hell*; yet all ſober Men look'd upon *theſe*, rather as well-contriv'd Reſtraints for the *Vulgar*, than any Matters of their own Belief: And therefore *Socrates* is introduc'd as ſaying, *(g) I hope there is a place, where I, and good Men ſhall meet; yet I cannot affirm it:* And *(h) I wiſh*, ſays *Cicero*, *that you could prove to me that our Souls are immortal*; ſo that, after all, they wanted Arguments to convince themſelves, and ended all their Diſquiſitions in a *Peradventure*, and a *Wiſh:* But, what is more,

THEY had no Notion at all of the *Reſurrection of the Body*; for, tho' their Poets made frequent mention of the *Ghoſts* of departed Men, appearing in a *viſible* Form, and retaining in the *Shades* below, their former Shapes; yet by this (if they mean any Thing) they mean no more, than that the Soul, after this Life, paſſes into another State, and is there inveſted with a Body, made up of light, *aërial* Particles, quite different from what it had before: But, that the groſs Matter, which they ſaw laid in the Grave, and turn to Corruption, or burnt into Aſhes, and blown away in the Air, ſhould ever be rais'd, or collected again, and *revivify'd*, of this the moſt *Speculative* among them had no Conception.

And their Immorality *and* Vicioufneſs.

THUS ignorant, or thus doubtful at leaſt, were ſome of the greateſt Names of Antiquity of theſe prime and fundamental Truths, which muſt be acknowledg'd the great *Barriers* of Virtue and Religion: And therefore we need leſs wonder, that we find ſo many of them abetting Practices apparently *flagitious*; *(i)* that we find ſeveral *Sects* eſteeming *Revenge*, not only lawful, but commendable; and the Deſire of *popular Applauſe*

(c) Non quis, quod bonus vir eſſet, Gratias Diis egit unquam. Jovem optimum maximum ob eas res appellant, non quod nos juſtos, temperatos, ſapientes, efficiat, ſed quod ſalvos, incolumes, opulentos, copioſos. *Cic. de Nat. Deorum, L.* 3.

(d) Stoicks. Eſt aliquid, quo ſapiens antecedat Deum; ille, Naturæ Beneficio, non ſuo, ſapiens eſt. *Sen. Epiſt.* 53. *(e)* Tuſc. Quæſt. Lib. 1. *(f)* Epiſt. 100. *(g)* Plato in Phæd. *(h)* Tuſc. Quæſt. *(i) Vid.* Biſhop of *London*'s ſecond Paſtoral Letter.

Old Teſtament, who claimed ſuch Commiſſion from God, by the foregoing Marks and Characters.

THAT there was really ſuch a Perſon as *Moſes*, is atteſted by many of the *(t) Heathen* Writers, who ſpeak of him as an extraordinary Man, and the Founder of the *Jewiſh* Laws and Religion. That this *Moſes* pretended to have this Religion from God, and whatever he wrote or delivered to the People, to receive from him by immediate *Revelation*, is plain to any one who looks into his Writings: But that his Pretenſions in this Reſpect were *real*; that he actually received what he delivered from the Mouth, or Inſpiration of God, and was neither capable of being *deceiv'd himſelf*, nor deſirous to *impoſe on others*; this will appear from the Evidence we have of his Wiſdom and Veracity; from the Nature and Tendency of his Precepts and Doctrines; and from the miraculous Demonſtrations he gave of his Commiſſion. In order to which it will be neceſſary for us to look a little into the ſacred Records: Deſiring, however, that no more *Credit* may be given to them (as yet) than what is uſually given to any other *Narrative* of tolerable Repute, concerning the Actions of Perſons, who lived in former Ages.

Moſes's perſonal Character as to his Wiſdom.

Now, beſides the Account of his ſtrange and miraculous Preſervation, the Scriptures acquaint us, that he *(u) was brought up in* Pharaoh's Court, educated in all Princely Qualities, and *ſkilled in all the Learning of the* Egyptians. What the *(x)* Learning of the *Egyptians* was, we need not here relate: If we will believe *Macrobius*, who, *(y)* in one Place, makes Egypt *the Mother of all Arts*, and, *(z)* in another, the Egyptians *the Fathers of all Philoſophic Sciences*, there was not a Nation under the Sun that could compare with them. How can we then imagine, that a Perſon bred up in all the *polite* Literature of *Egypt*, and converſant among the wiſeſt Philoſophers of *Pharaoh*'s Court, ſhould not be able to paſs a judgment between an *Impoſture* and a *Truth*, between a familiar *Converſe* with God, and a *Deception* of his Senſes? Can we think that he, who had ſuch Opportunities of raiſing himſelf to the higheſt Pitch of Honour, ſhould willingly forſake all his preſent Pleaſure, and future Advantages, had he not been fully perſuaded of the certain and undoubted Truth of the Matters which he recorded? Is it poſſible, that a Man of common Senſe and Prudence ſhould ever venture himſelf upon an Affair ſo hazardous, and unlikely to ſucceed, as that which he undertook, had it not been by the Inſtigation of that God, who appeared to him, and promiſed him the Aſſiſtance of his Power, to enable him to accompliſh his Deſign? And what tolerable Ground can we have to imagine, that a Perſon, who really believed the Truth of what God had revealed to him, ſhould dare to write otherwiſe than as it was revealed?

To *extol himſelf*, or *aggrandize his Nation*, may be thought a probable Inducement: But, ſo far is he from magnifying himſelf, that he omits no Opportunity of recording *(a)* his own *Failings* and *Miſcarriages*; paſſes over in Silence his own *(b) Qualities* and *(c) Atchievements*; and opens the Account of his Miniſtry with the Relation of a *(d)* Fact (the Murther of the *Egyptian)* which nothing, but the Preſumption of it's being acted by a Divine Authority, can juſtify or excuſe. Now had it been any Part of his Aim to have raiſed his *Reputation* into a ſuperſtitious Veneration among the *Jews*, or to have eſtabliſhed his Family in any high Degree of Honour and Authority, how eaſily might he have done it? 'Twas but concealing what might ſeem to depreſs the *one*, and uſing the Power he had to advance the *other*: But, inſtead of that, we find him very ſecure, and careleſs in both Reſpects; relating his own Faults without Diſguiſe or Extenuation; conferring *(e)* both the *civil* and *eccleſiaſtical* Power upon other Families; and leaving his *own* in the meaneſt Sort of Attendance upon the *Tabernacle*. And ſo

And Diſintereſtedneſs.

(t) Vid. Grot. de Veritate, *Lib.* 1. where he enumerates ſeveral. *(u)* Heb. xi. 25. Acts vii. 22. *(x)* Vid. *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sac. *(y)* Macrob. Saturn. Lib. 2. cap. 15. *(z)* Som. Scip. Lib. 1. cap. 19. *(a)* Exod. iv. 10. 13. Numb. ii. 10, 11. Chap. xx. 12. *(b)* Heb. xi. 25. Acts vii. 22. *(c) Joſephus* relates, that *Moſes*, for ſome Years, was General to *Pharaoh*, and that he obtain'd a very ſignal Victory over the *Ethiopians*. *(d)* Exod. ii. 12. *(e) Vid.* Grot. de Verit. and *Shuckford*'s Connect. of the ſacred and profane Hiſt. *Lib.* 12.

far was he from *aggrandizing* his Nation, that he ſets forth the *leſs*, as well as the *greater* Enormities of their firſt Progenitors; that he ſpares not the Stock of his own Family *Levi*, but records very punctually *(f) his*, and *Simeon*'s Inhumanity to the *Shechemites*; and, thro' the whole Courſe of his Hiſtory, ſeems as if he were deſcribing *(g)* the Obſtinacy, and Unbelief, and Unthankfulneſs, and Diſobedience of a People towards a gracious God, rather than any Way inhancing their Reputation in the World. Hitherto it appears, that *Moſes* acted like an honeſt and ſincere Man; let us, in the next Place, make ſome Inſpection into the Revelation he makes, both as an *Hiſtorian*, and a *Law-giver*.

The Subjects he treats of, as an Hiſtorian.

As an *Hiſtorian* then, what could he deliver to the World more becoming the Majeſty of God to impart, and the Neceſſities of Men to know, than the Origin of the *Univerſe*, and the firſt Beginning of all Things: than the *Formation* of Man, his State of Innocence at firſt, his *Fall*, and the conſequential Evils of it; his *Redemption*, and the glorious Hopes and Expectances of the *new Covenant*; than the Propagation of Mankind, their general Defection, the univerſal Deluge, the Confuſion of Tongues, and thereupon, the Plantation of Families, and Origin of Kingdoms; than the Selection of one particular Family (of which *Chriſt* was to come in the Fleſh) from the reſt of Mankind, and the many wonderful Works, which God did to redeem them from Bondage, and conduct them thro' the Wilderneſs, until he had ſettled them in the promiſed Land, and given them Laws and Ordinances, *whereby they were to live?*

Wherein other Hiſtorians agree with him.

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far was he from *aggrandizing* his Nation, that he ſets forth the *leſs*, as well as the *greater* Enormities of their firſt Progenitors; that he ſpares not the Stock of his own Family *Levi*, but records very punctually *(f) his*, and *Simeon*'s Inhumanity to the *Shechemites*; and, thro' the whole Courſe of his Hiſtory, ſeems as if he were deſcribing *(g)* the Obſtinacy, and Unbelief, and Unthankfulneſs, and Diſobedience of a People towards a gracious God, rather than any Way inhancing their Reputation in the World. Hitherto it appears, that *Moſes* acted like an honeſt and ſincere Man; let us, in the next Place, make ſome Inſpection into the Revelation he makes, both as an *Hiſtorian*, and a *Law-giver*.

The Subjects he treats of, as an Hiſtorian.

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pointment; what he *deliver'd*, was expreſsly the *Will*; and what he *wrote* (for the Books, that go under his Name, we ſhall hereafter prove to be *his)* was infallibly the *Word* of God.

The Education of the Prophets.

THAT there was to be a Succeſſion of *Prophets* after *Moſes* is very plain, not only from the *Rules*, which God has *(k)* preſcribed for the *Trial* of them, but from that expreſs Promiſe likewiſe, which *Moſes* made to the People; *A Prophet will the Lord thy God raiſe up to thee of thy Brethren, like unto me, unto him ſhalt thou hearken.* For, tho' the Words, in their full and compleat Senſe, relate to *Chriſt*, who is the great Prophet of the *Church*; yet, whoever attends to the main Scope of them, will eaſily perceive, that their immediate Aſpect is towards an *Order of Prophets*, who ſhould ſucceed *Moſes*, to inſtruct the People in the *Spiritual* Senſe, and true Obligation of the Law; and to make ſuch farther Diſcoveries of the *Almighty*'s Will, as he, from Time to Time, ſhould give them Commiſſion and Authority to do. And to this Purpoſe we may obſerve, that the firſt *Schools* of theſe Prophets, among the *Jews*, were in the Cities of the *Levites*, which, for the Conveniency of inſtructing the People, were diſperſed up and down in the ſeveral *Tribes*; that *(l)* the firſt *Inſtitution* of theſe Schools ſeems to be about *Samuel*'s Time; and that he, very probably, was ordained *Preſident* over *one*, or more of them, and had the Care and Tuition of ſuch, as were to be trained up to the *Prophetic* Office.

IN what particular Manner they were there trained up, in order to attain a previous Diſpoſition to Propheſy, the Scripture is not expreſs; but this we may ſuppoſe, that they were put upon ſuch Studies and Spiritual Exerciſes, as had a Tendency to improve their Underſtandings and natural Abilities, to regulate their Paſſions and Appetites, and to raiſe their Affections to Things ſublime; that they were employed in ſearching out the hidden Senſe of the Law, in contemplating the Nature and Attributes of God, in adoring him, and celebrating his Praiſes. To which Purpoſe, becauſe there was a certain *Quality* in it to allay the Paſſions and elate the Heart, they always made uſe of Muſic, both vocal and inſtrumental; for ſo the firſt Company of Prophets *(m)* that we read of are deſcribed, *(n) coming down from the high Place, with a Pſaltery, and a Tabret, and a Pipe, and a Harp before them.*

Their Integrity.

OUT of theſe *Seminaries*, or Colleges of Prophets, God uſually made Choice of Perſons to be ſent upon Meſſages; tho' he did not ſo ſtrictly tie himſelf up to this Method, but called ſometimes one from the *Court*, as he did *Iſaiah*, and ſometimes one from the *Herds*, (as he did *Amos)* and *bade them go, and propheſy to the Houſe of* Iſrael. And, whenever he made Choice of any one, he always gave him ſuch a full Conviction, both of the *Reality* of his own Inſpiration, and the Importance of the Meſſage, he ſent him upon, as made it impoſſible for him to reſiſt the *Impulſe*; for ſo *Ezekiel* tells us of himſelf: *(o) The Spirit lifted me up, and took me away, and I went in Bitterneſs, and in the Heat of my Spirit; for the Hand of the Lord was ſtrong upon me.* And indeed, conſidering that the Prophets were Men of ſober *Senſe*, and moſt of them of very liberal *Education*, we can hardly believe that they would have ventured upon ſo hazardous an Employ, where Perſecution was ſure to be their Lot, had they not been urged to it by an *immediate* and irreſiſtable Call from Heaven. The Apoſtle has given us a very dolorous Deſcription of the many Calamities, which their Profeſſion brought upon them: *(p) They had Trials of cruel Mockings and Scourgings, yea, moreover of Bonds and Impriſonments: They were ſtoned, were ſawn aſunder, were tempted, were ſlain with the Sword,* &c. Now what Men in their Senſes would have expoſed themſelves to all theſe Perſecutions and Sufferings, in the Execution of an Office, had they not

(k) Deut. xviii. 21, 22. *(l)* Vid. *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sac. *and* Lewis's Orig. Hebræ. Lib. II. c. 15.
(m) Wheatley's School of the Prophets. *(n)* 1 Sam. x. 5. *(o)* Ezek. iii. 14. *(p)* Heb. xi. 36, 37.

not been perſuaded of the Truth of their *Vocation*, and under an indiſpenſable Neceſſity to purſue it, whatever Penalties may ſtand in their Way?

NOTHING can be more evident, than that the *Prophets* (if we allow them to be Men of *Common Senſe*) were Men of *Integrity* likewiſe, and far from Pretending to a *Commiſſion*, which they had not; ſince (in Acceſſion to what has been ſaid) the *Doctrines* they taught, the *Predictions* they gave, and the *Miracles* they did, loudly proclaimed them to be *ſent from God*.

The Excellence of their Doctrine.

FOR, what can be more ſuitable to the Nature of God, than thoſe Exprobations of Superſtition and Idolatry, and thoſe many *Exhortations* to inward Piety, and real Holineſs, ſo frequently, ſo kindly occurring in the Prophets? *(q) Wherewithal ſhall I come before the Lord, and bow myſelf before the moſt high God? Shall I give my Firſt-born for my Tranſgreſſion, the Fruit of my Body for the Sin of my Soul?* No, God requires nothing of thee, *but to do juſtly, and to love Mercy, and to walk humbly before him.* What can be more agreeable to the Divine Mercy and Goodneſs, than thoſe earneſt *Calls* and *Invocations* to Repentance? *(r) Turn ye, turn ye from your evil Ways; for why will ye die, O Houſe of* Iſrael! *For, as I live, ſaith the Lord, I have no Pleaſure in the Death of the Wicked.* What is more conducive to the Honour and Glory of God, than thoſe rapturous *Songs* of Praiſe, wherewith the *Royal Pſalmiſt* tunes his *Harp*, and thoſe tender *Strains of Grief*, wherewith the *mournful Prophet* wets his Bed? *(s) Oh! that my Head were Waters, and mine Eyes a Fountain of Tears, that I might weep Day and Night, for the Slain of the Daughter of my People.* What *Diſcovery* can be of ſuch Importance, as That of the *Birth* and high Character of the Saviour of the World? *(t) Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given, and his Name ſhall be called Wonderful, Counſellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace:* As that of his *Death* and vicarious Puniſhment? *(u) He was oppreſſed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his Mouth; he made his Soul an offering for Sin,* and, *for the Tranſgreſſion of my People was he ſtricken:* And, laſtly, as That of the happy Effect, which his Religion would produce? when *(x) the Wolf ſhould dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard lie down with the Kid, and the Calf, and the young Lion, and the Fatling together, and a little Child ſhould lead them*; as the *Evangelical Prophet* expreſſes it in that beautiful *Allegory*.

Their Prophecies.

THAT the *Prophet* ſhould be able to foretel Things ſo many Ages before they came to paſs; that *He*, who went from *Judah* to denounce God's Judgments againſt the Altar of *Bethel*, and againſt *(y) Jeroboam*, for ſetting it up, ſhould make mention of the very Name of *Joſiah* (who was to be God's Inſtrument in executing them) three hundred and ſixty one Years before the Event happen'd: That *(z) Elijah* ſhould denounce all the Puniſhments, which God would bring upon *Ahab* and his Family for their great Impiety, ſome Years before the Thing came to paſs: That *Iſaiah* ſhould propheſy of *Cyrus* by Name, *(a)* two hundred and ten Years before the Accompliſhment of his Prophecy; *(b)* foretel his rebuilding of the Temple, and deſcribe his Conqueſts, in ſuch full and expreſſive Terms, that the Hiſtory of *Cyrus* by *Xenophon* has hardly done it better: And (to mention but one *Prophet* more) that *Daniel* ſhould ſpeak of the *Profanation* of the Temple and Sanctuary by *Antiochus Epiphanes*; declare the Manner of his *Death*; and delineate the very *Temper*, and *Countenance* of the Man, *(c)* four hundred and eighty Years before the Accompliſhment: This, and much more that might be mention'd, can be aſcrib'd to nothing elſe, but the *Inſpiration* of God, which made the ſame ſtrong Impreſſion upon the Minds of the Prophets, and guided their Tongues to the ſame Words and Expreſſions, as if the Things had been actually preſented before their Eyes.

(q) Micah vi. 6. *(r)* Ezek. xxxii. 11. *(s)* Jer. ix. 1. *(t)* Iſa. ix. 6. *(u)* Ch. liii. *(x)* Ch. xi. 6. *(y)* 1 Kings xiii. 2. *(z)* Ch. xvii. *(a)* Vid. Joſeph. Antiq. L. 2. Cap. 1. *(b)* Iſa. xliv 26. *(c)* Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 11

Their Miracles.

THE Prophets indeed did not work many *Miracles*, becauſe there was not that Occaſion for them. The Law of *Moſes*, which they were ſent to enforce, not invalidate, had been ſufficiently confirm'd by Miracles before; and, as they were a ſtanding *Order* of Men, which the People were well accuſtomed to, the People were inclinable enough to believe them, without a Divine Atteſtation. However, when they were employed upon *great*, and important Meſſages to Perſons, who either believed not the God of *Iſrael*, or had revolted from his Service, God was never wanting to accompany them with a Power of working Miracles, to be the *Credentials* of their Commiſſion. Thus, upon the Defection of the ten *Tribes*, and when *Calves* were ſet up in *Dan* and *Bethel*, in Oppoſition to the Worſhip at *Jeruſalem*, the Prophet, who was ſent to denounce God's Anger againſt ſuch Procedure, was enabled, by a Word's ſpeaking, *(d) to rend the Altar*, and both *to wither, and reſtore again* Jeroboam's *Hand*. In the famous Controverſy between the Prieſts of *Baal* and *Elijah*, the Prophet was empowered *(e)* to *call Fire down from Heaven, which conſumed his Sacrifice*, and gained him the Victory over his Adverſaries; and, to convince *Naaman* the *Syrian* of the *true God's being in* Iſrael, *Eliſha* was directed *(f)* to cure him of his *Leproſy*, by the ſimple Preſcription of dipping himſelf in the River *Jordan*. Upon theſe, and the like Occaſions, when the Honour of God, or the Truth of the Prophet, ſeemed to be called in Queſtion, a Power of working Miracles was communicated to him, as an evident Demonſtration of God's *abetting* his Cauſe, and atteſting the Truth of what he pretended to reveal.

A Recapitulation of the Argument.

PUTTING all this together then, *viz.* that the Prophets were Men of *Sobriety*, and good *Education*, but void of all *Craft* and *Diſſimulation*; that they expoſed themſelves to infinite *Hazards* and *Difficulties*, in the Execution of their Office; that they taught *Doctrines* conſonant to the Divine Attributes, and made *Diſcoveries* of the greateſt Importance; *foretold* Events, which none but God could know; and *performed* Works, which none but God could do; gave all imaginable Evidence of the Truth of their Commiſſion, and ſealed it very often with the Teſtimony of their own Blood: It will certainly follow, that we have all the Reaſon we can deſire (all indeed that the Nature of the Thing will bear) to believe, that they were *Meſſengers*, ſent from God, to ſupply the intermediate Space between *Moſes* and *Chriſt*, and, conſequently, that the *Revelation* of God's Will in the *Old Teſtament* (ſo far as they are concerned in declaring it) is indubitably true.

An Objection.

" *BUT be the Character of* Moſes *and the* Prophets *(as Meſſengers ſent from God,*
" *to impart his Will to Mankind) never ſo well eſtabliſhed; yet, what is that to us, who*
" *live in Times, ſo diſtant and remote from them, and have only the Tradition of Men*
" *uninſpir'd, and the Teſtimony of a Set of Books (ſaid indeed to be dictated by the Holy*
" *Ghoſt, but how truly we cannot tell) for the Foundation of our Faith? Had we lived*
" *indeed in the Days of* Moſes *and the* Prophets, *when Revelation was attended by* Signs
" *and mighty* Wonders, *the Teſtimony of many glorious* Miracles, *and the Completion of*
" *many remarkable* Prophecies, *we ſhould have then been inexcuſable, had we remained*
" *incredulous amidſt theſe Inſtances of Divine Power: But ſince, in our preſent Circum-*
" *ſtances, we are reduced to the* bare Letter *of the Scriptures, which, for ought we know,*
" *may be* ſpurious *and* corrupt; *or, if* genuine, *ſeem to have ſmall Signatures of a Divine*
" *Spirit in their Compoſition; which, almoſt in every Paſſage, are loaded with* Abſurdi-
" ties *and* Contradictions, *with* Myſteries *and* Riddles, *and* obſcure *Paſſages; and, where*
" *they chance to be intelligible, are ſo* trifling *in their* Narrations, *ſo* illogical *in their*
" Reaſonings, *ſo* confuſed *in their* Method, *ſo* inſipid *in their* Stile, *ſo* tedious *in their*
" Repetitions, *ſo* ambiguous *in their* various Readings, *and, in the Whole, ſo* barren *of*
" *any* real Entertainment *to an ingenious Reader; that, inſtead of poring in theſe muſty*
" *and perplexed Records, (and which perhaps too may not be ſo* ancient *as is pretended)*
" *we*

(d) 1 Kings xiii. 4, 5, 6. *(e)* Ch. xviii. *(f)* 2 Kings v.

" *we think it the eaſier and ſafer Way, to attend to the Sentiments of our Minds, and* " *thoſe plain and* immutable *Laws, which God* has written upon the fleſhly Tables of " our Hearts."

The State of the Caſe between the Contemporaries *with the Prophets, and thoſe of* After Ages.

WE allow indeed, that there is a great deal of Difference between thoſe, who were *Contemporaries* with *Moſes* and the *Prophets*, and *us*, who are at ſome thouſand Years Diſtance. The Completion of a Prediction gave Sanction to the Prophet's Pretenſions, and Miracles carried with them a clear and preſent Conviction; they entered quick, and gained Aſſent without any Argumentation: Whereas our Faith now is founded on *human* Teſtimony, and the Evidences of our Religion compriſed in no very large Volume. But then, we are to conſider, that we give Credit to the Contents of other Books upon no better Grounds; that, upon this very Account, we firmly believe, that *Alexander*, about two thouſand Years ago, conquered a great Part of the World; and that there was ſuch a Perſon as *Julius Cæſar*, who, upwards of ſeventeen hundred Years ago, conquered *France*, and came into *England:* And yet the Authority of the *ſacred* Records has been more ſtrictly examined into, and found to be better atteſted, than That of any *human* Compoſition. The *Contemporaries* with inſpired Men were convinced by Senſe, and ocular Demonſtration; but in this we have the Advantage of them, that, having lived to ſee the whole *Scheme* of Revelation compleated, and at once placed in our View, we can compare one Part with the other, and thence obſerve, how the *Myſtery* of Man's Redemption gradually advances; what *Harmony* there is between the *Old* and the *New Teſtament*; and how the many Prophecies in the one, receive their Accompliſhment in the other; which cannot but give great Comfort and Satisfaction to an *inquiſitive* Mind.

IT is not to be doubted then, but that *we*, of After-Ages, *upon whom the Ends of the World are come*, have ſufficient Grounds for our Faith to reſt upon, if we can but ſatisfy ourſelves.----That the Perſons, by whom God made Revelations of his Will, *at ſundry Times, and in divers Manners*, were directed by him to *record* them in certain *Books*.----That, in writing theſe Books, they were aſſiſted by the *Inſpiration* of his infallible Spirit.----That, according to the beſt Computations, they were wrote by the very ſame *Perſons*, to whom they are *aſcribed*.----That, at a proper Period of Time, they were *compiled* into one *Body* by ſuch as were *authorized* and *enabled* ſo to do.----That, from them, they have *deſcended* to us, true and genuine, without any conſiderable *Loſs*, or *Alteration*.----That the Books now *extant*, and received by the *Chriſtian Church*, are the very ſame, which were thus written by Inſpiration, and compiled by Authority.----And that they are not liable to the foregoing *Objections*, but deſerve a better *Character*, and better *Uſage*, than ſome in this Age are pleaſed to give them.

The Objection anſwered, by ſhewing that Revelations were recorded *in* Books.

(g) 'TIS the Opinion of ſome learned Men, that *Writing* was an Art *coæval* with Mankind, and the Invention of *Adam* himſelf. *Joſephus* indeed informs us, that it was in uſe before the *Flood*; and from thence ſome have conjectured, that the Hiſtory of the *Creation*, and the reſt of the Book of *Geneſis*, were (for the Subſtance of them) delivered down to *Moſes* in Verſe (which was the moſt ancient Way of writing) and that, from them, he compiled his Book. This however can hardly be a probable Conjecture, becauſe it is ſcarce conceivable, how Men could have loſt the Senſe of Religion ſo totally, as we find they did, had there been any *ſtanding* Records of it at that Time. The more probable Opinion is, that it was the long-experienced Inſufficiency of *Oral Tradition* (the only Way of Conveyance then in Uſe) that gave Occaſion to the general Corruption; while ſome forgot, and others perverted, the Doctrines delivered to them by their Anceſtors, and, in Compliance to their Luſts, brought themſelves, by Degrees, firſt *to believe a Lye*, and then to propagate it, having no *written* Rule of Truth to confront the Error.

IT

(g) *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs, and *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr.

Why God appointed it to be ſo.

IT can hardly be doubted, but that God vouchſafed frequent Revelations to the *Patriarchs* before the Law, and ſufficiently inſtructed them in his Will; nor can we queſtion, but that theſe *holy Men* uſed their beſt Endeavours to propagate the Doctrine, they received, and to reform the Manners of thoſe at leaſt, who depended on them: And (what was a great Advantage to them in this Reſpect) both their *Lives* were ſo very *long*, and the *Principles* of their Religion ſo extremely *few*, that two Perſons might have conveyed them down from *Adam* to *Abraham*. For *Methuſelah* lived above three hundred Years, while *Adam* was yet alive: *Sem* was almoſt an hundred, when *Methuſelah* died; and when *Sem* died, *Abraham* was above an hundred, according to the *Hebrew* Computation. Here is a great Period of Time filled up by two or three Perſons; and yet, in this Time, the Tradition of thoſe few Things, wherein Religion was then comprehended, was ſo totally corrupted, that *Idolatry* was generally practiſed, and God was obliged to make a new, and immediate Revelation to the Patriarch *Abraham*.

(h) THE Promulgation of the Law on Mount *Sinai*, was one of the moſt amazing Things that ever happened: And, as the Circumſtances of the whole Solemnity were very *ſurprizing*, the Commandments then delivered but *few*, the People all of one Language, ſeparate from the reſt of Mankind, and obliged to a conſtant Commerce among themſelves; ſo there ſeem to be, in this Caſe, all imaginable Advantages in Favour of *Tradition:* And yet, notwithſtanding theſe, God would not truſt his Precepts to this uncertain Way of Conveyance, but *(i)* Himſelf, *with his own Finger*, twice wrote them upon *two Tables of Stone*. The *hiſtorical* Tranſactions of the *Jews*, the many ſtrange Deliverances Heaven vouchſafed them, and, particularly, their ſignal Victory over the *Amalekites*, God commanded *Moſes* not to relate to Poſterity by Word of Mouth only, but *to write them for a Memorial in a Book (k):* Nay, the very *ceremonial* Part of the Law, tho' not intended to be of perpetual Obligation, was not referred to this *traditionary* Method, but, according to Divine Appointment, committed to Writing, and repoſited with the Prieſts: And therefore we have leſs Reaſon to wonder, that, in Things, which were to come to paſs in future Ages (ſuch as the Predictions of the *Prophets* were) and whereon the Fate of Nations, as well as Divine Veracity, did depend, we always find God giving Injunctions of this Kind, *(l) to write their* Inſpirations *before the People in a Table, and to note them in a Book, that they might be for the Time to come, for ever and ever.*

That theſe Books were written by Divine Inſpiration.

THAT the Books, which were *ſucceſſively* wrote in this Manner, were wrote by the Order and Aſſiſtance of God's bleſſed Spirit, no one can doubt, who either attends to the high Sentiments which the *Jews* of old entertained of them, or to the Teſtimony, whereby both *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles have given a full Sanction to them. The *Law of Moſes* was to the *Jews* accounted the Law of God himſelf, and the *Pentateuch* eſteemed the Foundation of their Religion. The familiar *Converſe* he had with God, the *Wonders* and *Miracles* that he wrought, and the Divine Wiſdom, and Gift of Prophecy which reſided in him, put it beyond all Diſpute, that the Books, which he left behind him, were penned by the Inſpiration of the Spirit of God, whereof he was full. The other *canonical* Books, which, in Proceſs of Time, were collected into a *Body*, the *Jews* always held in the like Veneration; inſomuch that (as *Joſephus* tells us) they were accuſtomed, from their Infancy, to call them *the Doctrines of God*, and were ready, at any Time, to lay down their Lives in Vindication of them: Nor is it any bad Argument to us *Chriſtians*, that we find our bleſſed *Lord* quoting theſe Books, under the Title of *the Scriptures*, and acquainting us with the common Diſtribution of them, in his Days, into the *Law*, the *Prophets*, and the *Pſalms*; becauſe the Book of *Pſalms* was placed in the Front of that Collection, which was uſually ſtiled the *Hagiographa*. 'Tis upon the Evidence of theſe Books, that he proves himſelf to be the *Meſſias*; 'tis by them,

(b) Burnet on the Articles. *(i)* Exod. xxxi. 18. *(k) Chap.* xvii. 14. *(l)* Iſa. xxx. 8.

them, that he confutes the *Jews*; and to them, that he appeals, both in the Proof of his own Doctrine, and in all his Diſputations with them. And therefore we need not wonder, that we find both the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles* aſſuring us, that *(m) all Scripture is given by the Inſpiration of God*, and the Apoſtle of the *Jews* aſſerting the ſame Thing, *viz.* that *(n) no Prophecy of the Scripture is of private Interpretation; for the Prophecy came not, in old Time, by the Will of Man, but holy Men of God ſpake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt.* Upon the whole therefore we muſt conclude, *(o)* either that *Moſes*, and the other Writers of the *Old Teſtament*, were inſpired, or that they were conſummate *Cheats*; and that, not only *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, by remitting us to them, and citing their Writings as *Divine*, did connive at the *Cheat*; but that God himſelf likewiſe, by *giving* them the Power of *Miracles* and *Prophecy*, did countenance the *Impoſture*; and, by inveſting them with the Character of his *Authority*, and all outward *Marks* of his Approbation, inevitably lead us into Error: Which is moſt impious to think, and moſt blaſphemous to ſay.

And for what Reaſon.

CONSIDERING then that the Divine Intention, in having the Scriptures wrote, was to make them the *Standard* of Faith, and *Rule* of Life, in all future Ages of the Church; there was a ſtrong Reaſon why God ſhould take Care that the Books, which he deſigned to be the ſole *Guide* of Mankind in Matters of Religion, and which, he foreſaw, all Poſterity would appeal to, as the great *Touch-ſtone* of Truth, ſhould not be liable to any Errors; but that his Holy Spirit ſhould ſo guide the Hand of his *Penmen* (as it were) and aſſiſt them in their Compoſitions with ſuch an *infallible* Veracity, as might be of ſufficient Authority to ſilence all Differences, whenever they ſhould ariſe. And accordingly we may obſerve, that in all Ages, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* have appealed to theſe Books, as to *Oracles*, in order to decide all Controverſies in Religion; that, in every General *Council*, the *Holy Bible* was always placed *on high*, as the *Directory*, and *unerring Compaſs*, whereby to ſteer in their Debates; and that, at the Opening of ſuch *Aſſemblies*, each *Member* was wont to declare himſelf, much in the ſame Senſe, with *(p)* the *Article* of our Church; "That the Holy Scripture containeth "all Things neceſſary to Salvation; ſo that, whatſoever is not read therein, nor may be "proved thereby, is not to be required of any Man, that it ſhould be believed, as an "*Article* of the Faith, or be thought requiſite or neceſſary to Salvation."

How far inſpired.

IT is needleſs, and almoſt impoſſible for us to define preciſely, how far the *Spirit of* God was engaged in the *Compoſition* of the Holy Scriptures. It ſeems more conſonant however to the Manner of the Divine Operations, which do not uſually put any Force upon human Nature, but leave it, in a great Meaſure, to the Exerciſe of its *Faculties*, to ſuppoſe, that the Authors of them were ſomething more than mere *Amanuenſes* to the Holy Ghoſt. The great Diverſity of Style and Diction, which may be obſerved in ſeveral Books, and ſometimes the expreſſing one and the ſame Thing in *different Terms* by different Authors, is almoſt a ſure Indication, that they themſelves had ſome Share in the Compoſition, and that the Holy Ghoſt was not the *ſole* Author of every Word and Expreſſion: For, if this had been the Caſe, the Style of each Book had been alike and uniform; at leaſt, there had not been that apparent Difference in it, which we now ſee, and which (taking in the *Holy Penmen* for a Share in the Compoſition) may not unfitly be aſcribed to *natural* Cauſes. If the Holy Ghoſt had dictated every Word, I ſay, why ſhould *Iſaiah*, who was bred in a Court, be more *florid* and *magnificent* in his Expreſſion than *Amos*, who had his Education among the *Herds?* 'Tis a more eaſy Suppoſition therefore of the two, that God ſhould ſuggeſt the *Matter* of his Revelation firſt to their Minds, and then leave them to weigh it in their Thoughts (as they did other Truths) and ſo put it into ſuch a Form of Words, as their own Minds, or the Tenour of their *Education*, naturally inclined to.

(m) 2 Tim. iii. 16. *(n)* 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. *(o)* Vid. *Calmet's* Diſſer. Vol. I. *(p)* Article the VIth.

THE Writings of the *Holy Penmen* are of different Kinds: Some of them are *Hiſtorical*, ſome *Preceptive*, ſome *Argumentative*, ſome *Doctrinal*, ſome *Poetical*, and ſome *Prophetical*; in all which, the *Meaſure* of the Divine Aſſiſtance ſeemed to *vary* in Proportion to the Nature of the *Subject*, whereof they treated. If they wrote *Hiſtorically* of Matters of Fact, which either they themſelves knew, or had received from credible Witneſſes, there was no Reaſon that the Subſtance of their Hiſtory ſhould be revealed *again*; all that ſeems requiſite is, that the Holy Ghoſt ſhould ſo far inſpect them, as to prevent any Error in the *Relation*. If they delivered any *moral* Precepts, or *argued* from any revealed Truths, he then allowed them to employ their reaſoning Faculties, as far as their Arguments were ſuitable and *ſolid*; and, at the ſame Time, cleared their Underſtanding, and hindered them from writing any Thing *impertinent*. If their Compoſitions were of the *Poetic* Kind, he left them to follow the eſtabliſhed Rules of that *Art*, and to *ſcan* out the *Metre* by themſelves; and all that he did, in this Caſe, was to quicken their *Invention*, and refine their *Fancy*. But, if they were to indite Things of an *Higher* Nature, and ſuch as were above their Faculties; if they were either to predict ſome remarkable *Event*, or declare ſome *Divine Truth*, that was never revealed before; it ſeems reaſonable to believe, that the *Whole* of theſe was *immediately* inſpired into their Minds by the *Holy Ghoſt*; becauſe they could be the Reſult neither of their *Underſtanding*, nor *Memory*, and conſequently could come into their Minds no other Way, but by *immediate Inſpiration*.

FROM the whole then it is reaſonable to think, that the Meaſures of Divine Inſpiration varied according to the Nature of the Subject, or the *Exigences* of the Penmen, who recorded it: That, in the main, they purſued their own Method, and Manner of Expreſſion; but, on ſome important Occaſions, had the Words dictated to them: That, in ſome Subjects, they had their *Memory* refreſhed; in others, their *Underſtanding* enlightened; in others, their *Fancies* elevated; in *all*, their Wills directed to the Diſcovery and Declaration of the Truth: And, even in the *leaſt* Matter they wrote, were never ſo far left to their own Diſcretion, as not to have the Holy Spirit preſiding over them, and keeping them from expreſſing any Thing contrary to the Divine Mind, or the Dignity of the ſacred Subject.

The Number, Order, and Authority of the Books.

NOW the Books of the *Old Teſtament*, which, by the Divine Will and Inſpiration, were, in this Manner, written, were by the *Jews* of old uſually divided into three ſeveral *Claſſes*, whereof the *firſt* comprehended the five Books of *Moſes*; the *ſecond*, all the *Prophets*; and the *third*, thoſe Writings, which they called *Chetubim*, the *Greeks Hagiographa*; or Books, that were written by holy Men, but not with ſuch *Fulneſs* of Spirit, as to be ranked among the Prophets. In this Diviſion they reckoned *five* Books in the *firſt* Claſs; *eight* in the *ſecond*; and *nine* in the *third*; in all *two* and *twenty*; according to the Number of the Letters of their *Alphabet*, and as fully comprehending all that was neceſſary to be *known* and *believed*, as the Number of their Letters did all that was requiſite to be *ſaid* or *written*; for in this Method it is that they range them.

The Books of *Moſes* V.
- *Geneſis.*
- *Exodus.*
- *Leviticus.*
- *Numbers.*
- *Deuteronomy.*

Four Books of the *former* Prophets IV.
- *Joſhua.*
- *Judges*, and *(q) Ruth.*
- *Samuel* 1, and *(r)* 2.
- *Kings* 1, and *(r)* 2.

From

(q) Which was put as an Appendix to the *Judges*.

(r) Counted them one Book.

Four Books of the *later* Prophets. IV.	*Iſaiah.* *Jeremiah*, and his *(s) Lamentations.* *Ezekiel.* *(t)* The Books of the 12 *leſſer Prophets.*
And the reſt of the *holy* Writers. IX.	King *David*'s *Pſalms.* King *Solomon*'s *Proverbs.* His *Eccleſiaſtes.* His *Song of Songs.* The Book of *Job.* The Book of *Daniel.* The Book of *Ezra*, and *(u) Nehemiah.* The Book of *Eſther.* The Book of *(x) Chronicles* 1, and 2.

WHICH two Books of *Chronicles*, containing the Sum of all their former Hiſtories, and reaching from the *Creation* of the World to the *Jews Return* from *Babylon*, are a perfect Epitome of the *Old Teſtament*, and therefore not improperly placed, as if they concluded, and cloſed up, their whole *Bible*.

THE Book of *Geneſis*, which is an *Introduction* to the reſt of the *Pentateuch*, (and contains the Hiſtory of about 2369 Years, from the Beginning of the World to the Death of the Patriarch *Joſeph*) is ſo called, becauſe it treats of the Creation of the World, the Beginning and *Generation* of Man, and all other Creatures *(y)*. Geneſis.

THAT of *Exodus*, which relates the Tyranny of *Pharaoh*, and the Bondage of the *Iſraelites* under him (and contains an Hiſtory of near 145 Years) is ſo called, becauſe it comprehends the Hiſtory of the Departure of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*, under the Conduct of *Moſes (z)*. Exodus.

THAT of *Leviticus* (which contains about one Month's Time) has its Name, becauſe it gives an Account of the *Jewiſh* Service and Worſhip, of the Offices of the *Levites*, and the whole *Levitical* Order *(a)*. Leviticus.

THAT of *Numbers*, (which contains the Hiſtory of ſomewhat more than 38 Years, and relates ſeveral remarkable Incidents in the *Iſraelites* Paſſage thro' the Wilderneſs) has it's Denomination from *Moſes*'s *numbering* the Tribes of the People *(b)*, according to God's Order and Appointment *(c)*. Numbers.

THAT of *Deuteronomy*, which ſignifies *a ſecond Law*, (and takes up about the Space of ſix Weeks) is a ſummary (*) *Repetition* of the Laws, both *Moral*, *Civil*, and *Ceremonial*, which *Moſes* had given the *Iſraelites* in the former Books; together with ſeveral kind Admonitions, and earneſt Exhortations to better Obedience for the Time to come, from the Conſideration of the many *Divine Favours* already received, and the Promiſes that were in *Reverſion* (*d*). Deuteronomy.

THIS

(s) Counted but one Book. *(t)* Which were all put in one. *(u)* The *Jews* reckoned them both together for one. *(x)* And theſe two went with them for one Book. *(y)* The *Hebrews* call it *Bereſith*, *in Principio*, *in the Beginning*, becauſe in their Language, it begins with that Word. *(z)* The *Hebrews* call it *veele Schemoth*, becauſe it begins with theſe Words, *Now*, *theſe are the Names*, &c. *(a)* The *Jews* term it *Vaicra*, becauſe in *Hebrew* it begins with this Word, which ſignifies, *and he called.* *(b)* For now that they were paſſing through the Wilderneſs, wherein they were in Danger of meeting with many Enemies, it was highly convenient to take an Account of their Forces, and to put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, *Lewis*, *Antiq. Heb. L.* 8. *(c)* The *Jews* term it *Vaedalber*, *and he ſpake*, becauſe in *Hebrew* it begins with thoſe Words.

(*) This ſeems to be of abſolute Uſe, becauſe the *Iſraelites*, who had heard them before, died in the Wilderneſs; and as there was now another Generation of Men ſprung up, 'twas highly requiſite to have theſe Laws promulged afreſh, which *Moſes* does in this Book, and here and there interſperſes both Explications and Additions. *Lewis*, ibid.

(d) The *Jews* call it *Elle haddeburim*, *hæc ſunt verba*, *theſe are the Words*, becauſe the *Hebrew* Text begins in this Manner.

THIS is the Scope of the *Pentateuch*, or five Books of *Moſes*: And that He, and none but he, was the Writer of them, we have all the Aſſurance that innumerable *Paſſages* in the Holy Scriptures, the joint *Authority* of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, the univerſal *Conſent* of all Ages, and *(e)* the concurring *Teſtimony* of the moſt antient Heathen Authors, can give us. Only it muſt be obſerved, that ſome Part of the laſt Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, wherein mention is made of the Death of *Moſes*, muſt have been added by ſome other Writer, either by *Joſhua*, his immediate Succeſſor, or (as others would have it) by *Ezra*, the great Reſtorer of the *Jewiſh Canon*.

Joſhua. THE Book of *Joſhua* (which contains the Hiſtory of 17 Years) is ſo called, not ſo much upon the Account of its *Author*, as of it's *Subject-matter*; ſince it contains the Hiſtory of the Wars, and other Affairs, which happened under the Adminiſtration of that great *Captain*: But ſince the Author of the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus* gives him this Character *(f) that he was the Succeſſor of* Moſes *in Prophecies*, i. e. the next inſpired Writer of Scripture after *Moſes*, we have no Reaſon to oppoſe the Judgment of the *Jewiſh* Church, which *(g)* generally aſcribed it to him.

Judges. THE Book of *Judges*, which relates the State of the *Jewiſh* People in the Land of *Canaan*, in the Time of the *Judges*, from *Joſhua*'s Death until *Eli*, (i. e. about 300 Years) is very antient, as appears from a Paſſage in a Pſalm of *David*, *(h) When thou wenteſt forth before the People, when thou marcheſt thro' the Wilderneſs, the Earth ſhook, the Heavens alſo dropped at the Preſence of God*; which Words are an exact Imitation of theſe in *(i) Judges*; *Lord, when thou wenteſt out of* Seir, *when thou marcheſt out of the Field of* Edom, *the Earth trembled, the Heavens dropped, the Clouds alſo dropped Water*: And, that it was wrote by *Samuel*, as well as the Book of *Ruth*, (which is an Appendix to it) the Doctors of the *Talmud* agree, tho' others attribute it to *Hezekiah*, and many to *Ezra*.

The Books of Samuel. THE two Books of *Samuel*, which are publick Hiſtories of the Tranſactions under the two *laſt* Judges, *Samuel* and *Eli*, and under the two *firſt* Kings, *Saul* and *David*, (comprizing the Compaſs of 100 Years) have likewiſe evident Marks of their *Antiquity*: and, tho' it be not abſolutely certain who their Author was, yet the Generality of the *Jews* do, with great Probability, aſſert, that the four and twenty-firſt Chapters were written by *Samuel* himſelf, and the reſt by the Prophets *Nathan* and *Gad*; which Aſſertion they found on this Paſſage in the *Chronicles*, *(k) Now the Acts of* David *the King, firſt and laſt, behold, they are written in the Book of* Samuel *the Seer, and in the Book of* Nathan *the Prophet, and in the Book of* Gad *the Seer*.

Kings, *and* Chronicles. THE Books of *Kings (l)*, and the *Chronicles* (for I take them in the Order wherein they now ſtand in our Bibles) which, taking in ſome Part of the foregoing Books, contain the Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* Monarchy, down to the Captivity of *Babylon*, (a Space of above 500 Years) were compiled out of antient *Records*, which Records were wrote by Men of a *Prophetic* Spirit; and all that *Ezra* (or whoever their *Compiler* was) added of his own, was only ſome *genealogical* Obſervations, at the Beginning of the *Chronicles*, and ſome other Paſſages of ſmall Moment, relating to the Times after the *Captivity*.

THE

(e) Vid. Grot. de Verit. Lib. 1. Sect. 16. *Du Pin*'s Canon, Vol. I. and *Le Clerc*'s Prolegom. *de Scriptore Pentateuchi.* *(f)* Eccluſ. xlvi. 1. *(g)* The *Talmudiſts* indeed make him the Author of the Book; but ſome of the *Antients*, and many modern Writers deny it: and, accordingly, we find *Theodoret* affirming, that this Volume was collected a long Time after *Joſhua*'s Death, and that it was no more than an Abſtract of an antient *Commentary*, called *the Book of Juſt Men*, whereof we find Mention made in the tenth Chapter of the ſaid Book of *Joſhua*. *Lewis, Antiq. Hebr.* Lib. VIII.

(h) Pſal. lxviii. 7, 8. *(i)* Judges v. 4. *(k)* 1 Chron. xxix. 29. *(l)* Though it be a Matter of great Uncertainty, whether the Book of the *Kings*, or of the *Chronicles* were firſt written, yet it is evident, that this of the *Chronicles* is more full and comprehenſive than that of the *Kings*: and from thence theſe Books are called *Paralipomena, Remains, Supplements*, and *Additions*, by the *Greek* Interpreters, becauſe they contain ſome Paſſages, or Circumſtances that were omitted in the other Hiſtorical Writers. *Lewis*, ibid.

THE Book of *Ezra*, which is a Continuation of the *Chronicles*, and compriſes the Hiſtory of the *Jews*, from the Time that *Cyrus* made the Decree for their *Return*, until the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* (which was about 100 Years) was *all* compoſed by him, except the ſix firſt Chapters, which contain an Account of the *firſt* Return of the *Jews*, upon the Decree of *Cyrus*; whereas *Ezra* did not return, until the Time of *Artaxerxes*. 'Tis of his *ſecond* Return therefore that he writes the Account, and adding it to the other (which he found ready compoſed to his Hand) he made it a *compleat* Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh Reſtoration*. Ezra.

NEHEMIAH, who was the Son of *Hilkiah*, of the Tribe of *Levi*, was advanced in *Babylon* to be *Cup-bearer*, or Page, to King *Artaxerxes*; and from him he obtained Leave to return to *Judea* for 12 Years, in order to rebuild the City of *Jeruſalem*. He continues the Hiſtory of *Ezra*, from the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes* to the Reign of *Darius Nothus* (about 40 Years in all) and is, *(m)* by the Writer of the Book of *Maccabees*, atteſted to be the Author of that Work. Nehemiah.

THE Hiſtory of *Eſther*, a *Jewiſh Captive Virgin*, who, for her tranſcendent Beauty, was advanced to the Throne of *Perſia*, and, by her Intereſt with her Royal Huſband *(n)* *Ahaſuerus*, (whom ſome will have to be the ſame with the abovementioned *Artaxerxes*; and others with *Darius Hyſtaſpis)* procured to her Countrymen a wonderful Deliverance from *Haman*'s intended Maſſacre, by ſome is ſuppoſed to have been written by *Ezra*, and by others by *Mordecai*. But the more probable Opinion of the *Talmudiſts* is, that the great *Synagogue* (to perpetuate the Memory of that remarkable Event, and to account for the Original of the Feaſt of *Purim)* ordered this Book to be compoſed, and afterwards approved, and admitted it into the *Sacred Canon*. Eſther.

WHO the Author of the Book of *Job* was, is indeed uncertain: 'Tis very probable however, that he was a Perſon of great *Antiquity*, and one, who lived before the Promulgation of the *Jewiſh* Law; becauſe there are no Traces of *That* to be found in the whole Compaſs of the Book: And therefore the moſt general Opinion is, that it was written by *Moſes*, during his Abode in *Egypt*, or in his Flight into the Land of *Midian*, with an Intent to encourage the *Jews* under the Severities of the *Egyptian* Bondage. Tho' ſome will rather have it, that the *Materials* of this Book were drawn up firſt by *Job* himſelf, or ſome of his Friends, the *Interlocutors*; and afterwards coming into the Hands of *Moſes*, and thence into the Poſſeſſion of *Solomon*, were by him turned (†) into *Hebrew Verſe*, in the Manner we now find them. Job.

SOME of the antient Fathers were of Opinion, that the whole Book of *Pſalms* was written by *David* only; but in this they muſt be miſtaken; becauſe the Titles of ſeveral Pſalms tell us, that they were compoſed by *Moſes*. The *Hebrew* Doctors do generally agree, that the 92d *Pſalm* was made by *Adam*. *Solomon*, no doubt, was the Author of the 49th *Pſalm*, which is much of the ſame Strain with his other *Nuptial* Song, which is called the *Canticles*; and 'tis no improbable Conjecture, that the 88th and 89th *Pſalms* were indited in the Time of the *Egyptian* Bondage; the *former* condoling the People's *Diſtreſs*, and the *latter* propheſying their *Deliverance*. However this be, 'tis certain, that *David* (who had an excellent Gift of *Poetry* and *Pſalmody)* was the Compoſer of much the greater Part of them; and therefore his Name was thought proper to give Title to the whole *Collection*, which was undoubtedly made by *Ezra*. Pſalms.

(m) 2 Mac. ii. 13. *(n)* Vid. *Prideaux*'s Connect. Part. I. Book IV. (†) St. *Jerome*, in his Preface to the Book of *Job*, informs us, that, for the moſt Part, it is in Heroic Verſe; that, from the Beginning of the Book to the third Chapter, 'tis *Proſe*, but, from the Words, *let the Day periſh wherein I was born*, Chap. iii. 3. to theſe, *wherefore I abhor myſelf, and repent in Duſt and Aſhes*, Chap. xiii. 6. all is Hexameter Verſe, conſiſting of Dactyls and Spondees, like the *Greek* Verſes of *Homer*, or the *Latin* of *Virgil*. And *Marianus Victorius*, in his Note upon this Paſſage of St. *Jerome*, tells us, that he has examined this Book of *Job*, and finds St. *Jerome*'s Obſervations to be true. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. Chap. ix.

The Proverbs. THAT the Books of *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, and *Canticles*, were written by King *Solomon*, is the general Opinion of the *Jewiſh* Doctors, who pretend to tell us, that he wrote the *Canticles* in his Youth, his *Proverbs* in his Manhood, and his *Eccleſiaſtes* at the latter End of his Life. There are, however, but 25 *Chapters* in the Beginning of the *firſt*, which are reputed the original Collection of *Solomon*, the reſt were compiled by other Hands; only the *laſt Chapter*, (which bears the Name of *Lemuel)* is ſuppoſed to have been written by him under a borrowed Name, and ſeems to be made up of ſome wiſe Inſtructions, which his Mother *Bathſheba* had taught him when he was a Child.

Canticles. THE *Song of Songs* (as it is called) tho' it may relate to *Solomon*'s Marriage with the Daughter of the King of *Egypt*, and is ſo far *Hiſtorical*; yet the Pious, in all Ages, have ever eſteemed it an *allegorical* Dialogue between *Chriſt* and his *Church*: And tho' ſome

Eccleſiaſtes. Paſſages in *Eccleſiaſtes* ſeem to expreſs an *Epicurean* Notion of Providence; yet it is to be remembered, that the Author (in an *Academic* Way) diſputes indeed on both Sides, but, in the *Concluſion*, determines for that which is right, *viz. (o) to fear God and keep his Commandments, which is the whole Duty of Man; for God*, ſays he, *will bring every Work to Judgment, and every ſecret Thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.*

The Prophets. THAT the Books both of the *greater* and *leſſer* Prophets (for we have no Need to conſider them ſeparately) have been always thought to belong to the Perſons, whoſe Names and Inſcriptions they bear, we have the univerſal Conſent of the *Jewiſh* Church, ſeveral plain Paſſages from *Joſephus*, and a very remarkable Teſtimony in the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, to convince us, where, after many Praiſes beſtowed upon *Ezekiel*, and other Prophets, and Worthies of *Iſrael*, there are theſe Words: *(p) And, of the twelve Prophets let the Memorial be bleſſed; let their Bones flouriſh again out of their Place; for they comforted* Jacob, *and delivered them by a certain Hope.*

The Canon *of the* Old Teſtament *compiled by* Ezra. THUS it appears, that the Books of the *Old Teſtament* were either the Work of the Men whoſe Names they bear; or, at leaſt, the Compoſitions of Perſons aſſiſted by the *Holy Ghoſt:* And how they came to be collected into a *Body*; and, by Perſons who were duly qualified for the Work, reviſed, and publiſhed in one *Volume*, in the Manner we now have them, is the next Point of Enquiry we are to purſue.

IT muſt be acknowledged indeed, that we cannot give an *exact* Account of the Settlement of the *Canon* of the *Old Teſtament*, becauſe we have no Authors extant, who *profeſſedly* treat of this Affair: But, if we may believe the concurring Teſtimony of antient Writers, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* (who might probably have their Opinions from ſome Authorities that are now loſt) we muſt allow that *Ezra*, upon his Return from the Captivity of *Babylon*, undertook the Work; and, after he had finiſhed it, had it approved by the grand *Sanhedrim*, and publiſhed by Authority. Only we muſt obſerve, *(q)* that the two Books of *Chronicles*, and thoſe of *Nehemiah*, *Eſther*, and *Malachi*, were very probably afterwards added by *Simon the Juſt*; and, that it was not till *his* Time that the *Jewiſh Canon* of the Holy Scriptures was fully compleated.

THAT this Canon began to be compiled ſoon after the Return from the Captivity, is pretty plain from the above-cited Paſſage in *Eccleſiaſticus*, which makes mention of the *twelve minor* Prophets, and is an Argument, that they were then collected, and digeſted into one Volume: And if we believe *(r)* that the LXX Interpreters tranſlated *all the Old Teſtament* (which is an Opinion that many learned Men do maintain) then it is evident, that the Canon muſt have been ſettled before the Time that their Verſion was made, which was done under *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and not improbably at the Beginning of his Reign. The Truth is, both the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory ends, and the Spirit of *Prophecy* ceaſed, much about this Time: *Nehemiah* was the laſt *Hiſtorian*, and *Malachi* the

(o) Eccleſ. xii. 13, 14. (p) Eccluſ. iv. 10. (q) Vid. *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part I. L. 5.
(r) Vid. *Walton*'s Prolog. 9. in Bib. Polyg.

the laſt *Prophet*, both Contemporaries with *Ezra*, and both aſſiſting to him in publiſhing this new Edition of the Scriptures; and therefore 'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe, after the *Race* of ſuch Writers was extinct, and *all Viſion and Prophecy ſealed up* among the *Jews*, that this was a proper Period for collecting the ſeveral *Copies*, and adjuſting the *Catalogue* of their Sacred Books.

What he did to make his Edition perfect.

BUT *Ezra* did more than this: *(s)* He not only *collected* all the Books, whereof the Holy Scriptures did conſiſt, and diſpoſed them in their proper Order; but, by comparing the ſeveral Copies together, he corrected all the Errors which had crept into them, thro' the Negligence or Miſtakes of *Tranſcribers*. He changed the *old Names* of ſeveral Places that were grown *obſolete*, and, inſtead of them, inſerted ſuch *new ones*, as the People were better acquainted with. He *filled up* the *Chaſms* of Hiſtory, and *added*, in ſeveral Places, throughout the Books of this Edition, what appeared to him to be neceſſary for the Illuſtration, Connection, and Completion of the Whole. And laſtly, he *wrote* every Book in the *Chaldee Character*, which, ſince the Time of the Captivity, the People underſtood much better than the *old Hebrew*. But whether, upon this Review, he added the *Vowel Points*, as they now are in our *Hebrew* Bibles, is a Queſtion a little too prolix and intricate, for us to engage in at preſent. Thoſe, who have a Mind to have their Curioſity, in this Reſpect, ſatisfied, may ſee the Arguments on both Sides fairly ſtated in the learned *(t) Connection*, we have had ſo frequent Occaſion to quote.

WHAT we have to obſerve farther is, that, in the ſeveral Corrections, Additions, and Alterations, which *Ezra* made, he did not proceed according to his own Humour and *Caprice*, but was directed by the ſame Spirit, which, at firſt, aſſiſted the Writers of theſe ſacred Volumes. For, beſides that Himſelf was a *(u)* Prophet, or (as he is ſtyled) *(a) a ready Scribe in the Law of* Moſes, we can hardly ſuppoſe, but that, in an Affair of ſuch Conſequence, he would not only uſe the beſt Skill he had himſelf, but conſult likewiſe with *Haggai*, *Zechary*, and *Malachi*, (the laſt of whom muſt needs have been alive in his Time, and poſſibly the other two) and do nothing without their Advice; becauſe, in Matters of much leſs Moment *(viz.* where ſome, who pretended to the Prieſthood, could not prove their *Pedigree)* we find him ſo very cautious, that he would determine nothing himſelf, but left the Matter undecided, *until a Prieſt ſhould ariſe, who (y) had Urim and Thummim*, whereby he might conſult the Divine Will upon all Occaſions.

And that the ſame Number of Books has deſcended *to us.*

THUS was the *Canon* of the *Old Teſtament* ſettled, in, or about, the Times of *Ezra:* And, that it continued in the ſame Manner or Order, until the Publication of the Goſpel, (beſides the Authority of ſeveral *Chriſtian* Writers) we have this remarkable Teſtimony from *(z) Joſephus*. " We have only two and twenty Books, *ſays he*, which, " comprehend the Hiſtory of all Ages, and merit our Belief: Five belong to *Moſes*, " which contain what relates to the Origin of Man, and the Tradition of the ſeveral " Succeſſions and Generations, down to his Death.—From the Death of *Moſes*, to " the Reign of *Artaxerxes* (who was King of *Perſia* after *Xerxes)*. The Prophets, " who ſucceeded him, have, in their Books, written what happened in their Time. " The other Books contain *Hymns* to the Praiſe of God, and *Precepts* for the Conduct " of human Life. What happened ſince the Time of *Artaxerxes*, down to our Days, " has likewiſe been recorded by the Writers thereof, but they have not met with the " like Credit, becauſe there has not been any certain Succeſſion of Prophets, during " that Time. And from hence, *ſays he*, it is manifeſt, what Reſpect and Eſtimation " has

(s) Vid. *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part I. Lib. V.

(t) Part I. Lib. V. p. 497. *(u)* The *Jews* look upon *Ezra* as another *Moſes*; they call him the ſecond Founder of the Law, and hold his Perſon in ſo great Eſteem and Veneration, that it is a common Saying among their Writers, If the Law had not been given by *Moſes*, *Ezra* was worthy to have been the Publiſher of it. *Lewis*, *Antiq. Heb. Lib. VIII.* *(x)* Ezra vii. 6.

(y) Chap. ii. 62, 63. *(z)* Contra Apion.

" has been paid to the Books, which compleat our *Canon*; ſince, in ſo long a Tract of " Time, no Man has ventured either to *add* any Thing to them, or *diminiſh*, or *alter*, " any Thing in them; ſince the *Jews* from their Infancy are accuſtomed to call them " *Divine Inſtitutions*, to believe them ſtedfaſtly, and, upon Occaſion, to lay down " their Lives in Defence of them."

THAT the ſame Number of *Authentic* Books has been tranſmitted to us, we may plainly perceive, if we will but turn to the ſeveral *Catalogues*, which the Fathers, in their Writings, have left us of them, which the *Council* of *Laodicea* enumerates, and ſundry general *Councils* afterwards confirm. And though, in Proceſs of Time, ſeveral *Apocryphal* Books (as containing Matters of *Jewiſh* Hiſtory, and many *moral* Precepts) were, by Degrees, admitted into the Service of the *Church*, and publickly read for the Inſtruction of the People; yet it would be no hard Matter to ſhew, that ſome of the *beſt* and moſt *learned* Writers of their Times always denied their *Canonical* Authority. *The Church indeed allowed them to be read* (as St. *Jerome* tells us) *but ſhe did not receive them into the Canon of Scripture*; and, in like Manner, our Church declares concerning them, that ſhe *doth read them for Example of Life, and Inſtruction of Manners, but does not apply them to eſtabliſh any Doctrine.* So that, tho' ſome of theſe be confeſſedly *ſpurious*, and, accordingly, have been rejected by the Wiſdom of the Church; yet this can be made no Argument againſt *ſuch*, as have been univerſally received, and handed down by unanimous, conſtant *Tradition.*

Apocryphal *Books rejected.*

An Objection.

" *BUT, though we have been careful to receive* no more *Books than what are ſtrictly* " Canonical, *yet how ſhall we ſatisfy ourſelves that we have received them* all? *In ſeveral* " *Parts of Scripture we find Books referred to, ſuch as* the Book of the Covenant, the " Book of the Wars of the Lord, the Book of Aſher, the Book of the Acts of Solo- " mon, *&c. none of which are now* extant; *and, therefore, as we ſuppoſe them* loſt, *we* " *cannot but infer, that our preſent* Canon *of Scripture is very lame and imperfect.*"

Anſwered, by ſhewing that none of the Canonical Books are loſt.

WHAT has given Credit to this *Objection*, is the common Notion, that the Books, here ſuppoſed to be loſt, were Volumes of ſome Size, and all indited by the Spirit of God; whereas we may obſerve, 1ſt, That the Word *Sepher*, which we render *Book*, ſignifies properly a bare *Rehearſal* of any Thing, or any Kind of Writing, be it ever ſo ſmall; and that the Cuſtom of the *Jews* was to call every little *Memorandum* by that Name: For what we tranſlate *a Bill of Divorcement*, is, *(a)* in the *Original*, a *Book* of *Divorcement*, and the ſhort Account of our Saviour's *Genealogy* is *(b) the Book of the Generation of* Jeſus Chriſt. 2dly, That ſeveral of theſe Tracts, which are not now extant, were written, not by Perſons pretending to any ſupernatural Aſſiſtance, but by ſuch *(c)* as were ſtyled *Recorders*, or *Writers* of *Chronicles*, (as it is in the Margin) an Office of great Honour and Truſt, but of a different Kind to that of *Prophets*. 3dly, That, ſuppoſing they were indited by ſuch, as were properly Prophets, yet they were not written by Divine Inſpiration; " for Prophets (as *(d)* St. *Auſtin* obſerves) did not " at all Times write under the Guidance and Direction of the *Holy Ghoſt*. In the *Fun-* " *damentals* of Religion, indeed, they were divinely aſſiſted; but, in other Matters, " they only wrote as faithful *Hiſtorians.*" And, 4thly, That moſt of theſe Pieces *(e)* are ſtill remaining in the Scriptures, though they go under other *Appellations*; and that ſuch, as are not to be found there, were never deſigned for religious Inſtruction, nor are they eſſential to Man's Salvation. And now to apply theſe Obſervations to the Books we imagine to be loſt.

THE *Book of the Covenant*, which is mentioned in *Exod.* xxiv. 7. and thought to be miſſing, is not any diſtinct Book from *the Body of the* Jewiſh *Laws.* For, whoever impartially

(a) Deut. xxiv. 1. *(b)* Matth. i. 1. *(c)* 2 Sam. viii. 16. 2 Kings xviii. 18. 2 Chron. xxix. 8.
(d) De Civit. Dei, Lib. xviii. Cap. xxxviii.
(e) Vid. *Edwards*'s Perfection of the Holy Scripture; and *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs of the Chriſtian Religion, Vol. II.

impartially examines that Paſſage in *Exodus*, will find, that the Book referred to is nothing elſe but a *Collection* of ſuch Injunctions and Exhortations, as are expreſsly laid down in the *four* preceding Chapters.

THE *Book of the Wars of the Lord*, cited in *Numb.* xx. 14. and ſuppoſed to be wanting, is (in the Opinion *(f)* of a very able Judge) that very *Record*, which, upon the Defeat of the *Amalekites*, God commanded *Moſes* to make, as a *Memorial* of it, and *to rehearſe it in the Ears of* Joſhua. So that it ſeems to be no more than a ſhort Account of that Victory, together with ſome proper Directions for *Joſhua*'s private Uſe and Conduct, in the Management of the ſubſequent War, but not at all dictated by *Divine* Inſpiration, and conſequently no *(g) Canonical* Scripture.

THE *Book of Jaſher*, mentioned in *Joſh.* x. 13. is ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſame with the Book of *Judges*, becauſe we find Mention therein of the *Sun's ſtanding ſtill:* But the Conjecture of the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian *(h)* ſeems to be better founded, *viz.* that it was compoſed of certain *Records*, (kept in a ſafe Place at that Time, and afterwards removed into the Temple) which gave an Account of what happened to the *Jews* from Year to Year, and particularly of the *Sun's ſtanding ſtill*; and (as it is in 2 *Sam.* i. 18.) Directions for the *Uſe of the Bow*, i. e. for ſetting up of *Archery*, and maintaining military Exerciſes. So that this was not the Work of an inſpired Perſon, but of ſome common *Hiſtoriographer*, who wrote the *Annals* of his own Time, and might therefore deſerve the Name of *Jaſher*, the *Upright*; becauſe what he wrote was generally deem'd a true and *authentic* Account of all the Events and Occurrences which then happen'd.

ONCE more, the ſeveral *Books of Solomon*, mention'd in 1 *Kings* iv. 32, 33. were no Part of *Canonical* Scripture. His *three thouſand Proverbs* were, perhaps, only *ſpoken*, not written down. His *Songs*, which were *a thouſand and five*, and whereof we have but one, were very likely his *juvenile* Compoſitions; and his *univerſal* Hiſtory of *Vegetables*, and that of *Animals of all Kinds*, as properly belonged to *Philoſophy*. It was not neceſſary for every one to be acquainted with them: And tho' the Loſs of them (conſidering the matchleſs Meaſure of Wiſdom, wherewith God had endowed their Author) is certainly very great, yet it is a Loſs which none, but the buſy Searchers into Nature have Cauſe to bewail: Nor have they ſo much Cauſe either, if the Conjectures of ſome learned Men ſhould prove true, *viz.* that theſe Books of *Plants* and *Animals* were extant in the Days of *Alexander the Great*; or that, being perus'd, and underſtood by *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus*, by the Help of an Interpreter, they were tranſlated into their Writings, in the Manner we now find them, and, in Proceſs of Time, gained them great Honour and Renown. Upon the Whole therefore we may conclude, that, if any Books ſeem to be wanting in our preſent *Catalogue*, they are either ſuch as lie ſecret, and unobſerved under other *Denominations*; or ſuch as had never the Title of being *Canonical*; as contained no Points eſſential to Man's Salvation; and ſuch, conſequently, as we may live ſafely ignorant of here, and ſhall never be reſponſible for hereafter.

An Objection.

" *BUT ſuppoſe we have the* whole Number *of our Books, yet we are ſtill at a Loſs* " *for the true* Senſe *of them; becauſe, ſince the Time of their firſt recording, they have* " *been ſo chopp'd and chang'd by the Management of thoſe who had the Cuſtody of them;* " *ſo foiſted with Errors, and loaded with* various Readings, *that they render the Text* " purely *precarious, and make every wiſe Man doubtful and ſuſpicious, whether any*

(f) Dr. *Lightfoot*'s Chronology of the Times of the Old Teſtament. *(g)* Others are of Opinion, that the Book here under Conſideration is no other than the Book of *Judges*, which may properly enough be called *the Book of the Wars of the Lord*; becauſe it recounts the warlike Enterprizes which thoſe brave Men, who were ſtirred by God in an extraordinary Manner, were ſo famous for, or (to expreſs the Remarkableneſs of the Thing) *The Wars of the Lord* may ſignify as much, as the *great, wonderful*, and *renowned* Wars fought by the valiant *Hebrews*. *Lewis, Antiq. Heb. Lib. VIII.* *(h)* Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. V. Cap. II.

" *Thing of* Certainty *can be gathered from a Book, where the* Senſe *and* Phraſeology " *is ſo very uncertain.*"

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing the Occaſion, *and* Benefit *of* various Readings.

WE readily grant indeed, that there is a great Variety of different Readings, occurring in the Books of the *Old Teſtament*; but, as in a Multitude of *Copies*, this is a Thing unavoidable, ſo it is one of the moſt effectual Means, at this Diſtance of Time from all *Originals*, to help us to the true *Senſe* and *Meaning* of the Text. For, put the Caſe, that we had but one Copy of the *Bible* by us, yet methinks, it would be a deſirable Thing to have another; for *(i)* another, to join with the firſt, would give us more *Authority*, as well as *Security*. Now chuſe that *Second* where you will, there ſhall be numberleſs Variations from the *Firſt*, and yet half, or more, of the Faults remain in them both. A *Third* therefore, and a *Fourth*, and ſo on, are deſirable, that, by a joint and mutual Help, all the Faults may be mended: And yet, the more Copies you call to your Aſſiſtance, the more do the *various Readings* multiply upon you; becauſe every Copy has its particular *Slips*, tho', in a principal Paſſage or two, it may do ſingular Service. Were the *Originals* indeed ſtill in Being, they would ſuperſede the Uſe of all other Copies; but, ſince that is impoſſible from the Nature of Things, ſince Time and Calamities muſt conſume all, the *ſubſidiary* Help muſt be from the various *Tranſcripts* convey'd down to us, when compared and examined together: And no one can be ignorant how much a *Collation* of this Kind tends, both to illuſtrate the Senſe of any *particular* Paſſage, and to ſtrengthen the Authority of the *Whole*.

CONSIDERING then, that, before the Uſe of *Printing*, more *Manuſcripts* were made of the *Holy Bible*, than of any *Heathen Author* whatever; and that theſe Manuſcripts have been examin'd with more Care, and collated with more Exactneſs, and the various Readings ſet down, even to the moſt minute Difference; we are not to wonder, if, with all this ſcrupulous Search and Enquiry, the *Variations* are ſo many. The Editors of profane Authors do not uſe to trouble their Readers with an uſeleſs Liſt of every little Slip, committed by a lazy, or ignorant *Scribe*. What is thought *commendable* in an Edition of the Scriptures, and has the Name of *Fairneſs* and *Fidelity*, would be deemed *trifling* and *impertinent* in them: But, if the like *Scrupulouſneſs* were obſerved, in regiſtering the ſmalleſt Changes in *Profane*, as is allowed, nay required, in *Sacred Authors*, the Number of their Variations would riſe, at leaſt, to a full *Equality*.

WE ought to account it therefore a ſingular Inſtance of God's good Providence, conſidering the great *Antiquity* of many Books of the Scriptures, beyond that of any other Books in the World; the Multitude of *Copies* that have been taken in all Ages and Nations; the Difficulty to avoid Miſtakes, in tranſcribing Books in a Language, which has ſo many of it's *Letters*, and of it's *Words* too, ſo like one another; the Defect of the *Hebrew Vowels*, and the late Invention (as moſt are now agreed) of the *Points*; the Change of the *Samaritan*, or antient *Hebrew* for the preſent *Hebrew*, or *Chaldee* Character; the Captivity of the whole Nation of the *Jews* for ſeventy Years; and the *Mixtures* and *Changes*, which, during that Time, were brought into their Language; conſidering, I ſay, that all the Accidents, which have ever happened to create Errors and Miſtakes in any Book, have concurred to occaſion them in the *Old Teſtament*; we ought to eſteem it a particular Inſtance of God's Providence, that the different Readings are fewer, and make much leſs Alteration in the Senſe, than thoſe of any Book of the ſame *Bigneſs*, and of any Note, or *Antiquity*, if all the *Copies* ſhould be as carefully examined, and every little Variation as punctually ſet down, as thoſe of the Holy Scriptures have been. And much more are we to bleſs the Divine Providence, that, whatever Differences are to be found in the ſeveral Copies of the *Bible*, they do not, in the leaſt, prejudice the *Fundamental* Points of Religion, nor weaken the *Authority* of the Sacred Records. For this is the Judgment of one, *(k)* who had ſtudied the Subject much, and

(i) Phileleuth. Lipſ. *Anſwer to a Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking.* *(k)* Lud. Cappel. Critic. Sac. Lib. 6. Cap. 2.

and was ſufficiently verſed in Scripture *Criticiſm*; *viz.* "That the Things, relating "either to *Faith* or *Practice*, are plainly contain'd in all Copies whatever. Difference "there is indeed in leſſer Things, as in Matters of *Chronology*, which depend upon the "Alteration, or Omiſſion, or Addition of a Letter; or in the Names of Men, or of "Cities or Countries; but the principal Doctrines of Religion are ſo diſperſed through-"out the Scriptures, that they can receive no Damage, or Alteration, unleſs the Whole "ſhould be changed, or very groſsly corrupted."

And that the Text was never alter'd, or corrupted.

FOR, beſides this *Providential* Care (which we may well ſuppoſe to go along with Writings of ſo divine a Character) we find God making all proper and prudent Proviſion for their *Preſervation*, by inſerting a particular, and ſtrict Prohibition in the Law itſelf, *(l) That no one ſhould preſume to add unto, or diminiſh ought from it*; by enjoining the People to make it their conſtant Study, *(m) to bind it*, as it were, *for a Sign upon their Hands, and as Frontlets between their Eyes, and to write it upon the Gates, and Poſts of their Houſes*; and by requiring them to read it diligently, both in private to their Families, and, after a more ſolemn Manner, in their public Congregations. All which could not but make them competent Judges of the Law of *Moſes*, and enable them to deſcry any Change, or material Corruption, which ſhould, at any Time, attempt to inſinuate itſelf.

To ſecure the other inſpired Writings, a continued Succeſſion of Prophets was of great Service: And it ſeems next to impoſſible for any dangerous Alteration to have been made, without Detection and Cenſure, ſo long as that *Order* of Men, whoſe Office and Zeal led them to correct any *Error* in *Faith*, as well as *Corruption* in *Practice*, was in Being. Nor can we ſuppoſe it probable, that any Perſon would attempt ſuch Alterations, where the *Copies* were in ſo many Hands, and ſo openly read and conſulted, that there was ſcarce any private Perſon, who might not have known (if any ſuch Thing had happened) when, and wherein, they had been *corrupted*.

NAY, ſo far were the *Jews* from ſuffering Corruptions to creep into the Holy Scriptures, that, *(n)* if but *one Word* happened to be altered in any Copy, it was to be laid aſide, as utterly uſeleſs; unleſs it was ſometimes given to a very poor Man, to read to his Family, upon Condition, that he brought it not with him to the *Synagogue*, nor made any other Uſe of it. The religious *Factions* among the *Jews* were many Times very violent; but we no where find any *Party* accuſing the other of *corrupting*, or falſifying Scripture; nor does our *Saviour* himſelf, who ſo frequently reproves the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* for their *Traditions*, and falſe *Gloſſes*, ever once charge them with *adulterating* the Text itſelf; which he certainly would not have failed to do, had they been culpable in that Reſpect. On the contrary, both he, and the Apoſtles appeal to it, as true and *authentic*, and borrow their Proofs from it, in Confirmation of the *Chriſtian* Faith and Doctrine. To conclude this Argument then,

THAT from the Time of *Ezra*, to the Coming of our Saviour Chriſt, the *Jews* did not corrupt the Text of the *Sacred* Writings, is plain from his not charging them with any ſuch Practice, which doubtleſs he would have done (as well as reprove their *falſe Comments* upon them) had they been equally guilty of both: And that, ſince the Beginning of *Chriſtianity*, neither they, nor any other Sect whatever, could poſſibly make any *Falſifications*, and either *add*, or *diminiſh* any Thing material, without an immediate Detection, is manifeſt from the Multitude of true and *authentic* Copies, which were every where diſperſed, as far as Chriſtianity prevail'd, and from that *jealous* and *vigilant* Eye, which each Party had upon the other: So that we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that all the little Errors, which may be remarked in them, proceeded, not from any ill Deſign, but merely from the *Ignorance*, or *Inattention* of their *Tranſcribers*; and indeed, (*o*) conſidering the many Ages, thro' which the Books have paſſed, we have much more

Reaſon

(l) Deut. iv. 2. *(m) Chap.* vi. 8, 9. *(n)* Vid. *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II. *(o)* Biſhop *Burnet* on the Articles.

Reaſon to wonder, that they are brought down to us ſo *entire*, and ſo manifeſtly *genuine*, in all their main and fundamental Points, than that we ſhould ſee ſome Inſtances of human Frailty in thoſe, who copied, and preſerved them.

An Objection. " *BUT be the Books ever ſo* genuine, *and their* Tradition *ever ſo* certain, *yet we* " *cannot ſuppoſe them wrote by Perſons* divinely inſpir'd, *ſo long as we ſee in them certain* " *Characters inconſiſtent with ſuch a Suppoſition. Surely the pureſt Language, the* " *moſt perfect Style, the greateſt Clearneſs, the moſt exact Method, the ſoundeſt Reaſon-* " *ing, the moſt apparent Conſiſtency, and, in a Word, all the Excellencies of good Wri-* " *ting, might be expected in a Piece, compoſed, or dictated by the Spirit of God; but* " *Books, wherein we find the* Reverſe *of all this, 'tis idle, if not impious, to aſcribe to the* " *Deity.*"

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing that Tranſlations *are defective.* I. ONE great *Miſtake*, which the Generality of Readers run into, is, to judge of the Compoſition of the Scripture, not from it's *Original*, but from it's *Tranſlations*. For, *(p)* beſides that in antient Writings (ſuch as the *Bible* is) there are Alluſions to many Rites and Cuſtoms that are now laid aſide, and, for this Reaſon, muſt needs ſeem flat or impertinent, which, when they were in Uſe, had a great deal of Spirit and Propriety in them; and beſides that the *Hebrew*, in particular, is a Language of a peculiar Caſt, both in the *Contexture* of its Words, and the *Cadence* of it's Periods, and contains certain Expreſſions, whoſe *Emphaſis* can no more be tranſlated into another Language, than the *Water* of a Diamond can be painted, without detracting from the Original: Beſides all this, I ſay, the *Tranſlators* themſelves, ſometimes by running into Miſtakes, and, at all Times, by *adhering* too religiouſly to the Letter of the Text, have contributed not a little to make the Style of the Sacred Writings appear leſs advantageous. For, whereas other Tranſlators have taken a Liberty to accommodate the *Beauties* of the Language, whereinto they tranſlate, to the *Idiotiſms* of that, wherein their Author wrote; *theſe* have thought themſelves reſtrained from uſing ſuch Freedom in a Divine Compoſition, and have therefore left ſeveral *Hebraic* and other foreign Phraſes in their Verſion, which ſeem a little *uncouth*, and give the Reader (who can look no farther) a very odd Notion of the *Original:* Tho' it is certainly manifeſt, that the moſt elegant Piece of *Oratory* that ever was framed, if we render it *literally*, and not give it the true *Genius* of the Language whereunto we are admitting it, will loſe all it's Beauty, and appear with the ſame Diſadvantage.

That Eloquence is not peculiar *to any Country.* II. ANOTHER *Miſtake* that we run into, is, when we confine Eloquence to any *Nation*, and account *That* the only Proof of it, which is accommodated to the *preſent Taſte*. We indeed, in theſe *European* Countries, whoſe Languages, in a great Meaſure, are derived from *Greek* and *Latin*, make them the *Patterns* for our Imitation, and account them the *Standard* of Perfection; but there is no Reaſon why the *Eaſtern Nations*, whoſe Languages have no *Affinity* with *them*, ſhould do the ſame; much leſs is it reaſonable to expect it in Writers, who lived long before theſe *Greek* or *Latin* Authors (we ſo much admire) were born. 'Tis ſufficient for them, that they wrote according to the *faſhionable* and *eſteemed* Eloquence of their own Times: But, that the *Holy Ghoſt* ſhould inſpire them with certain Schemes of Speech, adapted to the *modern* Taſte, and ſuch as were utterly unknown in the Countries where they lived, is a Thing, that can never enter into any ſober Man's Conſideration. The Truth is, ſince *Moſes* was *bred up* in all the refined Learning and Wiſdom of the *Egyptians*; ſince *Solomon* was excellent in all Kinds of Knowledge, and, in a Manner, *idoliz'd* by the *Eaſtern* World; and ſince *Daniel*'s promiſing Youth was improved by the Learning of the *Chaldean* Sages, we have all the Reaſon imaginable to believe, that they wrote according to the Perfection of Style, which was then in Uſe; that, tho' their Eloquence differs from ours, yet it is excellent in its kind: and that, if we have other Notions of it, 'tis only becauſe we

(p) Vid. *Boyle* of the Style of the Scripture, and *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I.

we are unacquainted with thoſe bold *Allegories*, and figurative Ways of Diſcourſe; thoſe dark *Sentences*, ſurpriſing *Brevities*, and inconnected *Tranſitions*, wherein the Nature of their true *Sublime* did conſiſt.

III. ANOTHER *Miſtake* we run into is, when we ſuppoſe that the *Critical* Rules of Eloquence are any Ways neceſſary in *Divine* Compoſitions. The Deſign of God, in recording his Laws, was to inform our Underſtandings, to cure our Paſſions and rectify our Wills; and, if this End be but attain'd, 'tis no great Matter, in what Form of Diction the *Preſcription* be given. We never expect that a *Phyſician's Receipt* ſhould be wrote in a *Ciceronian* Style: And, if a Lawyer has made us a firm *Conveyance* of an Eſtate, we never enquire what Elegancies there are in the Writing. — When therefore God intends to do for us far greater Things than theſe; when he is delivering the Terms of our Salvation, and preſcribing the Rule of our Duty; why ſhould we expect, that he ſhould inſiſt on the Niceties of Style and Expreſſion, and not rather account it a *Diminution* of his Authority, to be elaborate in *Triſles*, when he has the momentous Iſſues of another Life to command our Attention, and affect our Paſſions? In ſome of the greateſt Works of Nature, God has not confin'd himſelf to any ſuch Order and Exactneſs. *(q)* The *Stars*, we ſee, are not caſt into *regular* Figures: *Lakes* and *Rivers* are not bounded by *ſtraight* Lines; nor are *Hills* and *Mountains* exact *Cones* or *Pyramids*. When a mighty Prince declares his Will by Laws and Edicts to his Subjects, is he (do we think) careful at all about a pure Style, or elegant Compoſition? Is not the Phraſe thought proper enough, if it conveys as much as was intended? And would not the fine Strains of ſome modern Critics be thought *Pedantic* and affected on ſuch Occaſions? Why then ſhould we expect in the *Oracles* of God an Exactneſs, that would be *(r)* unbecoming, and beneath the Dignity of an Earthly *Monarch*, and which bears no Proportion, or Reſemblance to the magnificent Works of the Creation? A ſtrict Obſervation of the Rules of *Grammar* and *Rhetoric*, in elegant *Expreſſions*, harmonious *Periods*, and *Technical Definitions* and *Partitions*, may gratify indeed ſome Readers, but then it muſt be granted, that theſe Things have the Air of *Human* Contrivance in them; whereas in the ſimple, unaffected, artleſs, unequal, bold, figurative Style of the Holy Scriptures, there is a *Character* ſingularly great and *Majeſtic*, and what looks more like Divine Inſpiration, than any other Form of Compoſition.

Nor neceſſary *in a* Divine *Compoſition.*

THESE Obſervations being premiſed, if we ſhould now conſider the Nature of *Eloquence* in general, as it is defin'd by *(s) Ariſtotle*, to be a *Faculty of Perſuaſion*, which *Cicero* makes to conſiſt in three Things, *inſtructing*, *delighting*, and *moving* our Reader's or Hearer's Mind, we ſhall find, that the Holy Scriptures have a fair Claim to theſe ſeveral Properties.

The Style of Scripture inſtructive, *and* affecting.

FOR, where can we meet with ſuch a *plain* Repreſentation of Things, *in Point of Hiſtory*, and ſuch *cogent* Arguments, *in Point of Precept*, as this one Volume furniſhes us with? Where is there an *Hiſtory* written more ſimply and naturally, and at the ſame Time more nobly and loftily, than that of the Creation of the World? Where are the great Leſſons of *Morality* taught with ſuch Force and Perſpicuity (except in the *Sermons* of Chriſt, and the Writings of the *Apoſtles)* as in the Book of *Deuteronomy*? Where is the whole Compaſs of Devotion, in the ſeveral Forms of *Confeſſion*, *Petition*, *Supplication*, *Thankſgiving*, *Vows*, and *Praiſes*, ſo punctually taught us, as in the Book of *Pſalms*? Where are the Rules of *Wiſdom* and *Prudence* ſo convincingly laid down, as in the *Proverbs of Solomon*, and the choice Sentences of his *Eccleſiaſtes*? Where is Vice and Impiety of all Kinds more juſtly diſplay'd, and more fully confuted, than in the Threats, and Admonitions of the *Prophets*? And what do the little Warmths, which

(q) Vid. The Minute Philoſopher, *Dialogue* IV.

(r) Cujuſcunque orationem videris ſollicitam & politam, ſcito animum quoque non minus eſſe puſillis occupatum. Magnus remiſſiùs loquitur, & ſecuriùs. Quæcunque dicit plus habent *fiduciæ*, quam *curæ*. Sen. Epiſt. 115.

(s) Rhet. L. 1. c. 2.

may be rais'd in the Fancy by an artificial Compoſure, and Vehemence of Style ſignify in Compariſon of thoſe ſtrong Impulſes, and Movements, which the Holy Scriptures make upon good Mens Souls, when they repreſent the frightful *Juſtice* of an angry God to ſtubborn *Offenders*, and the Bowels of his *Compaſſion*, and unſpeakable *Kindneſs* to all true *Penitents*, and faithful Servants?

THE Holy Scripture, indeed, has none of thoſe *flaſhy* Ornaments of Speech, wherewith human Compoſitions ſo plentifully abound; but then it has a ſufficient Stock of *real*, and peculiar Beauties to recommend it. To give one Inſtance for all, out of the Hiſtory of *Joſeph*, and his Family: The whole Relation, indeed, is extremely *natural*; but the Manner of his diſcovering himſelf to his Brethren is inimitable. *(t) And* Joſeph *could no longer refrain himſelf—but, lifting up his Voice with Tears, ſaid—I am* Joſeph—*Doth my Father yet live? And his Brethren could not anſwer him; for they were troubled at his Preſence. And* Joſeph *ſaid to his Brethren, come near me, I pray you: and they came near, and he ſaid, I am* Joſeph—*your Brother—whom ye ſold into* Egypt. Nothing certainly can be a more lively Deſcription of *Joſeph*'s tender Reſpect for his Father, and Love for his Brethren. And, in like Manner, when his Brethren returned, and told their Father in what Splendor and Glory his Son *Joſeph* lived, 'tis ſaid, that *(u)* Jacob's *Heart fainted, for he believed them not*; but *when he ſaw the Waggons, which* Joſeph *had ſent for him, the Spirit of* Jacob, *their Father reviv'd: and* Iſrael *ſaid, it is enough*—Joſeph *my Son is yet alive.—I will go—and ſee him, before I die.* Here is ſuch a *Contraſt* of different Paſſions, of utter *Deſpondency*, dawning *Hope*, confirmed *Faith*, triumphant *Joy*, and paternal *Affection*, as no *Orator* in the World could expreſs more *movingly*, in a more eaſy Manner, or ſhorter Compaſs of Words.

Figurative *and* lofty *ſometimes.*

NAY more, had I Leiſure to gratify the *Curious*, I might eaſily ſhew, that thoſe very *Figures*, and *Schemes* of Speech, which are ſo much admired in *Profane* Authors, as their great *Beauties* and *Ornaments*, are no where more conſpicuous than in the *Sacred*.

ONE *Figure*, for Inſtance, eſteem'd very florid among the Maſters of Art, is, when all the Members of a *Period* begin with the ſame Word. The *Figure* is called *Anaphora*; and yet (if I miſtake not) the 15th *Pſalm* affords us a very beautiful Paſſage of this Kind. *Lord, who ſhall abide in thy Tabernacle? Who ſhall dwell in thy holy Hill?* He, *that walketh uprightly*; he, *that backbiteth not with his Tongue*; he, *that maketh much of them that fear the Lord*; he, *that ſweareth to his Hurt, and changeth not*; he, *that putteth not out his Money to Uſury, nor taketh Reward againſt the Innocent*; he, *that does theſe Things ſhall never be moved.*

THE ancient *Orators* took a great deal of Pride in ranging finely their *Antitheta*. *Cicero* is full of this, and uſes it many Times to a Degree of Affectation; and yet I cannot find any Place, wherein he has ſurpaſſed that Paſſage of the Prophet. *(x) He that* killeth an Ox, *is as if he had* ſlew a Man; *he that* ſacrificeth a Lamb, *as if he* cut off a Dog's Neck; *he that offereth an* Oblation, *as if he offer'd* Swine's Blood. But above all other Figures, that whereon Poets and Orators love chiefly to dwell, is the *Hypotheſis*, or lively Deſcription; and yet we ſhall hardly find, in the beſt *claſſic* Authors, any Thing comparable, in this Regard, to the *Egyptian* Deſtruction in the *Red-Sea*, related *(y)* in the Song of *Moſes* and *Miriam*; to the Deſcription of the *Leviathan (z)* in *Job*; to the *Deſcent* of God, *and a Storm at Sea (a)* in the *Pſalmiſt*; to the Intrigues of an *adulterous* Woman *(b)* in the *Proverbs*; to the Pride of the *Jewiſh* Ladies *(c)* in *Iſaiah*; and to the Plague of *Locuſts (d)* in *Joel*; which is repreſented like the ravaging of a Country, and ſtorming a City by an Army: *A Fire devoureth before them, and*

(t) Gen. xlv. 1, &c. *(u)* Ver. 26, &c. *(x)* Iſa. lxvi. 3. *(y)* Exod. xv. *(z)* Chap. xli.
(a) Pſal. xviii. 17. *(b)* Ch. vii. *(c)* Ch. iv. *(d)* Ch. i.

and behind them a deſolate Wilderneſs, and nothing ſhall eſcape them—Before their Face People ſhall be pain'd; all Faces ſhall gather Blackneſs. They ſhall run like mighty Men; they ſhall climb the Wall like Men of War; they ſhall march every one in his Way, and they ſhall not break their Ranks——They ſhall run to and fro in the City; they ſhall run upon the Wall; they ſhall climb up upon the Houſes; they ſhall enter into the Windows as a Thief.——The Deſcription is more remarkable, becauſe the *Analogy* is carried quite throughout without ſtraining, and the whole Proceſſes of a conquering *Army*, in the Manner of their *March*, their deſtroying the Proviſion, and *burning* the Country, in their ſcaling the Walls, breaking into Houſes, and *running* about the vanquiſh'd City, are fully delineated, and ſet before our Eyes.

FROM theſe few Examples (for it would be endleſs to proceed in Inſtances of this kind) it appears, that the *Holy Bible* is far from being defective in Point of Eloquence; and (what is a peculiar Commendation of it) it's Style is full of a grateful Variety; ſometimes *Majeſtic*, as becomes *that high and holy One, who inhabiteth Eternity*; ſometimes ſo *low*, as to anſwer the other Part of his Character, *who dwelleth with Him, that is of an humble Spirit*; and at all Times, ſo *proper*, and adapted ſo well to the ſeveral Subjects it treats of, that, *(e)* whoever conſiders it attentively, will perceive, in the *narrative Parts* of it, a Strain ſo *ſimple* and *unaffected*; in the *Prophetic* and *Devotional*, ſomething ſo *animated* and *ſublime*; and in the *Doctrinal* and *Preceptive*, ſuch an Air of *Dignity* and *Authority*, as ſeems to ſpeak it's Original *Divine*. *At all Times* proper.

WE allow indeed, that *Method* is an excellent Art, highly conducive to the Clearneſs and Perſpicuity of Diſcourſe; but then we affirm, that it is an Art of *modern* Invention, in Compariſon to the Times when the Sacred *Penmen* wrote; and *incompatible* with the *Manner* of Writing, which was then in Vogue. We indeed in *Europe*, who, in this Matter, have taken our *Examples* from *Greece*, can hardly read any Thing with Pleaſure that is not digeſted into Order, and ſorted under proper Heads; but the *Eaſtern* Nations, who were uſed to a free Way of Diſcourſe, and never cramp'd their Notions by *methodical* Limitations, would have deſpiſed a Compoſition of this Kind; as much as we do a School-boy's *Theme*, with all the Formalities of it's *Exordium's*, *Ratio's*, and *Confirmatio's*. And, if this was no *Precedent* for other Nations, much leſs can we think that God Almighty's Methods ought to be confined to human Laws, which, being deſign'd for the Narrowneſs of *our* Conceptions, might be improper and injurious to *his*, whoſe *Thoughts* are ſo far *above our's, as the Heavens are higher than the Earth.* *Method*, a modern *Invention.*

THE Truth is, *(f) Inſpiration* is, in ſome Meaſure, the Language of another World, and carries in it the *Reaſoning* of Spirits, which, without Controverſy, is vaſtly different from our's. We indeed, to make Things lie plain before our Underſtandings, are forc'd to *ſort* them out into diſtinct *Partitions*, and conſider them by little and little, that ſo at laſt, by gradual Advances, we may come to a tolerable Conception of them; but this is no Argument for us to think that *pure Spirits* do reaſon after this Manner. Their Underſtandings are quick and *intuitive:* they ſee the whole Compaſs of *rational Inferences* at once; and have no Need of thoſe little *methodical* Diſtinctions, which oftentimes help the Imperfection of our *Intellects*. Now, though we do not aſſert, that the Language of the Holy Scriptures is an exact Copy of the Reaſoning of the *Spiritual* World; yet, ſince *they came by the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt*, it is but reaſonable to expect, that they ſhould preſerve ſome ſmall *Reliſh* of it; as Books, *tranſlated* into another Tongue, always retain ſome Marks of their *Originals*. And hence it comes to paſs, that, tho' the *Holy Ghoſt* does vouchſafe to ſpeak in the Language of Men, yet, in his Divine Compoſitions, there are ſome Traces to be found of that bold, and unlimited *Ratiocination*, which is peculiar to the heavenly Inhabitants, whoſe noble and *flaming* Thoughts are never clogg'd with the *cold* and *jejune* Laws of human Method. *And* not ſo proper *in Divine Compoſitions.*

To

(e) The Minute Philoſopher, *Dial.* IV. *(f) Nicholls's* Conference with a Theiſt, Vol. I.

To which Purpoſe we may obſerve, that, even among the *Heathens*, whenever their Authors repreſent a Perſon inſpired, a *Sibyl*, a *Caſſandra*, or a *Tireſias*, they never introduce him making a ſet, *formal* Speech; but always ſaying ſomething noble and ſublime, which diſdains all ordinary, *artificial* Fetters. And if the greateſt Maſters of *polite* Writing thought it proper to neglect all Rules and Reſtraints, in Compoſitions of *pretended* Inſpiration, why ſhould *That* be accounted *culpable* in the *Holy Scriptures*, which is held ſo *exquiſite* in *Sophocles*, or any other lofty *Tragedian?*

Though, in many Caſes, the Scriptures obſerve it.

BUT after all, the Holy Scriptures (as far as can be expected) are not deſtitute of *Method*. They are not indeed wrote upon the Plan of ſome *Greek* and *Latin* Compoſitions; but they are deliver'd in ſuch a Manner, as is *eaſy* to be underſtood, *not unpleaſant* to read, and, to thoſe who are accuſtom'd to *Oriental* Compoſitions, exceedingly *beautiful*. For, where can we find a more *methodical Hiſtory*, than that of *Moſes*, beginning at the *firſt Creation* of all Things, and the *Formation* of human Kind; proceeding in the Account of their *Increaſe*, *Depravation*, and almoſt total Deſtruction by an univerſal *Deluge*; after their ſecond Increaſe, relating their *Relapſe* into Idolatry, and thereupon God's *electing* a *peculiar* People to ſerve him according to his own Appointment; and ſo recording the firſt *Original*, and various *Adventures* of their Progenitors; the *Afflictions* and *Wanderings* of that choſen Nation, and the *Polity* which they ſhould obſerve, when once they were ſettled in the *Promiſed Land?* Nothing can be more clear and regular than this: And as for the other *Hiſtorians*, who wrote the Tranſactions of the *Jewiſh* Nation from the *Conqueſt* of *Canaan* to the *Babyloniſh Captivity*, they are ſo exact in obſerving the *Order* and Series of Time, and in ſetting down the *Length* of each Prince's Reign, that they afford a better Foundation for *Hiſtorical* Truth, as well as *Chronological* Certainty, than is to be found in the beſt *Heathen* Writers of this Kind.

IT cannot be expected indeed, that *Pſalms* and *Hymns*, wrote upon ſundry Occaſions, or ſuch *Proverbs*, and wiſe *Axioms*, as took their Riſe from different Obſervations, and were noted down the Inſtant they were conceiv'd, ſhould have any Connection, or mutual Dependance. *Prophecies* too were to be looſe, and unconfined to Rule, as being the Language of a Spirit, which will admit of no Reſtraint; but, as for the *Doctrinal* and *Argumentative* Parts of the Scripture, they are digeſted in ſuch a Manner, as to make them plain and intelligible: And, tho' the *Partitions*, and *Tranſitions* of them are not ſo *formally* diſtinct as in ſome other Books, yet are they *perceivable* enough to an attentive Reader, and will receive great *Illuſtration* from the *Analytical* Works of ſome *Expoſitors*.

And why ſometimes not.

IT muſt not be diſſembled however, that the *Hebrew* Tongue (wherein a great Part of the *Bible* was written) has many *Words*, conſiſting of the *ſame Syllables*, and yet of very *different* Significations; and that it is defective in ſeveral *Moods* and *Tenſes*, which our *modern* Languages have: So that, if the *Tranſlator* has miſtaken the Signification of the *Word*, he ſpoils the Connection; or, if he has not given the *Verb* the right *Mood* and *Tenſe* (which, in a great Meaſure, he is obliged to gueſs at) there will be a plain *Incoherence* in the Senſe. Nor muſt it be forgot, that the preſent *Diviſion* of the Scripture into *Chapters* and *Verſes* (tho' of excellent Uſe to the Memory) has ſometimes *ſeparated* Things, which ſhould have been *united*, and ſometimes *united* Matters, that ſhould have been *ſeparated*; and this diſturbs the Senſe, and makes it look wild and incoherent, to ſuch as are not qualified to obſerve its *Propriety* and *Connection* in the *Original*.

The Cauſes *of ſome* Obſcurity *in the Scriptures.*

THESE are ſome of the Cauſes of the ſeeming *Irregularity*, and the like may be ſaid of the great *Obſcurity*, which ſome have complain'd of, in the Holy Scriptures; *viz.* that, where it is not occaſion'd by the *Subject-Matter*, which ſometimes contains *Myſteries* above all human Comprehenſion, ſometimes alludes to *Cuſtoms* and *Tranſactions*, which Length of Time has conceal'd from our Knowledge, it uſually happens, when

when the *Signification* of Words is *ambiguous* and uncertain in the *Original*; when there occur ſome particular *Idioms* of the *Hebrew Tongue*, not ſo familiar to us; when the *Conſtruction* is *intricate*, and the Words make different Senſes, according as they are differently join'd together; when the *Style* itſelf is obſcure, by reaſon of *Metaphors* and *Allegories*, which are uſual in the *poetical* Books; when the *Writer* paſſes from one Subject to another ſomewhat *abruptly*, which frequently happens in the *prophetical*; or, when he makes *Tranſpoſitions* in the Order of *Narration*, as is ſometimes perceivable in the *hiſtorical*. But theſe Caſes excepted, (which, with a little Study and Application of our own, as well as Attention to thoſe, who undertake the *Expoſition* of theſe Difficulties, may eaſily be remedied) that the Holy Scriptures are, in all *Points*, neceſſary to Salvation, and, to all *Perſons* of competent Underſtanding, ſufficiently *plain* and *intelligible*, the very Deſign of God's having them wrote, is a ſufficient *Demonſtration*. For, as the Deſign of all Writing is to convey our Thoughts intelligibly to others, ſo would it be a great Reflection upon the Divine Wiſdom, if a *Book*, written by God's Direction, and for the Inſtruction of Mankind, ſhould fall ſhort of that End, which even human Compoſitions ſeldom fail of.

Particularly in the Prophets.

WE cannot deny indeed, but that there is a great *Obſcurity* generally ſpread over the Writings of the *Prophets*; but then we affirm, that ſuch Obſcurity is *neceſſary* for wiſe Purpoſes, and *providential* Reaſons. For, as the Creator of the World governs it with Wiſdom, and (where the free Will of Man is concern'd) with great Condeſcenſion; had the *Holy Spirit* reveal'd to the *Prophets* future Events ſo *diſtinctly*, as that they might have expreſs'd the moſt minute Circumſtance of *Time*, *Place*, *Perſons*, &c. in proper Terms; had the *Predictions*, I ſay, been ſo plain and apparent, that every Body, at firſt Sight, might ſee the whole *Contrivance*, and look thro' all the *Scenes* of Action, they could never have been *accompliſh'd*, without offering Violence (by ſome miraculous Interpoſition) to Mens voluntary Determinations. Had God, for Inſtance, foretold our Saviour's Crucifixion, with all it's particular Circumſtances, the Manner *how*, the Time *when*, the Place *where*, and the Perſons *by whom*, it was to be effected; it is hardly ſuppoſable, that the *chief Prieſts*, and ſo many principal Men among the *Jews* would have had an Hand in it, without being perfectly carried on to it by an *over-ruling* Power, againſt their own Inclinations; which (beſides it's *Contrariety* to the Principles of human Nature) muſt needs make God *the Author of Sin*. But, ſince the *Prophecies* concerning the *Meſſias*, and his Sufferings, were delivered with ſuch a Mixture of *Obſcurity*, as never fully to be underſtood, till after their Accompliſhment, they gave Room for the *Jews Malice* to concur with *God's Providence*, in bringing this Matter to paſs: and ſo (as St. *Paul* tells us) *(g) becauſe they knew him not, nor yet the Voices of the Prophets, they fulfilled them, in condemning him.* So neceſſary it was, that all Prophecies of future Events ſhould be couched under dark and *enigmatical* Phraſes, leſt, by being too plainly foretold, they might poſſibly chance to *deſtroy* themſelves, and defeat their own Intention.

And the Expediency *of ſome* Myſteries.

WE acknowledge ſtill farther, that, beſides the Predictions of the *Prophets*, there are ſeveral Points, contained in *Scripture*, quite remote from the common Apprehenſion of Mankind, and, in many Reſpects, *hard to be underſtood*. But then we muſt obſerve withal, that, as theſe *obſcure Paſſages* are very few in Compariſon of the *plain Texts*, and no more hinder us from underſtanding the *Plain*, than the *Spots* in the Sun debar us from the *Light* of it; ſo are they far from reflecting Diſhonour upon the *Diſpenſation* itſelf. If we conſider ſeriouſly with ourſelves, we cannot but ſay, that it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe *(h)*, that a *Revelation* from God ſhould contain ſomething *different* in Kind, and more *excellent* in Degree, than what lay open to the common Senſe of Men, or could be diſcovered even by the moſt ſagacious *Philoſopher*. The *Councils* of *Princes*,

(g) Acts xiii. 27. *(h) Vid.* Minute Philoſopher, *Dialogue* VI.

we know, lie often beyond the *Ken* of their *Subjects*, who can only perceive ſo much as is *revealed* by thoſe, who ſit at the *Helm*, and are often unqualified to judge of the *Uſefulneſs*, and *Tendency* even of *that*, till, in due Time, the *Scheme* unfolds, and is accounted for by ſucceeding Events. This makes the Councils of Princes *revered*, and preſerves the Dignity of the *Cabinet*. And, in like Manner, why may not we ſuppoſe that, *(i)* as *Eaſineſs* of Acceſs is many Times known to lay a Man open to Contempt; ſo, to protect his *Revelation* from rude Encroachments, by impreſſing an Awe and reverential Fear upon our Minds, God has thought proper to ſurround it (as it were) with a *ſacred* and *majeſtic Obſcurity*, and, in ſome Parts of it, to exhibit ſuch exalted Truths, as tranſcend the *Reach* of human Wiſdom; thereby to humble the *Pride* and *Haughtineſs* of our *Reaſon*; and thereby to engage us in a cloſer, and more diligent *Search* into ſuch Subjects, as will, every Moment, furniſh us with *new Matter* to entertain the *buſieſt* Contemplation, to the *utmoſt Period* of human Life?

Reaſons for ſeeming Contradictions *in Scripture.*

THESE are ſome Reaſons for the *Obſcurity*, and the like may be ſaid for the *ſeeming Contradictions* (eſpecially in Matters of *Chronology)* which are ſaid to occur in the ſacred Writings. For, if we conſider the different *Cuſtoms* and Ways of Speaking, which were in uſe in former Days, but now are *obſolete*; and yet we might happily *reconcile* ſome *repugnant* Expreſſions, if we were but acquainted with thoſe *Uſages*, to which, in all Probability, they allude: If we conſider the *narrow* Compaſs of the *Hebrew* Tongue, wherein one Word has ſometimes a great many Significations; and yet we might make ſeveral *contradictory Paſſages* agree, if we knew but how to give the ſame Word one Signification in the *firſt* Paſſage, and another in the *ſecond:* And, more eſpecially, if we conſider that *Chronology* is a Part of Learning, of all others, the moſt difficult to be adjuſted; that the leaſt Alteration of a *Word* or *Letter* may make an exceeding great Difference; that the *Jewiſh Years* do not exactly quadrate with thoſe of other Nations, either as to their *Length*, or their *Beginning*, and that the *ſupernumerary Months* of Kings *Reigns* do often puzzle the *general Computation*; we cannot much wonder, that, in the midſt of ſo many Difficulties, there ſhould be found ſome ſeeming Repugnancies, in the Senſe of ſome *Texts*, as well as in the Accounts of Time. But, when we conſider farther, that, by ſhewing the *different Acceptation* of the Words and Expreſſions, in theſe ſeemingly *interfering* Places; by ſettling the *Chronological Accounts*, and comparing them with other Parts of Scripture, which have an *Analogy* with them; and by uſing, in ſhort, thoſe ſeveral Rules of *Interpretation* and *Criticiſm*, which are wont to be employ'd in the Explication of all other Authors, all theſe *Incongruities* are ſufficiently cleared up by learned Men; we ſhall be induced to think, that they are ſo far from *invalidating* the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, that they do, in a great Meaſure, confirm it. For if the Scriptures had been written by a *Cabal* of Men, deſigning to *impoſe* upon the World, undoubtedly theſe Men would have uſed all *Circumſpection* and *Caution*, that no Sign of Contradiction ſhould have appeared in their Writings, becauſe nothing is ſo exact as a *ſtudied Cheat*; whereas, it is no ſmall Argument of the *Veracity* of theſe Writers, that they agree with one another in all *material* Points, and only neglect an *Exactneſs* in ſome little *Punctilios*, wherein nothing but a *Confederacy* could have made them *uniform*.

Though no real *ones when enquir'd into.*

BUT, after all, we talk of *Contradictions*, and other *Abſurdities*; of *Digreſſions*, *Repetitions*, *falſe Reaſonings*, *impertinent*, and ſometimes *ridiculous Relations* in Scripture, which, upon better Examination, will be found reconcileable to *good Senſe*, and, in ſome Reſpect, prove it's very *Perfection* and *Ornament*. We may think it a little ſtrange, for Inſtance, that *Cain*, upon the Murther of his Brother, ſhould be introduced, as ſaying *(k) every one, that findeth me, ſhall ſlay me*; and, preſently after, as *(l) going into the Land of* Nod, and *there building him a City*; whereas, according to the common

(i) South's Sermons. *(k)* Gen. iv. 14. *(l)* Ver. 17.

common Notion, there were but (beſides himſelf) three Perſons, his Father, Mother, and his Wife, upon the Face of the whole Earth; But now, if the Word *Kol*, which we render *every one*, may as well be tranſlated *every Thing*, *every Creature*, *(m)* every wild Beaſt of the Field, (the Man's Conſcience foreboding, that God might poſſibly let looſe the *Brute-Creation* upon him) and if, upon a moderate *Computation*, the other *Deſcendants* of *Adam* (for *Moſes* takes Notice only of the two Lines of *Cain* and *Seth)* might be *numerous* enough to ſtock whole Countries with Inhabitants, (as ſome have calculated even to a Demonſtration) where will the Abſurdity be then?

Digreſſions *in Scripture.*

IT may look perhaps like a careleſs *Ramble* of Thought, to ſee a Prophet (for it is only in the *prophetical* Works, that this happens) after he has begun a plain and methodical Diſcourſe, upon an *incidental* Word or Expreſſion, break out, all at once, into a long *Digreſſion*, which ſeems not ſo ſuitable to his main Purpoſe; but if we attend to the Matter of that *Digreſſion*, we ſhall generally find it a Prediction of the *glad Tidings of the Goſpel*, the moſt important Subject, that *inſpir'd* Authors can employ their Thoughts upon, and what the *Holy Ghoſt* took every Occaſion to ſuggeſt to their Minds: Nor can we be ignorant, that in the beſt *Heathen Authors*, who pretended to Inſpiration (as moſt of their *Poets* did) theſe very Digreſſions (which were ſtyled *Epiſodes)* were thought their greateſt *Beauties*; and that, in ſome of their loftieſt Compoſitions (ſuch as thoſe of *Pindar*, and of *Horace*, *(n)* where he imitates *Pindar)* theſe wild *Excurſions* were held *eſſential* to the *Poem*, the only Indications of the *Divine Enthuſiaſm*, and ſome of the daring *Flights* of a bold aſpiring *Muſe*, which deſpiſed all Rules, and diſdain'd to be controuled.

Repetitions *in Scripture whence occaſion'd.*

THE *Repetitions* in *Scripture* we perhaps may take Offence at, and think them more frequent in the *Bible*, than in any other Book. But when it is conſidered, that the ſeveral *Tracts* of the Bible were written by different Perſons, and at different Times, it can be no more Fault or Blemiſh in it, that its *different* Writers ſhould ſometimes happen to ſay the *ſame* Things, than that the ſame Hiſtory ſhould be written by *Appian* and *Curtius*, or the ſame Arguments made Uſe of by *Ariſtotle* and *Cicero*.

THIS is a Caſe, without a Combination, unavoidable: But, (*) when we conſider withal, that the Things, which are ſaid to be ſo often repeated, are generally ſuch, as relate to *moral* Duties, which can never be ſufficiently enforced, and that, in inculcating theſe, the *ſacred* Writers have uſed all the *Variety*, that can be expected; in ſome Places exhorting Men to Goodneſs, from the *Reward*, in others, from the *Beauty* of Virtue; in ſome exhibiting the *Danger*, in ſome the *Turpitude*, and in others the *Folly* of Sins; here commending *Sobriety* from it's *temporal*, and there from it's *eternal* Recompence; here repreſenting *Pride* as *contemptible* to Men, and there as *hateful* to God; and every where *diverſifying* their Arguments, to make them work upon the *Love*, the *Hope*, or the *Fear* of their Readers, from the Conſideration of the *Goodneſs*, the *Promiſes*, or the *Juſtice* of God: When we obſerve the *Prophets* denouncing Judgments, ſometimes againſt the *People*, ſometimes againſt the *Prieſts*, and at other Times againſt the *Kings*; ſome reprehending them for their *Pride*, ſome for their *Idolatry*, and others for their *Profanation of the Sabbath*; one bringing them the joyful News of a *Reſtoration* from their Captivity, and another of their *Redemption* by the *Meſſias*; one weeping over the *Old Jeruſalem*, and another raviſh'd with the Thoughts of the *New:* When we conſider, I ſay, this wonderful *Variety* of freſh Matter in the ſacred Writers, both *moral* and *prophetical*, we cannot but adore the Goodneſs of God, in giving us *Line upon Line, and Precept upon Precept:* in condeſcending ſo graciouſly to our Infirmities, that, in almoſt every Page of his holy Word, he has ſupply'd us with freſh Motives,

(m) He was afraid (ſays *Joſephus)* leſt while he wander'd up and down in the Earth (which was Part of his Puniſhment) he ſhould fall among ſome Beaſts, and be ſlain by them. *Antiq.* Lib. 1. Cap. 3. *(n)* Vid. *Carm* L. 3. Ode 3. where the Digreſſion begins, Line 18.

(*) *Boyle* of the Style of the Scriptures.

Motives, and Exhortations to thoſe great momentous Duties, we are ſo apt to tranſgreſs; and muſt needs be very groſsly prejudiced, if we can ſuppoſe, that the Writings either of *Seneca* (who uſually feeds his Reader with nothing but *whip Cream*, or a very little Senſe, froth'd out into a Multitude of Words) or even of the *Divine Plato* himſelf (who, ſtript of his *unintelligible Rant*, makes but a poor Figure in Point of *ſolid Senſe)* any Way comparable to the *Holy Bible*, wherein God ſeems to have provided for our *Entertainment*, as well as our *Edification*; and to have overſpread it with a pleaſing *Diverſity* of *Subjects* and *Arguments*, in the ſame Manner, that he has adorn'd the *Creation* with a curious Variety of *Plants* and *Animals*.

And its Method of Reaſoning *vindicated.*

IT muſt not be diſſembled indeed, that what with *miſrendering* the *connective Particles*, which have many *different* Significations, and now and then *(o) miſplacing* a *Parentheſis* in the *Hebrew* Tongue, the *Thread* of the Diſcourſe comes often to be interrupted; and thoſe, who overlook the *figurative*, and ſometimes *abrupt* Way of *arguing* uſual among the *Eaſtern* Nations (where the Reader is often left to make the *Deduction* for himſelf) will meet with ſome Perplexities: But where either this is not the Caſe, or where theſe Difficulties are ſurmounted, a Man of a competent Underſtanding may ſee the *Force* and *Tendency* of any Scripture-Argument, as clearly as if it were drawn up in *Mood* and *Figure*. The Art of *Logic* is a novel Invention, compar'd with the *Date* of the Authors we are now ſpeaking of: And therefore they are not blameable for not being perfect in all the Niceties of the *Greek Schools*; eſpecially conſidering, that, if even they had been Maſters of this Art, ſince they were to addreſs themſelves to *Popular* Auditories, Prudence would have directed them to make Uſe of *popular* Arguments (as we find they did) which, in ſuch a Caſe, the greateſt Heathen Orators have always employ'd, and thence found, that they carried their Point with better Succeſs, than in the moſt irrefragable *Syllogiſms*.

(p) THE *Heathen Moraliſts*, we find, urge Virtue from the rational Topics of *Conveniency* and *Inconveniency*, by diſplaying the *Amiableneſs* and *Advantages* of Good, and the *Deformity* and *Miſchiefs* of Evil: And are not the Arguments, which *Moſes* uſes to engage the *Jews* to a Compliance with the *Laws*, which God enjoined them, drawn from the Obligation they owed him for his *creating* them; from his *delivering* them from Bondage, and making them his *choſen* People; from the *Proſperity*, which their Obedience would procure, and the certain *Calamities*, which their Diſobedience would bring upon them? Are not the Arguments, which the *Prophets* uſe, when they denounce ſuch terrible *Judgments* againſt them, and tax them with ſuch vile *Ingratitude*, ſuch ſtupid *Idolatry*, and ſuch other awakening Motives to Repentance; are not theſe Arguments, I ſay, as powerful to perſuade a Nation to abandon their Sins, and adhere to the Service of God, as the moſt pompous *Harangues* concerning the *Wretchedneſs* of Vice, and the *Beatitudes* of *philoſophic Virtue? (q)* Eſpecially conſidering, that, what theſe *ſcriptural* Writers have left us, comes back'd with the *Authority* of *Almighty God*, which is *inſtead* of a thouſand *Arguments* and *Reaſonings*.

And its Relations *neither* impertinent.

I mention but one *Objection* more, and that is, the *Impertinence* of ſome Relations, occurring in the *hiſtorical*, and the *Ridiculouſneſs* of ſome Actions, mentioned in the *prophetical* Books of Scripture: But, before we paſs that *Cenſure*, we ſhould do well to conſider, whether the Sacred Writers might not poſſibly have ſome farther Proſpect in recording theſe Matters, than we, at this Diſtance of Time, are aware of. The Book of *Ruth*, the Hiſtory of *Iſaac* and *Rebecca*, of *Joſeph* and his Brethren, *&c.* (which ſome are pleaſed to call little *ſimple Family Stories)* deſerve a better Name, even though they were no more, than ſhort *Memoirs* of the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory, giving us an Account of the Lives of ſome conſiderable *Perſonages* of that Nation: But, when we conſider, the

(o) Parentheſes were not originally in the *Hebrew* Tongue. *(p) Young*'s Sermons. *(q)* "*Edwards* on the Excellency of the Scripture.

the whole *Scheme* of God's providential Diſpenſation in ſending the *Meſſias* into the World, and the Method, which he was pleaſed to take, in preparing the Way for it, by ſeparating one Man's Family (from whoſe Loins the deſign'd Saviour of the World was to deſcend) from his *idolatrous* Relations and Countrymen, and making his Offspring the *Standard* of true religious Worſhip for many Ages; it is but reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſome particular Account ſhould be given of the *Origin* of this *extraordinary* Family, by which all the World has received ſuch a wonderful Benefit, and *all the Kingdoms of the Earth have been bleſſed*, in the *Birth* of Jeſus Chriſt. And when we conſider farther, that many Things relating to *Abraham* and *Sarah*, the Sacrifice of *Iſaac*, and the Captivity and Exaltation of *Joſeph*, &c. are ſo particularly related, becauſe God deſign'd that theſe Occurrences ſhould be *Types* and *Shadows* of ſome Things remarkable under the Goſpel, *viz.* of the *Incarnation*, *Paſſion*, *Reſurrection*, and *Aſcenſion*, of our Lord and Saviour; we cannot but perceive, that, if the *Hiſtorian* had omitted the Relation of theſe ancient Facts, *Chriſtianity* had wanted ſome conſiderable Evidences of it's Truth, and the wiſe *Scheme* of God's *Providence*, in the *Salvation* of the World, had not been ſo amply *diſplay'd*.

THERE is more Difficulty indeed, in accounting for ſome *Paſſages* in the Behaviour of the *Prophets*, in whom any *Indiſcretion* may be held more inexcuſable, becauſe they are all along ſuppos'd to be guided by the *Holy Ghoſt*, and, in thoſe very Actions, which are thought liable to Cenſure, had the immediate Order and Injunctions of God: and yet, when we read of *Iſaiah*'s *(r) walking naked, and barefoot three Years*; of *Jeremiah*'s taking a long Journey, only *(s) to carry a Linen Girdle, and hide it in the Hole of the Rock of the River* Euphrates; of *Ezekiel*'s *(t) taking his Houſhold-Stuff, and digging a Hole through the Wall of the City, to carry it out*; and of *Hoſea*'s *(u) going, and taking unto him a Wife of Whoredoms, and Children of Whoredoms*, &c. When we read theſe extravagant Actions, I ſay, if we were to underſtand them in a *literal* Senſe, we ſhould be apt to account the *Doers* of them *diſtracted*, rather than *inſpired*; and under ſome Temptations to think, that, by putting them upon ſuch unaccountable Offices, God was minded to make his Servants *ridiculous*. The Scripture, however, has taken Care to inform us, that *(x) the Spirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets*, i. e. *(y)* they are not hurried on by a mad *Enthuſiaſm*, but are always left in a Compoſure of Mind fit to comport themſelves, and to ſpeak to the People, as the *Miniſters* of a rational and all-wiſe God. *Nor* ridiculous.

NOW there are three Ways, whereby learned Men have undertaken to account for theſe ſeemingly ſtrange and whimſical Actions of the Prophets. *(z)* Some ſuppoſe, that what, in theſe and ſeveral other Places, is told, was *really and literally* perform'd; others, that it was tranſacted in *Viſion*; and others again, that it is all no more than a *Parable*, dictated by God to the Prophet, and by the Prophet recited to the People. However, to make heſe and ſuch like Actions of the ſeveral Prophets all of a Piece and uniform, we are to obſerve, that, whereas ſome of them are only *parabolical*, and others *impoſſible* to be tranſacted *in Reality* (for tho' *Jeremiah*, for Inſtance, might take two long *Journies* to *Euphrates* about the Affair of a *Girdle*, without demurring to the Authority of him who ſent him; yet we can hardly think, that he really ſent *Bonds and Yokes* to the ſeveral Princes that are mentioned, *Ch.* xxvii. *ver.* 2, 3. much leſs, that he took the Wine-Cup *from the Hand of God*, and made *the Kings of all Nations*, as is related, *Ch.* xxv. ver 15. &c. *drink thereof)* whereas, I ſay, the Nature of the Thing would not permit theſe, and the like Actions to be perform'd in *Reality*, we have abundant Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that they were perform'd in an *imaginary* Senſe only; *i. e.* that

(r) Iſa. xx. 3. (s) Jer. xiii. 4. (t) Ezek. xii. 7. (u) Hoſ. i. 2. (x) Vid. *Lowth* on Inſpiration. (y) 1 Cor. xiv. 32. (z) *Waterland*'s Scripture Vindication, Part 3.

theſe Actions of the Prophets were, by a Divine Impulſe, repreſented to them *(a)* in a Dream or Trance, which left in their Minds a lively Idea, and occaſioned their publiſhing to the People, not only the *Repreſentations* themſelves, but what they were likewiſe deſign'd to *teſtify*, with more *Force* and *Energy*. And, accordingly, we may obſerve, that, even in the *Chriſtian* Church, when the Spirit of *Prophecy* came to revive, theſe Kind of *emblematical* Repreſentations were likewiſe introduced; as is evident, not only from *Agabus*'s *taking St.* Paul's *Girdle (b), and binding his own Hands and Feet*, to ſignify what ſhould befal the Owner thereof, as ſoon as he came to *Jeruſalem*, but, more particularly, from St. *Peter*'s Viſion *(c) of the Sheet let down from Heaven, wherein were all Manner of four-footed Beaſts of the Earth, and wild Beaſts, and creeping Things, and Fowls of the Air:* Which Viſion we find him, in his Vindication *(d)* ſoon after, recounting to the *Jews* with all Boldneſs, and explaining likewiſe the *ſymbolical* Intent of it, *viz.* his Commiſſion, and Delegation to preach to theſe *Gentiles* in order to their Converſion.

But, taken all together, *very* beautiful *and* excellent.

THUS we have taken a *Survey* of the Scriptures of the *Old Teſtament*; found out their *Authors*, and the *Nature* and *Degree* of their *Inſpiration*; enquired into the *Number* and *Order* of their Books, and by whoſe Care and Superintendency they were all digeſted into one *Code*; traced down their *Deſcent*, even to our own Times, without any *Loſs* or conſiderable Alteration; and (what we chiefly intended) endeavour'd to ſatisfy the moſt popular *Objections*, that are uſually made againſt them. And indeed the Objections againſt them would be far from being ſo many, if we had a little more Skill and Knowledge in them; but the Misfortune is, we live at a great Diſtance from the *Apoſtolic* Age, and much more from the lateſt Times of the inſpired Writers of the *Old Teſtament*, and ſo muſt needs be under ſome Difficulties, from our Unacquaintance with the *Style*, and Way of Writing, as well as the *Manners* and *Cuſtoms* of thoſe Ages. There will, of neceſſity, therefore be ſome *Spots* and dark Places in them, as there are in the *Sun*, not for want of *Light* and Elegance *originally* in them (any more than for want of Light in the Sun) but by Reaſon of ſome *Deficiency* in ourſelves, who are at a Diſtance, and under ſuch Circumſtances, as intercept our Sight, and hinder us from making true and exact Obſervations. But if we could ſtand (as we are to judge of *Pictures)* in the ſame Light, in which they were *drawn*, and had liv'd in the ſame Ages, in which theſe Books were written, we ſhould be able to make a much truer Judgment, and penetrate much farther into the Meaning of them, than we now can do. And, even in our preſent Situation, if we would make any tolerable Judgment of them, we muſt not conſider them *ſeparately*, but as they all together make up a compleat *Syſtem* of Religion: And therefore to conclude this Argument in the Words of a pious Vindicator *of the Style of the Holy Scriptures: (e)* " I conceive, *ſays he*, that, as in a lovely Face, tho' " the Eye, the Noſe, the Lips, and the other Parts, ſingly look'd on, may beget De- " light, and deſerve Praiſe; yet the *whole Face* muſt neceſſarily loſe much, by not be- " ing all ſeen together: So, tho' the ſeveral Portions of Scripture do, *irrelatively*, and " in themſelves, ſufficiently evidence their heavenly Extraction, yet he, who ſhall at- " tentively ſurvey the whole Book of *Canonical* Writings, which we now call the " *Bible*, and ſhall judiciouſly, in their *Syſtem*, compare and confer them together, may " diſcern, upon the whole Matter, ſo admirable a *Contexture* and *Diſpoſition*, as may " manifeſt that Book to be the Work of the ſame Wiſdom, which ſo accurately com- " pos'd the *Book of Nature*, and ſo divinely contrived this vaſt *Fabric* of the World." And therefore to proceed to other Conſiderations.

ONE

(a) That theſe Actions of the *Prophets* were not *real*, but merely *imaginary*, and ſuch as were repreſented upon the *Stage of their Fancies*, when in a *Dream* or a *Trance*, muſt be plain to every one, who conſiders the Circumſtances of them. *Smith*'s ſelect Diſcourſes. *(b)* Acts xxi. 11. *(c)* Acts x. 11. *(d)* Ch. xi. 5. *(e)* Mr. *Boyle*, p. 74.

The Bible *the* beſt *and* moſt ancient *Hiſtory in the World. The Pretenſions of the* Egyptians *and* Chaldeans.

ONE Commendation of that Part of the BIBLE, which is called the *Old Teſtament*, is, that it is the *beſt*, as well as moſt *ancient* Hiſtory in the World. The *Egyptians* of old, we read, contended with the *Babylonians* and *Chaldeans*, for the Glory of *Antiquity*; and, as the *Babylonians* divide the State of Mankind into three Governments, *viz.* the firſt under *Gods*, which (according to them) contains *ten Generations*, the ſecond under *Demi-Gods* or *Heroes*, and the third under *Kings* or Men, and, during the Courſe of theſe three States, they reckon up above 30,000 Years; ſo *Manetho*, the *Egyptian* Hiſtorian, to diſplay the Antiquity of his Nation, and throw the Balance on their Side, divides, in like Manner, his *Chronological* Account into the ſame Forms of Government, of *Gods*, *Demi-Gods*, and *Kings*; and from the pretended Pillars of *Hermes*, (whence he compiled his Hiſtory) makes the whole amount to upwards of 36,525 Years. There is good Reaſon, however, why we ſhould deſpiſe ſuch *monſtrous* Accounts, as have only bare Words for their Foundation, and are plainly contrary to all Obſervations on the *Progreſs* of Mankind, the *Improvement* of Huſbandry, and the *Advancement* of Arts and Sciences.

WE acknowledge indeed, that the moſt ancient Way of preſerving any Monuments of Learning, in thoſe elder Times, and eſpecially among the *Egyptians*, was by Inſcriptions on *Pillars*; but, beſides the Difficulties of conceiving how Pillars of any Kind ſhould be able to withſtand the Violence of the *Deluge*, without being defaced; beſides that no other Hiſtorian, who has wrote of the Affairs of *Egypt*, has once made mention of theſe Pillars, and that *Diodorus* (who lived ſince the Time of *Manetho)* never once quotes him as an Author of any Credit; there is, in Truth, very little in his *Dynaſties*, beſides Names and Numbers, except it be now and then a Story of the *Nile*'s overflowing with Honey, of the *Moon*'s growing bigger, of a *ſpeaking Lamb*, and *ſeven* Kings, who ſucceſſively reign'd as many Days, one King only a Day; and ſuch other ſtrange and *Romantic* Accounts, as are enough to invalidate the Authority of any Writer.

Of the Chineſe.

THE *Chineſe* at preſent are very ambitious to be thought an ancient People, and would make us believe, that they can reckon up Succeſſions of Kings and their Reigns, for ſeveral thouſand Years, before the Beginning of the World aſſigned by *Moſes*; but beſides that *(f)* the Character, which Writers (who had lived among them) do generally give that Nation, *viz.* That they are Men of a trifling and credulous *Curioſity*, addicted to ſearch after the *Philoſopher's-Stone*, and a Medicine to make them *immortal*; and whatever Advantage their Situation and *political* Maxims have given them, are far from being ſo learned, or ſo accurate in Point of any Science, as the *Europeans:* It is plain from all Accounts, that their Antiquities reach no higher than the Times of *Fohi*; for *Fohi* was their firſt King, and his Age coincides with that of *Noah*. So that, upon the Whole, we have good Reaſon to queſtion the *Authentickneſs* of thoſe *Annals*, which relate ſuch fabulous Things, as the Sun's not *ſetting* for ten Days, and the Clouds *raining Gold* for three Days together. But of what Antiquity ſoever their firſt Writers might be, 'tis certain, that, ſince the Time of *Hoam-ti*, their XIth Emperor, who, about 200 Years before *Chriſt*, order'd (upon Pain of Death) all the Monuments of *Antiquity*, whether *Hiſtorical* or *Philoſophical*, to be deſtroy'd; there is little or no Credit to be given to the Books, which they produce: And though they make mighty Boaſts of the *Date* and Perfection of ſuch Volumes, as they pretend eſcaped the common *Wreck*; yet, if we may credit the *Teſtimony* of Perſons, who made it their particular Buſineſs (when among them) to enquire, they have not any one Copy, in an *intelligible* Character, above 2000 Years old.

And Grecians, *refuted.*

THE *Grecians* of old were ſo very great Pretenders to Antiquity, that they ſcorn'd to have any *Father* or *Founder* of their Nation aſſign'd them; and therefore they affected to be called *Aborigines*, *& Genuini Terræ*, the eldeſt Sons of the Earth, if not *coëval*

(f) Vid. *Le Compte*'s Memoirs, and *Bianchini*'s Hiſt. Univerſe.

coëval with it: And yet, if we look into the *Date* of their *Hiſtorians*, we ſhall find, that none of them exceeded the Times of *Cyrus* and *Cambyſes* (*g*), about 550 Years before Chriſt; that ſeveral of their ancient Writers have left nothing behind them, but barely their Names; and that even from thoſe, whoſe Works have deſcended to us, we have no Account of any *hiſtorical* Facts, older than the *Perſian War*. *Herodotus* (who wrote a little more than 400 Years before Chriſt) is called by *Cicero* the *Father of Hiſtory*, as being the eldeſt *Greek* Hiſtorian that we have extant; and yet, when he pretends to relate the *Origin* of any Nation, or *Tranſactions* of any conſiderable Diſtance, he is forc'd to interſperſe many *fabulous Reports*, which himſelf ſeems not to believe; and for this Reaſon, ſome imagine it a Point of *Modeſty* and *Ingenuity* in him, that he calls the Books of his Hiſtory by the Names of the *Muſes*, on purpoſe to let his Readers know, that they were not to look for mere *Hiſtory* in them, but a Mixture of ſuch *Relations*, as (tho' not ſtrictly true) would nevertheleſs pleaſe and entertain them. However this be, 'tis certain, that *Thucydides*, in the very Entrance of his Hiſtory, not only confeſſes, but largely aſſerts the *Impoſſibility* of giving any competent Account of the Times, which preceded the *Peloponneſian War*; and therefore we find *Plutarch*, who ventur'd no farther back, than the Times of *(h) Theſeus* (a little before the Miniſtry of *Samuel)* juſtly obſerving, that, " as Hiſtorians, in their *Geographical* Deſcriptions of " Countries, croud into the fartheſt Parts of their *Maps* thoſe Places, which they know " nothing of, with ſome ſuch Remarks as theſe, on the Margin; *all beyond is nothing* " *but dry Deſerts, impaſſable Mountains, frozen Seas, and the like:* So I may well ſay of " the Facts of Hiſtory, that are farther off than the Times of *Theſeus*; *all beyond is* " *nothing but monſtrous and tragical Fictions.* There the Poets and there the Inventors " of Fables dwell: Nor is there any Thing to be expected worthy of Credit, or what " carries the leaſt Appearance of Certainty."

BUT now, whoever reads the *Bible* with Care and Impartiality, in the *hiſtorical* Part of it, will find nothing *fabulous* or *romantic*; no *Computations* of an immoderate Size; no *Excurſions* into Ages infinite and innumerable; no *Succeſſions* of *Monarchs*, *Heroes*, and Demi-Gods, for thouſands of thouſand Generations. On the contrary, he will perceive, *(i)* that *Moſes*, who was above a thouſand Years older than any *Hiſtorian* we know of, (and, upon that Account, deſerves the greater Credit) has fix'd the *Beginning* of Time at a proper *Period*, about 2433 Years before his own Birth; has given us a *fair* and *authentic* Hiſtory of the *Origin* and *Formation* of the World, of the *Creation* and *Introduction* of the Parents of all Mankind, of the *peopling* the Earth with Inhabitants, and of the firſt Inſtitution of *Civil* Government; that he has given us the *earlieſt* Account, not only of all uſeful Callings and Employments, ſuch as *Gardening*, *Huſbandry*, *Paſturage* of Cattle, *&c.* but of all the politer Arts and Sciences, ſuch as *Poetry*, and *Muſic*, *Hiſtory*, *Geography*, *Phyſic*, *Anatomy*, and *Philoſophy* of all Kinds. In a Word, he will perceive, that the ſacred Bible is not only a *Record* of all the moſt ancient Learning, but a *Magazine* of all Learning whatever; and, conſequently, that he, who deſires to appear in the Capacity of a *Scholar*, either as a *Critic*, a *Chronologer*, an *Hiſtorian*, an *Orator*, a *Diſputant*, a *Lawyer*, a *Stateſman*, a *Pleader*, or a *Preacher*, muſt not be unacquainted with this inexhauſtible Fund.

The Bible *wrote in the* firſt *and* original *Language.*

ANOTHER Commendation of this moſt excellent Book, is, that the *Language*, in which a great Part of it is written, was the *firſt* and *original* Language in the World; but then the Queſtion is, which is the Original? The Writers, who have handled this Subject, have produced the ſeveral Claims of the *Hebrew*, the *Chaldean*, the *Syrian*, the *Arabian:* But, as the Arguments for the *Syrian* and *Arabian* are but few and trifling, the chief Competition ſeems to lie between the *Hebrew* and *Chaldean*.

Now

(*g*) Vid. *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sac. Chap. IV. (*h*) *Vid.* The Life of *Theſeus*. (*i*) *Edwards* on the Perfection of the Scriptures.

NOW it is natural to ſuppoſe, that a *primitive* Language ſhould be *plain* and eaſy; ſhould conſiſt of *ſimple* and uncompounded Sounds; of as few Parts of *Speech*, and as few *Terminations* in thoſe Parts, as poſſible. *(k) Moods* and *Tenſes*, *Numbers* and *Perſons* in *Verbs*, and the different *Caſes* in *Nouns*, we may well imagine, were the Improvements of Art, and Study, and not any firſt *Eſſay*, or original Production; and, in this Reſpect, we cannot but conceive that the *Hebrew* Tongue (I mean as it ſtands in our *Bible*, and not as the *Rabbins* have enlarged it) bids fair for the Precedency. It's *radical* Words (which are *(l)* not many) conſiſt generally of three *Letters*, or two *Syllables* at the moſt. It's *Nouns* are not declined by different *Caſes*, nor are it's *Numbers* diſtinguiſhed by different *Terminations* (as the *Latin* or *Greek* are) but by *(m)* the Addition of a ſhort *Syllable* in the *dual* and *plural*, which at the ſame Time denominates the *Gender*. The *Gender* is likewiſe included in the *Verb*, which prevents the Neceſſity of having many *Pronouns*; and, by varying it's *Conjugations* (which are ſeldom *irregular)* it has the leſs Uſe for *auxiliary* Verbs. Add to this, that the *Hebrews* uſe ſeldom any *Vowels* in Writing; have no *compound* Nouns or Verbs; few *Prepoſitions*, few *Adjectives*; no *Comparatives* or *Superlatives*; no great Number of *Conjugations*; but two *Moods*, two *Tenſes*; no Gerunds, no Supines; and of *Particles* of all Kinds far from many; and then we can hardly conceive a Language more *ſimple* and *eaſy*, more *ſhort* and *expreſſive*, than *theirs*.

The Hebrew *the firſt.*

UPON this Account ſome of late have imagin'd, that the *Chineſe* might poſſibly be the firſt original Language of Mankind: For, beſides that *Noah* very probably ſettled in theſe Parts, it's Words are, even now, very few, not above twelve Hundred; it's *Nouns* are but three Hundred and twenty-ſix, and all it's Words confeſſedly *Monoſyllables*; ſo that, whatever the Original of this Tongue was, it ſeems very likely to have been the firſt that was planted in the Country. For, though it is natural to think, that Mankind might begin to form *ſingle Sounds* at firſt, and afterwards come to enlarge their Speech by doubling and redoubling them; yet it is not to be imagin'd, that, if Men had firſt known the *Copiouſneſs of Expreſſion* ariſing from Words of more Syllables than one, they would ever have reduced their Language to it's primitive *Monoſyllables*. But, ſince we have not a ſufficient Knowledge of this Language to make a competent Judgment of it, we muſt wave it's Pretenſions for the preſent.

The Pretences of the Chineſe *and* Chaldee.

THE *Chaldee*, it muſt be own'd, has a great many Marks of this *original* Simplicity in it: But then, what gives the *Hebrew* a farther Claim to *Priority*, are certain *proper Names* of Perſons mentioned before the *Flood*, ſuch as *(n) Adam*, *Eve*, *Cain*, *Abel*, *Seth*, &c. of antient *Countries*, ſuch as *(o) Lydia*, *Aſſyria*, &c. of antient *Heathen Gods*, ſuch as *(p) Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Belus*, *Vulcan*, &c. of ſeveral Kinds of *Animals*, and *muſical Inſtruments*; and, in ſhort, *of Mountains*, *Rivers*, *Cities*, and *Places*, which derive their *Etymology*, or right Signification, from this Tongue, and this Tongue only; as *Bochart*, with an immenſe deal of *oriental* Learning, has abundantly proved.

THERE are other learned Men however, who, being willing to compromiſe the Matter between the two Languages (the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee)* are apt to fancy *(q)* that, if any one would be at the Pains to examine them ſtrictly, and to take from each what may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be *Improvements*, made ſince their *Original*, he will find the *Chaldee* and *Hebrew* Tongues to have been at firſt the ſame. However that be, 'tis certain, that thoſe, who maintain the *Perpetuity* of the ſame Tongue from *Adam* to *Moſes*, do aſſert, that, before the Confuſion of *Babel*, there was but one *univerſal*

The Hebrew *and* Chaldee *perhaps originally the* ſame.

(k) Shuckford's Connection of Sacred and profane Hiſtory, Vol. I. Lib. 2. *(l)* About five Hundred. *(m) Im* is added to the Plural in Nouns *Maſculine*; and *oth*, in ſuch as are *Feminine*. *(n)* Thus the Word *Adam* comes from the *Hebrew Adamah*, which ſignifies *Earth*; *Eve*, or *Cheva*, from *Chiah*, *Life*; *Cain* from *Canah*, to *poſſeſs*; *Abel* ſignifies *Vanity*; and *Seth* from *Scath*, to *ſubſtitute*. *(o)* Thus *Lydia* from *Lud*; *Aſſyria* from *Aſſur*. *(p)* Thus *Saturn* from *Satar*, to hide one's ſelf; *Jupiter* from *Jehovah*; *Belus* from *Baal*; and *Vulcan* from *Tubal-Cain*. *(q)* Vid. *Shuckford's* Connection, Vol. I. Lib. 2.

Language among all the Nations upon Earth; that this very Language (even after the Confuſion) was continued, in it's Purity, in the Family of *Seth* and *Heber*, from whom it had it's Name, and from whom *Abraham*, the *Father of the Faithful*, deſcended: That *Abraham*, notwithſtanding his Intercourſe with other Nations, ſtill preſerv'd this primitive Tongue; and his Deſcendants, notwithſtanding their ſojourning in the Land of *Egypt*, were under no Temptation to corrupt it, becauſe they lived *ſeparately*, and by themſelves, in the Land of *Goſhen*, until the Miniſtry of *Moſes*. And, if this be a true Deſcent of the Tongue, then we are ſure, that the *Pentateuch*, and other Books of the *Old Teſtament*, were all wrote (except ſome Portions after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity) in the ſame ſacred primæval Language, which God himſelf ſpake, which he taught our firſt Parents, and wherein all the *Patriarchs*, and Worthies of old among his *choſen* People, were known to converſe.

In a Word, *(r)* the Conciſeneſs, Simplicity, Energy, and Fertility of the *Hebrew* Tongue; the Relation it has to the moſt antient *oriental* Languages, which ſeem to derive their Origin from it; the *Etymology* of the Names, whereby the firſt of Mankind were called, and the Names of Animals, which are all ſignificant in the *Hebrew Tongue*, and deſcribe the Nature and Property of theſe very Animals; *Characters* not to be found in any other Language, and yet all meeting together *in this*, do raiſe a Prejudice very much in Favour of it's *Primacy*; and this certainly is no ſmall Commendation of the *Bible*, that it comprizes the *Compaſs* of a Language, which is the moſt *antient*, and (as ſome think) the moſt excellent in the World, and no where elſe to be found. If any *Critics* or *Grammarians* could ſay the like concerning the *Greek* or *Latin* Tongue, *viz.* that there is a certain Book, wherein either of theſe, in it's firſt Purity, is wholly contain'd, they would be very laviſh in their *Encomiums* of it, and the Prelation of it to all other Volumes whatever would not want a proper *Diſplay*.

The great Reſpect *ſhewn to the Bible.*

And indeed, whatever the merry *Scoffers* of this Age, or the graver *Lovers of Sin* and Singularity may think, 'tis certain, that, in former Days, Men of all Orders and Degrees, of the higheſt Station in Life, as well as *Capacity* in Knowledge, of *polite* Parts, as well as *ſolid* Judgments, and converſant in all *human*, as well as *divine* Literature, have, all along, held the Scriptures in ſingular Veneration; have employ'd their *Wit* and Eloquence in ſetting forth their Praiſe; and not only thought their *Pens*, but *Poetry* itſelf, ennobled by the Dignity of ſuch a Subject.

By Perſons of the higheſt Rank.

DAVID, in his Time, was a conſiderable Prince, a mighty Warrior, and Subduer of the Nations that were round him; and yet his living in a *military* Way made him no Deſpiſer of the Scriptures: For obſerve what a beautiful *Panegyrick* he has given us barely of that Part which we call the *Pentateuch*, *(s) The Law of the Lord is an undefiled Law, converting the Soul; the Teſtimony of the Lord is ſure, and giveth Wiſdom unto the Simple; the Statutes of the Lord are right, and rejoice the Heart; the Commandment of the Lord is pure, and giveth Light unto the Eyes; the Judgments of the Lord are true, and righteous altogether: More to be deſired are they than Gold, yea, than much fine Gold; ſweeter alſo than the Honey and the Honey-Comb. Moreover, by them is thy Servant taught, and in keeping of them there is great Reward.*

PTOLEMY Philadelphus was one of the greateſt Monarchs in his Age: he had large *Armies*, fine *Fleets*, vaſt *Magazines* of warlike Stores, and (what was peculiar in his Character) he was a Perſon of extenſive Learning himſelf, a generous Encourager of all liberal Sciences, and ſo great a Collector of Books, that in one Library at *Alexandria* he had four hundred thouſand Volumes; and yet, as if he could not be at Eaſe, nor think his Collection compleat, without the *Bible*, *(t)* he ſent for an *authentic* Copy from *Jeruſalem*, and for a Number of learned Men to make a Tranſlation of it in the *Greek* Tongue, for which he plentifully rewarded them: Which puts me in mind of Mr. *Selden*, one

(r) *Calmet*'s Dictionary. *(s)* Pſal. xix. 7, &c. *(t)* Vid. *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part II. L. 2. p. 110.

one of the greateſt *Scholars* and *Antiquaries* of his Age, and who, in like Manner, made vaſt Amaſſments of Books and *Manuſcripts* from all Parts of the World (a *Library* perhaps not to be equalled, on all Accounts, in the Univerſe) as he was holding a ſerious Conference with Archbiſhop *Uſher*, a little before he died, he profeſſed to him, that, *(u) notwithſtanding he had poſſeſſed himſelf of ſuch a vaſt Treaſure of Books and Manuſcripts on all antient Subjects, yet he could reſt his Soul on none but the Scriptures.* *And the greateſt Learning and Wit.*

St. *PAUL* was doubtleſs a good *Scholar*, as well as a good *Chriſtian*, and his Knowledge in polite Literature is diſtinguiſhable by the ſeveral *Citations*, which he makes of the antient Heathen *Poets*; and yet he is not aſhamed to give us this Character of the Bible: *(x) All Scripture is given by the Inſpiration of God, and is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Inſtruction in Righteouſneſs, that the Man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furniſhed unto all good Works.* Which calls to my Remembrance what *(y)* another great Man of our Nation, in a Letter to one of his Sons, declares: " I have been acquainted ſomewhat, *ſays he*, with Men and Books: I have had long " Experience in Learning and in the World: There is no Book like the *Bible* for excel- " lent Learning, Wiſdom, and Uſe; and it is Want of Underſtanding in them, who " think or ſpeak otherwiſe."

LONGINUS, the World muſt own, was a competent Judge of all Kind of Eloquence. His *little Book* on the Subject, tho' impaired by the Injury of Time, has given us Specimen enough of his exquiſite Taſte that Way; and yet, tho' he was a Heathen, he *gives Honour where Honour is due*, and ſeems to praiſe and admire the true Sublime of *Moſes*, more than that of any other Author he quotes.

TERTULLIAN (if we will think no worſe of him for being one of the *Fathers* of the Church) was an excellent *Orator*, a great *Philologiſt*, and an acute *Reaſoner*; and yet we find him *(z) adoring the Plenitude of the Scripture.* The noble *Picus Mirandula* was the beſt *Linguiſt* and Scholar of his Age; and yet, after he had run through innumerable Volumes, *he reſted in the Bible* (as he tells us) *as the only Book, wherein he had found out the true Eloquence and Wiſdom:* And therefore it was no wild *Rant*, but a Sentence proceeding from mature Judgment, that of *Robert*, King of *Sicily*, to *Fran. Petrarcha: I tell thee, my* Petrarcha, *thoſe holy Letters are dearer to me than my Kingdom, and, were I under Neceſſity of quitting one, it ſhould be my Diadem.*

WE need leſs wonder then, that we find our *profound Logician*, Mr. *Locke*, declaring that *(a)* " the little Satisfaction and Conſiſtency he found in moſt of the *Syſtems* of Di- " vinity, made him betake himſelf to the ſole Reading of the Scripture, which he " thought worthy of a diligent and unbiaſſed Search." That we find our *religious Philoſopher*, Mr. *Boyle*, (as well as the learned *Grotius)* aſſerting the Propriety and Elegance of the ſacred Style; and our incomparable *Newton (b)* giving the Preference to *Scripture Chronology*, above that of the *Egyptians, Greeks, Chaldeans*, or any other Nation whatever. That we find, I ſay, ſome Perſons of the moſt ſparkling Wit and Fancy diſcanting, either on the ſacred Hiſtory of the Bible, or on ſome Divine Matters contained in it; a *Milton*, taking the whole *Plan*, and a great Part of the very *Diction* of his lofty *Poem* thence; a *Cowley*, embelliſhing the Story of King *David*; a *Buchanan*, rendering his *Pſalms* in *Latin* Verſe; and in *Engliſh*, a *Prior* paraphraſing on the *Eccleſiaſtes* of his Son. Which manifeſtly ſhews, that ſome of the greateſt *Perſonages* in the World, the moſt noble and refined *Wits*, the moſt knowing and judicious *Heads*, have bore the greateſt Eſteem for the Holy Scriptures, and not thought their Learning or Ingenuity miſemployed in their Service. And this will give us Occaſion to enquire a little into ſome of the principal *Verſions* and *Expoſitions* that have been made of them.

Now

(u) In his Life. *(x)* 2 Tim. iii. 16. *(y)* Judge *Hale*. *(z)* Lib. adver. Hermogenem. *(a) Jenkins's* Preface to his Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity. *(b)* Vid. *His Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended*, paſſim.

The Septuagint *Verſion.*

Now the *(c) firſt* and principal *Verſion* we have of the Holy Scriptures, is that which we call the *Septuagint*, from the 70, or 72 Interpreters, which *Ptolemy Philadelphus* (as we ſaid before) employed in the Work. For, about the Year of the World 3727, he being very intent on making a great Library at *Alexandria*, committed the Care of that Matter to *Demetrius Phalerius*, a Nobleman of *Athens*, and who, at that Time, was his *Librarian*. *Demetrius*, purſuant to the King's Order, made diligent Search every where; and being informed, that, among the *Jews*, there was a Book of great Note, called *The Law of Moſes*, he acquainted the King with it; hereupon the King ſent to *Eleazar* the High-Prieſt, requeſting him to ſend an *authentick* Copy thereof, and (becauſe he was ignorant of the *Hebrew* Tongue) to ſend withal ſome Men of ſufficient Capacity to tranſlate it into *Greek*. The Meſſengers, who went upon this Errand, and carried with them many rich Preſents for the Temple, when they came to *Jeruſalem*, were received with great Honour and Reſpect both by the High-Prieſt, and all the People; and having received a Copy of *The Law of Moſes*, and ſix *Elders* out of each Tribe (i. e. *Seventy-two* in all) to tranſlate it, returned to *Alexandria*. Upon their Arrival, the Elders, by the King's Appointment, betook themſelves to the Work, and firſt tranſlated the *Pentateuch*, and (not long after) the reſt of the *Old Teſtament* into *Greek*. This is the Subſtance of *Ariſteas*'s Hiſtory; but herein he has intermixed ſo many ſtrange and incredible Things, that *(d)* many learned Men have been inclined to think the whole of it a mere Fiction, contrived by the *Helleniſtical Jews* of *Alexandria*, on purpoſe to give the more Sanction and Authority to this Tranſlation, whoſe true *Original* they relate to be thus——Upon the Building of *Alexandria*, and Encouragement given to other Nations (as well as *Greeks* and *Macedonians)* to come and inhabit it, great Multitudes of *Jews* reſorted thither. In Proceſs of Time, they made a conſiderable Part of the City: and by Degrees ſo accuſtomed themſelves to ſpeak the *Greek* Language, that they forgot their own; and were thereupon obliged to have the Scriptures tranſlated into *Greek*, both for their private Uſe and public Service. It was the Cuſtom, at that Time, to read the Pentateuch only in the Synagogues; and therefore, this was the firſt Part of the Scriptures, which they tranſlated. In the Days of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the Prophets were introduced, and then they were under a Neceſſity of tranſlating them likewiſe *(e)*; and in a ſhort Time after, ſome private Men might turn the reſt of the Books (which they call the *Hagiographa)* into the *Greek* Language, and thus the whole Verſion, which, from the Fable of *Ariſteas*, goes under

(c) The other *Greek* Tranſlations by *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodocian* are now loſt, except only ſome Fragments of them, which ſtill remain.

(d) Vid. Du Pin's *Hiſtory of the Canon*, &c. F. Simon's *Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament*. Dr. *Hoddy* De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus. Dr. Prideaux's *Connection of the Old and New Teſtament*, &c. And the Reaſons they give for their ſuppoſing the whole to be a Fiction, are ſuch as theſe. 1. That *Ariſteas*, who pretends to be an Heathen *Greek*, ſpeaks all along as a *Jew*, and (what is more) makes all the Parties concerned ſpeak in the ſame Manner. 2. That by the Seventy-two Elders, ſent for from *Alexandria* to *Jeruſalem*, it looks like a *Jewiſh* Invention, framed with Reſpect to their *Sanhedrim*, which conſiſted of that Number. 3. That the Diſuſe of the *Hebrew* Tongue, and the little Acquaintance the *Jews* had with the *Greek*, make it incredible, that there ſhould be found ſix Men in each Tribe capable of this Performance. 4. That the Queſtions, which *Ptolemy* put to the Interpreters, and the Anſwers, which they returned him, carry with them an Air of Fiction. 5. That the Letters of Gold, in which the Law was written, the Iſland *Pharos*, and the Cells appointed for the Interpreters, their marvellous Agreement in every Point, and their wonderful Diſpatch in finiſhing the whole in Seventy-two Days, are much of the ſame Caſt. And 6. That the prodigious Sum, which *Ptolemy* is ſaid to advance, in order to procure this Verſion, in Money, in Plate, in precious Stones, and Preſents, &c. to the Amount of about two Millions Sterling, together with many more Abſurdities, and Contradictions occurring in the Hiſtory, is enough to prove it an idle Story and Romance, without any other Foundation, except that, in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, ſuch a Verſion of the Law of *Moſes* into the *Greek* Language was made by the *Jews* of *Alexandria*. *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part II. L. 1.

(e) That this Tranſlation was made at different Times, and by different Perſons, the various Styles, in which the ſeveral Books are found written, the many Ways in which the ſame *Hebrew* Words, and the ſame *Hebrew* Things are tranſlated, in different Places, and the greater Accuracy to be obſerved in the Tranſlation of ſome Books, than of others, are a full Demonſtration. *Prideaux*, ib.

under the Name of the Septuagint, came to be compleated. However this be, 'tis certain, that this Tranſlation, as ſoon as it was finiſh'd, was held in Eſteem and Veneration, almoſt equal to the Original, and was not only uſed by the *Jews* in their Diſperſion through the *Grecian* Cities, but approv'd by the Grand *Sanhedrim* at *Jeruſalem*, and always quoted and referred to by our *Saviour* and his *Apoſtles*, whenever they made an Appeal to the Holy Scriptures.

The Reaſons of it's differing *from the* Hebrew *Text.*

'TIS true indeed, (and what every common Reader may obſerve) that there is frequently a manifeſt Difference between this *Verſion* and the *Hebrew* Text: But the Difference may well enough be accounted for, if we will but allow, that the *Vowels*, or Points in the *Hebrew* Tongue, might poſſibly then not be in Uſe; that the ſame Words in *Hebrew* are known to have different Significations, which may give the Tranſlation a Senſe different to the Original; that the *Tranſlators* themſelves ſometimes take a greater *Latitude*, and render a Paſſage not *literally*, but *paraphraſtically*; that, at other Times, they inſert a Word or two by Way of Explanation, which are not directly in the Text, and perhaps now and then omit a Word in the *Original*, which they thought was ſufficiently ſupplied by the *Emphaſis* of their *Greek* Expreſſion. Theſe Conſiderations, together with the known Ignorance and Negligence of *Tranſcribers*, will account for the *Difference*, if not for the *Errors* and *Miſtakes*, which occur in the Tranſlation. For, that the Tranſlators themſelves did wilfully miſinterpret the *Hebrew* Text, is a Notion, that cannot, with any Juſtice, be admitted, conſidering that they had no Manner of Temptation ſo to do. I ſhould rather think, that, if there ſhould be any dangerous Corruptions in the *Greek* Copies, *(f)* they were made *after* the Coming of our Saviour, and when the *Jews* had utterly rejected him as an *Impoſtor*; that the *Jewiſh* Doctors, having got together a ſufficient Number of theſe Copies, might make in them (what they could not ſo well do in the *Hebrew* Text) ſuch *Alterations*, as they thought proper, in order to juſtify their *Infidelity*; and that, in all Probability, they did then curtail ſome *Prophecies (g)* (as we find they are curtail'd in the *Greek* Verſion) relating to the Divinity of the *Meſſias*; and having changed the *Chronology* of the LXX, by adding 1400 Years to the Account, cunningly diſperſed them among the long Lives of the *antediluvian* Patriarchs, in order to make it believ'd, that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, whom they crucified, was not the true *Meſſias*, but that the Time of his Appearance was paſt and gone (as ſome of them ſtill aſſert) a long Tract of Years before the Chriſtian *Æra*.

And how we ought to receive *it.*

THE Reſult then of all this is——That we ought to have that Reſpect and Eſteem for the LXX's Verſion, which it deſerves; not wholly *reject* it, becauſe moſt of it's Errors and Faults proceed from the mere *miſtaking* of Vowels; from the *Ambiguity* of Words; from the *Liberty*, which the Tranſlators took, of *Paraphraſing*; and from the *Neglect* of Tranſcribers: But, on the other Hand, not wholly *embrace* it, but rather read it with Candor and Caution; with *Caution*, becauſe it has fallen into *ill Hands*, and has met with ſome *deſigning* Men, who have done their utmoſt to corrupt it: And with *Candor*, becauſe it is the *oldeſt Greek* Tranſlation of the Bible; has been made uſe of by the ſacred Penmen of the *New Teſtament*; is conducible to our better underſtanding the Senſe of the *Hebrew*; and, as to it's Diſagreement therewith, may, in a great Meaſure, admit of a *Reconciliation*.

The Chaldee Paraphraſes, *and why made.*

OF all the Tranſlations, which are in the *Oriental* Languages, *(h)* the *Chaldee* is of the greateſt Eſteem and Reputation among the Learned. It is call'd, by Way of Emi-

O nence,

(f) Mr. *Whiſton*, in his *Literal Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecy*, and *Collection of authentic Records belonging to the Old and New Teſtament*, has abundantly ſhewn, that ſeveral Texts have been alter'd, and Prophecies diſlocated, by the *Jews*, in the *Old Teſtament*. *(g)* Thus Dr. *Lightfoot* obſerves, that, in *Iſa.* ix. 6. inſtead of theſe five Names of Chriſt, *Wonderful, Counſellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace*, there is only inſerted, *the Angel of the great Counſel*, in Proëm. ſuper Quæſt. in Gen. *(h)* Beſides this, there are other *Oriental* Verſions, *viz.* the *Syriac*, which is look'd upon as genuine and faithful; the *Arabic*, which is neither of any great Antiquity nor Authority; and ſeveral others.

nence, the *Targum:* For, as the Word *Targum*, in *Chaldee*, ſignifies in general an Interpretation, or Verſion of one Language into another; ſo by the *Jews* it is appropriated to thoſe *Paraphraſes*, which go under the Name of *Onkelos*, *Jonathan*, *Joſeph*, &c. The Uſe of theſe *Targums* was to inſtruct the vulgar *Jews*, after their Return from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity: For *(i)* tho' many of the better Sort retained the Knowledge of the *Hebrew* Tongue during that Captivity, and taught it their Children; and the Holy Scriptures, which were deliver'd after that Time (excepting only ſome Parts of *Daniel*, and *Ezra*, and one Verſe in *Jeremiah*) were all written therein; yet the common People, by having ſo long convers'd with the *Babylonians*, learned their Language, and forgot their own: And therefore, that they might have the *Bible* in a Language which they underſtood, there were ſeveral *Targums*, at ſeveral Times, made by different Perſons, and on different Parts of Scripture.

That of Onkelos. THE *Targum* of *Onkelos*, becauſe it comes up neareſt to the *Standard* of the *Chaldee* (which is only perfect in the Books of *Daniel* and *Ezra*) is thought by ſome the moſt antient; but others give the Preference, in Point of Antiquity, to that of *Jonathan*, whom they place about thirty Years before *Chriſt*, under the Reign of *Herod the Great*. It's Author is reputed to have lived much about our *Saviour*'s Time; and, as he undertook to tranſlate the *Pentateuch* only, ſo has he render'd it Word for Word, and, for the moſt Part, very *accurately* and *exactly*.

Jonathan. THAT of *Jonathan*, Son of *Uzziel*, which takes in the Books of *Joſhua*, *Judges*, *Samuel*, *Kings*, *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and the minor *Prophets*, has the like Purity of Style, but then it is quite different in the Manner of it's Compoſure: For, inſtead of being a ſtrict Verſion, it is, in many Places, very *lax* and paraphraſtical, and, eſpecially in the *Prophets*, full of ſuch *Comments*, *Gloſſes*, and *Allegories*, as do not at all commend the Work.

And Joſeph. THAT, which goes under the Name of *Joſeph*, ſurnamed the *Blind*, comprehends the other Parts of Scripture, call'd the *Hagiographa*, ſuch as the Book of *Pſalms*, of *Job*, *Eſther*, *Proverbs*, &c. but this, and the reſt of the *Targums*, are ſo barbarous in their Style, ſo full of Miſtakes, and ſo loaded with *Fables*, that *(k)* they ſeem to be the Compoſitions of ſome later *Talmudiſts*, rather than of any antient *Paraphraſt*. To mention but one more, that of *Jeruſalem* is only upon the *Pentateuch*, and *(l)* yet it it is far from being perfect: For in it whole Verſes are frequently wanting; ſome are tranſpos'd, and others mutilated, which has made many of Opinion, that it is no more than a Fragment of ſome antient Paraphraſe, which is now loſt.

And of what Uſe they are. THE Truth is, the only Writings of this Kind, which the *Jews* have Reaſon to value themſelves upon, are thoſe of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, and with theſe they are ſo infatuated, that they hold them to be of the ſame Authority with the ſacred Text; and, for the Suport of this Opinion, pretend to derive them from the ſame Fountain. For they ſay, " That, when God delivered the written Law to *Moſes* upon Mount *Sinai*, " he delivered with it, at the ſame Time, the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe of *Onkelos*; and that, " when, by his Holy Spirit, he dictated to the Prophets the Scriptures of the *propheti-* " *cal* Books, he delivered ſeverally to them the *Targum* of *Jonathan* upon each Book, " at the ſame Time; and that both theſe *Targums* were delivered down by Tradition " through ſuch faithful Hands, as God, by his Providence, had appointed; the firſt " from *Moſes*, and the other from the *Prophets* themſelves; till at laſt, thro' this Chain " of *traditional* Deſcent, they came down to the Hands of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, who " did nothing more to them, than only put them into Writing."

How *Romantic* ſoever this Account may be, yet we are not to run into a contrary Extreme, and think that theſe *Paraphraſes* are of no Significance to us; ſince it is obvious,

(i) Vid. *Prideaux*'s Connection, and *Edwards* on the Excellence of Scripture.

(k) Vid. *Prideaux*'s Connect. Part II. Lib. 8. p. 771.

(l) Vid. *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Targum*.

obvious, that they cannot fail of explaining many Words and Phraſes in the *Hebrew* Original, which will conduce to our better Underſtanding of thoſe Scriptures, on which they are wrote; and to hand down to us many of the Cuſtoms and Uſages of the *Jews* in Vogue in our Saviour's Days, and thereby help us to illuſtrate many obſcure Paſſages, which occur in the *New Teſtament*, as well as the *Old*.

Of the antient Latin *and* vulgar *Tranſlations.*

THE *Latin* Tranſlations of the *Bible, (m)* even in St. *Auſtin*'s Time, were almoſt innumerable; but theſe were all made from the *Septuagint*, and not from the *Hebrew*, until St. *Jerome* (who was well verſed in that Language) obſerving the Errors of the many *Latin* Tranſlations, and their frequent Diſagreement with the *Original*, undertook a *new* one; and, with great Care and Exactneſs, tranſlated from the *Hebrew* all the *Old Teſtament*, except the *Pſalms*, which, being ſung in the Church in the old *Latin*, or *Italian* Verſion, could not be changed without giving the People ſome Offence. St. *Jerome*'s Tranſlation, however, was not ſo univerſally received, but that ſome Biſhops (who were not ſo well acquainted with the *Hebrew)* abſolutely rejected it; whilſt others, who were better Judges, and ſaw its Conformity to the *Original*, readily embraced it. During the Time of this Diviſion, both Tranſlations were read in public, *i. e.* ſome Books in St. *Jerome*'s Verſion, and ſome in the *Italian*, till at length another, which was compoſed of both, and is called by the *Romaniſts*, *Vetus & Vulgata*, was thought more correct than either, and accordingly gained the Aſcendant.

And the Sentiments of the Romaniſts *thereupon.*

THE *Romaniſts* would make us believe, that this Tranſlation, which they ſo highly extol, is the very ſame with St. *Jerome*'s, and that, whatever Variations may be perceived in it, they were occaſioned by the Force of Time, and the Negligence of Tranſcribers. However this be, it cannot be denied, but that it has ſeveral conſiderable Faults; that it leaves the *Original* very often, and ſometimes runs contrary to it; that it frequently follows the *Septuagint*, or the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe; that it abounds with barbarous Words; with many Places, where it's Senſe is corrupted, and in ſome, quite loſt: And yet the Council of *Trent (n)* thought fit to ordain and declare, "That the ſame antient "and vulgar Verſion, which has been approved of, and uſed in the Church for many "Ages paſt, ſhall be conſidered as the *authentic* Verſion in all public Lectures, Diſ-"putes, Sermons, and Expoſitions, which no Body ſhall preſume to reject, under "what Pretence ſoever." A Decree, which *(o)* the Authors of that Communion are forced to apologize for, by ſaying, that the Council did not intend thereby to reſtrain Interpreters from conſulting the *Hebrew*, and, upon all Occaſions, from rectifying that very Tranſlation by the *original* Text; did not intend to compare that Tranſlation with the *Originals*, either *Hebrew* or *Greek*, but only with the other Tranſlations that were then extant; did not intend to pronounce it *abſolutely perfect*, and free from all Errors, but only *preferable* to any other, and proper enough to be declared *authentic*, if it was but *morally* conſonant to it's *Original*.

Of modern Latin *Tranſlations.*

BUT, whatever the Merit or Authority of this Tranſlation formerly was, not long after the Year 1500, there aroſe ſeveral learned Men, well ſkilled in Languages, who, ſeeing the Corruptions that were in *this*, as well as other *Latin* Verſions, and comparing them with the *Originals*, endeavoured to correct them from theſe *Fountains*. In the *Roman Communion*, thoſe of the beſt Note, were *Ximenius*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who, gave us the firſt *Polyglot* Bible; *Sanct. Pagninus*, a *Dominican* Monk, who, in his Tranſlation, is a rigid Obſerver of the *original* Text, but ſomewhat *obſcure*; *Malvenda*, another *Dominican*, who is *Grammatical* enough, but both obſcure and *barbarous*; Cardinal *Cajetan*, who is literal, without Obſcurity; the renowned *Eraſmus*, whoſe Verſion of the *New Teſtament*, in all Reſpects, is juſtly commended; And, of the *Reformed Religion*,

(m) Qui enim Scripturas ex Hebræâ Linguâ in Græcam verterunt, numerari poſſunt; Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. *Aug. de Doct. Chriſti*, Lib. ii. Cap. 11.

(n) Seſſ. 4.

(o) Du Pin on the Canon, and Father *Simon*'s Critical Hiſtory.

ligion, the moſt remarkable, are *Sebaſtian Munſter*, a *German*, who renders the *Hebrew* Text very cloſely and exactly; *Leo Juda*, a *Zuinglian*, who indulges a Kind of *Paraphraſe*, to make the Senſe more obvious; *Caſtalio*, who wrote in a *neat* and *elegant*, but, as ſome think, too *florid* and *affected* a Style; *Theodore Beza*, who has tranſlated the *New Teſtament* with good Succeſs; and *Junius* and *Tremellius*, who, with a true and natural *Simplicity*, did both of them jointly tranſlate the *Old Teſtament* out of the *Hebrew*, and *Tremellius* alone, the *New Teſtament*, out of the *Syriac*.

And their Uſe. THESE are moſt of the later Verſions of the Bible, which, more or leſs, have amended the Faults of the *vulgar Latin*, and brought us nearer to the *Original*. Upon the Whole therefore we may conclude, that theſe ſeveral learned Tranſlators are all of them, in their Kinds, very uſeful; ſome by keeping cloſe to the Original, and others by uſing a Latitude. In the main, they have preſented us (tho' in a different Style and Manner) with the true and genuine Meaning of the Text; "But whereſoever "the *Latin* Tranſlators diſagree, (ſays a great Man *(p)* of the *Roman Communion*, "and himſelf an able *Tranſlator)* or a *Reading* is thought to be corrupted, we muſt "repair to the *Original*, in which the Scriptures were wrote: So that the Truth and "Sincerity of the Tranſlators of the *Old Teſtament* muſt be examined by the *Hebrew* "Copies, and of the *New*, by the *Greek* ones."

The Engliſh *Tranſlations.* AS ſoon as the *Reformation* began to appear in *England*, ſeveral Editions of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* were publiſhed in our *Tongue*. In the Year 1527, *Tindal* tranſlated the *Pentateuch*, and the *New Teſtament*, and afterwards, both he and *Coverdale* joined in the Work, and finiſhed the Tranſlation of the whole Bible; which being reviſed by *Matthews*, about ten Years after, was reprinted. But it had not long been reprinted, before *Henry* VIII. forbad the Sale of *that*, and every other *Engliſh* Tranſlation; and, at the ſame Time, ordered *Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and *Heath*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, to make a new one, which was publiſhed in the Year 1541: When, being diſpleaſed with *that* likewiſe, he forbad all *Engliſh Tranſlations* whatever; ſo that, during his Reign, no one was permitted to read the Scriptures in the *vulgar* Tongue, without a proper *Licence*. In the Reign of *Edward* VI. the Editions of *Tindal* and *Tunſtal* were revived: But, as the Life of that Prince was but ſhort, upon Queen *Mary*'s Succeſſion to the Throne, a violent Perſecution aroſe, and all *Engliſh* Tranſlations (as being done by *Proteſtants*, and thought injurious to the *Roman Cauſe)* were utterly ſuppreſſed. During this Reign, ſome *Calviniſts*, who had fled for Shelter to *Geneva*, made a new *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the Bible, according to the *Geneva Form*, which was publiſhed in that City, as ſoon as finiſhed, but not in *London*, until the Year 1598. Many Paſſages in this Verſion were made to favour the *Preſbyterian* Cauſe; and therefore thoſe of the *Epiſcopal* Party, in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, endeavoured to get it ſuppreſſed: But not being able to accompliſh their Deſign, Archbiſhop *Parker*, in Conjunction with ſeveral other Biſhops, made another Tranſlation in Oppoſition to it. This is uſually called the Biſhops Bible, or Tranſlation. It was made according to the *Hebrew* of the *Old*, and the *Greek* of the *New* Teſtament; but, becauſe in many Places it receded from the *Hebrew* Original, to come nearer to the *Septuagint*, it was not ſo well approved by King *James* I. and therefore he ordered a *new* one to be made, which might be more conformable to the *Hebrew Text*.

The Tranſlation in preſent Uſe. THIS is the Tranſlation which we read in our Churches at this Day; only the old Verſion of the *Pſalms* (as it is called) which was made by Biſhop *Tunſtal*, is ſtill retained in our publick Liturgy: And tho' it cannot be denied, that this Tranſlation, eſpecially taking along with it the *marginal Notes* (which are oftentimes of great Service to explain difficult Paſſages) is one of the moſt perfect in its Kind; yet I hope it will be no Detraction to it's Merit, nor any Diminution of the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, to

(p) Cardinal *Ximenius* in his Preface to Pope *Leo*.

to wiſh, that ſuch, as are inveſted with a proper *Authority*, would appoint a *regular Reviſal* of it, that, where it is faulty, it may be amended; where difficult, rendered more plain; where obſcure, cleared up; and, in all Points, made as obvious, as poſſible, to the Apprhenſion of the *meaneſt Reader*.

Rules for interpreting Scripture.

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ligion, the moſt remarkable, are *Sebaſtian Munſter*, a *German*, who renders the *Hebrew* Text very cloſely and exactly; *Leo Juda*, a *Zuinglian*, who indulges a Kind of *Paraphraſe*, to make the Senſe more obvious; *Caſtalio*, who wrote in a *neat* and *elegant*, but, as ſome think, too *florid* and *affected* a Style; *Theodore Beza*, who has tranſlated the *New Teſtament* with good Succeſs; and *Junius* and *Tremellius*, who, with a true and natural *Simplicity*, did both of them jointly tranſlate the *Old Teſtament* out of the *Hebrew*, and *Tremellius* alone, the *New Teſtament*, out of the *Syriac*.

And their Uſe. THESE are moſt of the later Verſions of the Bible, which, more or leſs, have amended the Faults of the *vulgar Latin*, and brought us nearer to the *Original*. Upon the Whole therefore we may conclude, that theſe ſeveral learned Tranſlators are all of them, in their Kinds, very uſeful; ſome by keeping cloſe to the Original, and others by uſing a Latitude. In the main, they have preſented us (tho' in a different Style and Manner) with the true and genuine Meaning of the Text; " But whereſoever " the *Latin* Tranſlators diſagree, (ſays a great Man *(p)* of the *Roman Communion*, " and himſelf an able *Tranſlator)* or a *Reading* is thought to be corrupted, we muſt " repair to the *Original*, in which the Scriptures were wrote: So that the Truth and " Sincerity of the Tranſlators of the *Old Teſtament* muſt be examined by the *Hebrew* " Copies, and of the *New*, by the *Greek* ones."

The Engliſh *Tranſlations.* AS ſoon as the *Reformation* began to appear in *England*, ſeveral Editions of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* were publiſhed in our *Tongue*. In the Year 1527, *Tindal* tranſlated the *Pentateuch*, and the *New Teſtament*, and afterwards, both he and *Coverdale* joined in the Work, and finiſhed the Tranſlation of the whole Bible; which being reviſed by *Matthews*, about ten Years after, was reprinted. But it had not long been reprinted, before *Henry* VIII. forbad the Sale of *that*, and every other *Engliſh* Tranſlation; and, at the ſame Time, ordered *Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and *Heath*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, to make a new one, which was publiſhed in the Year 1541: When, being diſpleaſed with *that* likewiſe, he forbad all *Engliſh Tranſlations* whatever; ſo that, during his Reign, no one was permitted to read the Scriptures in the *vulgar* Tongue, without a proper *Licence*. In the Reign of *Edward* VI. the Editions of *Tindal* and *Tunſtal* were revived: But, as the Life of that Prince was but ſhort, upon Queen *Mary*'s Succeſſion to the Throne, a violent Perſecution aroſe, and all *Engliſh* Tranſlations (as being done by *Proteſtants*, and thought injurious to the *Roman Cauſe)* were utterly ſuppreſſed. During this Reign, ſome *Calviniſts*, who had fled for Shelter to *Geneva*, made a new *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the Bible, according to the *Geneva Form*, which was publiſhed in that City, as ſoon as finiſhed, but not in *London*, until the Year 1598. Many Paſſages in this Verſion were made to favour the *Preſbyterian* Cauſe; and therefore thoſe of the *Epiſcopal* Party, in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, endeavoured to get it ſuppreſſed: But not being able to accompliſh their Deſign, Archbiſhop *Parker*, in Conjunction with ſeveral other Biſhops, made another Tranſlation in Oppoſition to it. This is uſually called the Biſhops Bible, or Tranſlation. It was made according to the *Hebrew* of the *Old*, and the *Greek* of the *New* Teſtament; but, becauſe in many Places it receded from the *Hebrew* Original, to come nearer to the *Septuagint*, it was not ſo well approved by King *James* I. and therefore he ordered a *new* one to be made, which might be more conformable to the *Hebrew Text*.

The Tranſlation in preſent Uſe. THIS is the Tranſlation which we read in our Churches at this Day; only the old Verſion of the *Pſalms* (as it is called) which was made by Biſhop *Tunſtal*, is ſtill retained in our publick Liturgy: And tho' it cannot be denied, that this Tranſlation, eſpecially taking along with it the *marginal Notes* (which are oftentimes of great Service to explain difficult Paſſages) is one of the moſt perfect in its Kind; yet I hope it will be no Detraction to it's Merit, nor any Diminution of the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, to

(p) Cardinal *Ximenius* in his Preface to Pope *Leo*.

to wiſh, that ſuch, as are inveſted with a proper *Authority*, would appoint a *regular Reviſal* of it, that, where it is faulty, it may be amended; where difficult, rendered more plain; where obſcure, cleared up; and, in all Points, made as obvious, as poſſible, to the Apprhenſion of the *meaneſt Reader*.

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Country, it ſhould be tranſlated *Aſſyrians:* But this Rule of Diſtinction our *Interpreters*, to the great Confuſion of the Reader, have not obſerved.

PRODIGALS divert themſelves much with that *quaint* Advice of *Solomon*, (as they call it) *(q) Caſt thy Bread upon the Waters, and thou ſhalt find it after many Days:* But would they only obſerve, that the *Hebrew* Word *Lechem* not only ſignifies *Bread*, but likewiſe *Wheat*, whereof it is made; and that the Word *Majim* not only denotes *Waters*, but alſo *Ground that is moiſt*, or lies near the Waters; they might eaſily perceive, that the Senſe of the Text is,——*Throw thy Grain into moiſt Ground, and, in Proceſs of Time, thou ſhalt find it again.*

THE Profane do likewiſe abuſe another wholeſome Precept of *Solomon*, *(r) Be not righteous over much, neither make thyſelf over wiſe*, as if a Man can be too righteous, or too wiſe: Whereas, would they but conſider, that *Solomon* is here ſpeaking of that *Juſtice*, which a Man is to exerciſe towards others (as the Context plainly ſhews) they could not but perceive the *Propriety* of this Interpretation;—— *Do not exerciſe Juſtice too rigorouſly, neither ſet up for a Man of too great Wiſdom.*

SOME Parents are ſo very ſevere and cruel to their Children, as to obſerve no Bounds in their correcting them; and they may poſſibly ground their Severity upon this Text, *(s) Chaſten thy Son, while there is Hope, and let not thy Soul ſpare for his crying:* But had they any tolerable Skill in the *Hebrew* Tongue, they would ſoon ſee that the latter Part of the Verſe ſhould be thus rendered;——*But ſuffer not thyſelf to be tranſported ſo, as to cauſe him to die.*

'TIS a ſtrange Kind of Bleſſing that, which God gives to the Tribe of *Aſher*, as our Tranſlators have ordered it; *(t) Thy Shoes ſhall be Iron and Braſs, and as thy Days, ſo ſhall thy Strength be:* But had they conſidered, that the *Hebrew* Word *Mineal* never ſignifies a *Shoe* in Scripture, but only a *Bolt* or *Bar*; and that the Word, which they render *Strength*, equally denotes *Peace* or *Reſt*; they would have made better Senſe of the Bleſſing thus,——*Thy Bolts ſhall be of Iron and Braſs, and thou ſhalt have Peace in thy Days.*

'TIS a Text of much Obſcurity, and hardly conſiſtent with Decency, to ſay, *(u)* Moab *is my Waſh-Pot, over* Edom *will I caſt out my Shoe*, Philiſtia, *be thou glad of me:* But now, *(x)* conſidering that the Word, which is rendered *Waſh-Pot*, is employed to expreſs the loweſt Degree of Servitude; and what is render'd a *Shoe*, ſignifies often a *Chain*, and ſo implies a State of *Slavery* and *Bondage*; there is a Spirit and Dignity in the Words thus rendered,——*I will reduce the* Moabites *to the vileſt Servitude, I will alſo triumph over the* Edomites, *and make them my Slaves, and the* Philiſtines *ſhall add to my Triumph.*

TO name but one more; it would ſeem, at this Day, not very decent, to ſee a Man go *naked*, and, eſpecially if he pretended to a Divine Miſſion, moſt ſober People would conclude him *lunatic:* And therefore when *Iſaiah* is ſaid to have *(y) walked three Years naked and barefoot, for a Sign and a Wonder upon* Egypt, *and upon* Ethiopia, we muſt either ſuppoſe that this was *(z)* only *acted* in *Viſion* (as ſeveral other Things recorded of the Prophets were) or that all the while he went only without his upper Garment, (enough to denominate him *naked)* but wore his other Cloaths as uſual; "For far be "it from God (ſays *(a) Maimonides)* to make his Prophets *ridiculous*, or to preſcribe "them ſuch Actions, as muſt of Courſe denote them Fools and Madmen."

How to make a New *or* better *Tranſlation.*

THESE are ſome of the Places, wherein our *Tranſlators* have been manifeſtly faulty; and, I mention it again, that I have produced theſe, not with any *ſiniſter* Deſign, but purely to clear the *ſacred Oracles* from a Cenſure, which the Negligence of their *Interpreters*

(q) Eccleſ. xi. 1. (r) Chap. vii. 16. (s) Prov. xix. 18. (t) Deut. xxxiii. 25. (u) Pſal. lx. 8. (x) Eſſay for a new Tranſlation. (y) Iſa. xx. 3. (z) Vid. *Smith*'s Select Diſcourſes. (a) More Nevoch. Part II. Chap. xlvi.

terpreters may have poſſibly brought upon them; and to ſhew the World, that the Call for a *new*, at leaſt a more perfect Tranſlation, is neither *groundleſs* nor *unreaſonable*: But then, the Queſtion is, how muſt this *Project* be put in Execution? Or, who is the Perſon ſufficient for ſuch a Work? My Reply to thoſe who make this Enquiry, muſt be in the Senſe of ſuch, *(b)* as have made it the Subject of their moſt mature Deliberation, and have thereupon thought that a new *Engliſh* Verſion might be compos'd out of our *laſt Edition*, if improved with ſuch *Alterations* and *Amendments*, as might make the Style and Senſe, in many Places, more accurate, and accommodate the *Whole* to the Taſte of the moſt curious Reader: But then they aſſert, that the Perſon, who is to attempt *this*, or another Tranſlation *perfectly new*, muſt have a competent Knowledge of the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Tongues, and be daily converſant in reading the Scriptures, in order to make their Phraſe and Style, and Manner of arguing, familiar to him: Muſt be ſufficiently acquainted with the *Jewiſh*, and other *oriental* Rites and Cuſtoms, their *Manners* and *Schemes* of Diction, to which Paſſages almoſt in every *Page* do allude: Muſt be ſufficiently ſkill'd in *Hiſtory*, *Chronology*, *Geography*, &c. in the Proportion of *Weights* and *Meaſures*; in the Names of *Plants* and *Animals*; and indeed in all *Arts* and *Sciences*, either expreſs'd or referr'd to in the Scriptures: Muſt be well vers'd in *critical* Learning, in the beſt Commentators, both antient and modern; and eſpecially in ſuch Writers, as have given us Rules and Directions *preparatory* to their right Interpretation: That, being thus qualified, he muſt take abundan Care to have the *Text* of the *Bible* (from whence he tranſlates) duly *eſtabliſhed*, by an exact Collation of it with divers antient *Copies*, and antient *Tranſlations* made from the *original* Language: That he muſt be a perfect Maſter of the *Purity* and *Elegance*, the Strength and whole Compaſs of the Language, whereinto he tranſlates; (becauſe, in the Courſe of the Work, he will have frequent Occaſion to try it all:) That, in the Main, he muſt keep cloſe to the *original* Text; but, when the Terms of the two Languages are found incompatible, muſt conſider the Senſe, rather than the *Words* of the *Original*, if he would either do that, or his own Tranſlation, Juſtice: That he muſt decline making uſe of *Hebrew*, or other *exotic* Words, which, in a Tranſlation, deſigned for common Uſe, muſt needs be improper, as well as barbarous and unintelligible: Muſt *modernize* a little (to make them more familiar) thoſe Words, and Forms of Speech, which allude to antient *Nations* and *Cuſtoms*; and (as ſome would have it) reduce the old *Geography*, as well as *Weights* and *Meaſures*, and *Computations* of all Kinds, to the *Names* and *Standards* that are now in Uſe: That, when any *Equivocal* Word or Phraſe occurs, he muſt examine every Senſe, wherein it may be taken, and make Choice of that, which is moſt conſonant to the Author's *Deſign*, and agrees beſt with the *preceding* and *following* Diſcourſe: That, when any dark Paſſage preſents itſelf, he muſt conſult thoſe of the like Import that are plainer; or (if none ſuch there be) adviſe with the beſt *Commentators*, and ſo determine; laying down this for a certain Rule, that whenever a Scripture ſeems to expreſs any Thing contrary to *right Reaſon*, it muſt admit of another Meaning: And therefore, laſtly, he muſt attend diligently to the different Senſes of Scripture, *figurative* and *literal*; watch narrowly when *Tranſpoſitions* of Words or Phraſes occur; when *Parentheſes* are wanting or redundant; and in what Manner each *Chapter* and *Verſe* is divided; becauſe, upon a wrong Diſpoſition of theſe, much Obſcurity is known oftentimes to ariſe.

The Diviſion of the Scriptures into Sections, Chapters, and Verſes.

THE Diviſion of the *Pentateuch* into *Sections* was of ſo early a Date, that the antient *Jews* accounted it one of thoſe *Conſtitutions*, which *Moſes* received from God on Mount *Sinai*. The whole was divided into 54 Sections, according to the Number of their

(b) Vid. Father *Simon*'s Critical Hiſtory, *L.* 3. *Du Pin*'s Hiſtory of the *Canon*, L. 1. C. 10. Diſſert. de S. Script. Interpret. per *D. Whitby*. An Eſſay for a new Tranſlation of the Bible; and *Edwards*'s Excellency of the Holy Scripture.

their *Sabbaths* in a Year, and on each Sabbath-Day a different Section was read, until the whole Number was concluded. After the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, *(c)* the common People had almoſt forgot their Mother-Tongue, and were therefore forced to have the Scriptures, when read to them on the Sabbath-day, interpreted in *Chaldee*; and, that the *Reader* and *Interpreter* might keep their proper Periods, every Pauſe was mark'd with two great *Points*, which the *Jews* called *Soph Paſuk*, i. e. *the End of the Verſe.* In this Manner the *Jews* divided their Scriptures into Sections and Verſes; but the Diviſion of them into *Chapters*, and *numerical* Verſes (as we have them now) is of a much later Date.

HUGO de Sancto Caro (commonly called *Hugo Cardinalis)* about the Year 1240, being minded to write a *Commentary* upon the *Old Teſtament*, found it neceſſary for his Deſign to invent a *Concordance*; and to make the *Concordance* more uſeful, he divided the Books into ſhorter *Sections*, than were in the *Hebrew* Bible, and theſe Sections into *Subdiviſions*, the better to make his *References*. Theſe Sections are the *Chapters*, into which the Bible has ever ſince been divided; but the *Subdiviſions* were not marked by *Figures*, (as are the Verſes with us) but by the *Capital Letters*, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, placed on the *Margin*, in equal Diſtances from each other. In this State the Scriptures continued, till, about the Year 1438, *Rabbi Nathan*, being, in like Manner, to make a *Concordance* in *Hebrew*, imitated *Hugo* in the Diviſion of the *ſcriptural Books* into Chapters: but, inſtead of his *Capital Letters*, he took the old Way of *Periods* or *Verſes*, and diſtinguiſhed them by *Numbers*; a Method, which *Vatablus* firſt followed in his Edition of the *Latin Bible*, and *Robert Stephens* in *his* of the *Greek New Teſtament*; which has ever ſince been of common Uſe in every *Edition* of the Holy Scriptures, whether in the *learned*, or *vulgar* Languages.

The Deſign *of the following Work.*

THUS we have taken a ſufficient View, both of the *internal* and *external* Parts of the Holy Scriptures, of thoſe of the *Old Teſtament* more eſpecially; and the proper Reſult of all our Enquiry is, the putting in Practice that wholeſome Advice, which our bleſſed Saviour gives the *Jews*; *(d) Search the Scriptures, for in them you think* (and think with very great Juſtice) that *you have eternal Life:* And, to facilitate that Search, the Deſign of the following Sheets is,—by the Help of *analytic* Writers, to give the Reader a plain and eaſy *Narrative* of the *Hiſtorical* Parts of the Bible; by the Aſſiſtance of the beſt *Critics* and *Commentators*, to explain difficult Paſſages, and reconcile ſeeming Contradictions; by the Strength of *Reaſon* and *Argument*, to ſilence the *Cavils* and *Objections*, which have given Umbrage to *Profaneneſs* and *Infidelity*; and by theſe ſeveral Means (if poſſible) to retrieve the Credit of the ſacred Writings; to reclaim the Heart of the *Unbeliever*, and ſtop the Mouth of the *noiſy Scoffer*; to inſtruct the *Ignorant*, confirm the *Weak* and *Wavering*, ſatisfy the *Curious* and *Inquiſitive*, and, in ſhort, convince every ſober and impartial Enquirer of the Truth and Juſtice of the *Pſalmiſt*'s Prayer and Sentiment, *(e) Teach us, O Lord, the Way of thy Statutes, and we ſhall keep it unto the End. Give us Underſtanding, and we ſhall keep thy Law, yea, we ſhall keep it with our whole Heart; for great is the Peace, which they have, who love thy Law, and are not offended at it.* Amen.

(c) Vid. *Prideaux*'s Connect. Part. I. L. 5. *(d)* John v. 39. *(e)* Pſal. cxix. 33, 34, 165.

THE

THE

PREFACE.

AFTER ſo long an Apparatus, *there will be leſs Occaſion to ſay much in the* Preface; *and yet I thought it not improper to give the Reader a little Notice from what Motives it was, that I have undertaken this Work, and in what Method I intend, with the Bleſſing of God, to purſue it.*

The Holy Bible *itſelf, I readily grant, is, in a great Meaſure,* Hiſtorical, *and an Hiſtory of an Hiſtory may ſeem a Soleciſm to thoſe, who do not ſufficiently attend to the Nature of theſe ſacred Writings, whoſe Scope and Method, and Form of Diction are vaſtly different from any modern Compoſition: Wherein the* Idiom *of the Tongue, in which it was penned, and the* oriental *Cuſtoms, to which it alludes, occaſion much Obſcurity; the* Difference *of Time, wherein it was wrote, and* Variety *of Authors concerned therein, a* Diverſity *of Style, and frequent* Repetitions; *the Intermixture of other Matters, with what is properly Hiſtorical, a ſeeming Perplexity; the Malice of* Foes, *and Negligence of* Scribes, *frequent* Diſlocations; *and the Defect of publick Records (in the Times of Perſecution) a long* Interruption *of about four hundred Years; to ſay nothing that this Hiſtory relates to one Nation only, and concerns itſelf no farther with the reſt of Mankind, than as they had ſome Dealings and Intercourſe with them. Whoever, I ſay, will give himſelf the Liberty to conſider a little the* Form, *and Compoſition of the* Holy Bible, *and the weighty Concerns which it contains, muſt needs be of Opinion, that* this, *of all other Books, requires to be* explained *where it is obſcure;* methodized *where it ſeems confuſed;* abridged *where it ſeems prolix;* ſupplied *where it is defective; and* analyzed, *where it's* Hiſtorical *Matters lie blended and involved with other quite different Subjects. This I call writing* an Hiſtory of the Bible: *And hereupon I thought with myſelf, that if I could but give the Reader a plain and ſuccinct* Narrative *of what is purely* Hiſtorical *in this ſacred Book, without the Interſperſion of any other Matter; if I could but ſettle the* Chronology, *and reſtore the* Order *of Things, by reducing every Paſſage and Fact to it's proper Place, and* Period *of Time; if I could but (by Way of* Notes, *and without breaking in upon the Series of the narrative Part)* explain *difficult Texts,* rectify *Miſtranſlations, and* reconcile *ſeeming Contradictions, as they occurred in my Way; if I could but* ſupply *the Defect of the* Jewiſh *Story, by continuing the Account of their Affairs, under the Rule and Conduct of the* Maccabees; *if I could but* introduce profane *Hiſtory, as I went along, and, at proper Diſtances of Time,* ſum up *to my Reader what was tranſacting in other Parts of the then known World, while he was peruſing the Records of the* Hebrew *Worthies; and, at the ſame Time, if I could but* Anſwer *ſuch* Queſtions *and* Objections, *as Infidelity, in all Ages, has been too ready to ſuggeſt againſt the Truth and Authority of the Scriptures; and, withal,* diſcuſs *ſuch Paſſages, and* illuſtrate *ſuch* Facts *and* Events, *as make the moſt conſiderable Figure in Holy Writ: If I could but do this, I ſay, I thought I had undertaken a Work, which might poſſibly be of publick Uſe and Benefit; ſeaſonable at all Times, but more eſpecially in the Age wherein we live, and (if I may be permitted to apply to myſelf the Apoſtle's Words) ſuch, as might make me (a)* unto God a ſweet Savour in Chriſt, in them that are ſaved, and in them that periſh; to the one the Savour of Death unto Death, and to the other the Savour of Life unto Life.

I am very well aware, that ſeveral have gone before me in Works of the like Denomination; but I may boldly venture to ſay, that none of them have taken in half that Compaſs of View, which I here propoſe to myſelf. Blome *has given us a very pompous Book; but beſides that it is no more than a bare Tranſlation of* Sieur de Royamont's Hiſtory

(a) 2 Cor. ii. 15, 16.

of the Old and New Teſtament, *it omits many material Facts, obſerves no exact Series in its Narration, but is frequently interrupted by Inſertions of the Sentiments of the Fathers, which prove not always ſo very pertinent; and, in ſhort, is remarkable for little or nothing elſe, but the Number of it's Sculptures, which are badly deſigned, and worſe executed.* Elwood, *in ſome Reſpects, has acquitted himſelf much better; he has made a pretty juſt Collection of the Scripture-Account of Things; but then, when any Difficulty occurs, he uſually gives us the ſacred Text itſelf, without any explanatory Note or Comment upon it, and ſo not only leaves his Reader's* Underſtanding *as ignorant as he found it, but his Mind in ſome Danger of being tainted by the unlawful Parallels he makes between the Acts of former and later Times, and by a certain Levity, which he diſcovers (b) upon ſeveral Occaſions, not ſo becoming the* Sacredneſs *of his Subject.* Howel *has certainly excelled all that went before him, both in his Deſign and Execution of it. He has given us a continued Relation of Scripture-Tranſaction; has filled up the* Chaſm *between* Malachi *and* Chriſt; *has annexed ſome Notes, which help to explain the Difficulties that are chiefly occaſioned by the Miſtakes of our Tranſlators: But, in my Opinion, he has been a little too ſparing in his Notes, and (as ſome will have it) too pompous in his* Diction. *He has omitted many Things, that might juſtly deſerve his Notice, and taken Notice of others, that ſeem not ſo conſiderable. Some very remarkable Events he has thought fit to paſs by without any Comment; nor has he attempted to vindicate ſuch Paſſages, as the Lovers of Infidelity are apt to lay hold on, in order to entrench themſelves the ſafer.*

Whatever other Men's Sentiments might be, theſe Things I thought in ſome Meaſure eſſential, *and at this Time (more eſpecially) extremely* neceſſary *in an* Hiſtory of the Bible; *and to encourage my Purſuit of this Method, I have ſeveral Helps and Aſſiſtances, which thoſe, who went before me, were not perhaps ſo well accommodated with.*

The Foundation of a Lecture *by the* Honourable Mr. Boyle *has given Occaſion for the Principles of* natural *and* revealed *Religion to be fairly ſtated, and the Objections and Cavils of Infidelity of all Kinds to be fully anſwered. The Inſtitution of* another *by the Lady* Moyer *has furniſhed us with ſeveral Tracts, wherein the great Articles of our Chriſtian Faith are ſtrenuouſly vindicated, and, as far as the Nature of* Myſteries *will allow, accurately explained.*

The uncommon Licence, which, of late Years, has been taken, to decry all Prophecies *and* Miracles, *and to expoſe ſeveral Portions of Scripture, as abſurd and ridiculous, has raiſed up ſome learned Men (God grant that the Number of them may every Day increaſe!) to* contend earneſtly for the Faith, *and, by the Help of critical Knowledge in antient Cuſtoms, and ſacred Languages, to reſcue from their Hands ſuch Texts and Paſſages, as the Wicked and* Unſtable *were endeavouring to* wreſt, *to the Perverſion of other Men's Faith, as well as* their own Deſtruction. *The* Commentaries *and* Annotations *we have upon the Scriptures, both from our own Countrymen, and from Foreigners, have of late Years been very ſolid and elaborate; the* Diſſertations, *or particular Treatiſes on the moſt remarkable Facts and Events, extremely learned and judicious; the* Harmoniſts *or Writers, who endeavour to reconcile ſeeming Contradictions, very accurate and inquiſitive; ſuch, as have wrte in an* Analytical *Way, clear and perſpicuous enough; and (to paſs by ſeveral others) ſacred* Geography *has been fully handled by the great* Bochart; *ſacred* Chronology *ſufficiently aſſertained by our renowned* Uſher; *and the* Chaſm *in the ſacred Story abundantly ſupplied by our learned* Prideaux; *ſo that there are no Materials wanting, to furniſh out* A New and Compleat Hiſtory of the Bible, *even according to the Compaſs and Extent of my* Scheme. *That therefore the Reader may be apprized of the Method, I propoſe to myſelf, and what he may reaſonably expect from me, I muſt deſire him to obſerve, that according to the ſeveral* Periods *of Time, from the Creation of the World, to the full Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, my Deſign is, to divide the whole Work into Eight Books. Whereof*

The

(b) *Vid.* his Account of the Plague of Lice of *Pharaoh* and his People; the Story of *Samſon*'s Foxes, and that of *Eſther*.

The I. *Will extend from the Creation, to the Deluge.*
The II. *From the Deluge, to the Call of* Abraham.
The III. *From the Call of* Abraham, *to the Departure of the* Iſraelites *out of* Egypt.
The IV. *From the Departure of the* Iſraelites, *to their Entrance into the Land of* Canaan.
The V. *From their Entrance into* Canaan, *to the Building of* Solomon's *Temple.*
The VI. *From the Building of the Temple, to the* Babyloniſh *Captivity.*
The VII. *From the Captivity, to the Birth of Chriſt. And*
The VIII. *From the Birth of Chriſt, to the Completion of the Canon of the New Teſtament.*

Each of theſe Books *I purpoſe to divide into ſeveral* Chapters, *and each Chapter into three* Parts. *The Number of Chapters will vary, according as the Matter in each* Period *ariſes, but the* Parts *in each Chapter will be conſtantly the ſame,* viz.

1ſt, *A* Narrative *Part, which, in plain and eaſy Diction, will contain the Subſtance of the Scripture-Hiſtory for ſuch a determinate Time.*

2dly, *An* Argumentative *Part, which will contain an Anſwer to ſuch Objections, as may poſſibly be made againſt any Paſſage in the Hiſtory compriz'd in that Time. And*

3dly, *A* Philological *Part, which will contain the Sentiments of the Learned, both* antient *and* modern, *concerning ſuch remarkable Events or Tranſactions, as ſhall happen in that Time; or perhaps a* ſummary *Account of what is moſt conſiderable in* profane *Hiſtory, towards the Concluſion of each* Period.

That the Reader may perceive how I gradually *advance in the* Sacred Hiſtory, *and, by turning to his Bible, may compare the* Narrative *with the* Text, *and find a proper* Solution *to any Difficulty that ſhall occur in the Courſe of his Reading, I ſhall, at the Top of the Page, in each Section, ſet down the Book and Chapter, or Chapters, I have then under Conſideration, and the* Date *of the Year, both from the Creation, and before and after the Coming of Chriſt, wherein each remarkable Event happened. And, that all Things may be made as eaſy as poſſible to the Reader, I ſhall take Care not to trouble him with any* exotic *Words in the Text; but, where there is occaſion to inſert any* Hebrew *Expreſſions, for his Sake, I ſhall chuſe to do it in* Engliſh *Characters, and to reduce every Thing, that I conceive may be above his Capacity, to the* Notes *and Quotations, at the Bottom of the Page.*

The Notes (beſides the common References) will be only of four Kinds.

1ſt, Additional; *when a Paſſage is borrow'd from any other Author, whether Foreign or Domeſtick, to confirm, or illuſtrate the Matter, we are then upon; mark'd thus* [*].

2dly, Explanatory; *when, by producing the right Signification of the* Original, *or enquiring into ſome antient* Cuſtom, *and the like, we make the Paſſage under Conſideration more intelligible; mark'd thus* [†].

3dly, Reconciliatory; *when, by the Help of a parallel Place, or ſome* logical *Diſtinction, we ſhew the Conſiſtency of two, or more Paſſages in Scripture, which, at firſt View, ſeem to be contradictory; mark'd* [‖].

4thly, *What we may call* Emendatory; *when, by conſidering the various Senſes of the original Word, and ſelecting what is moſt proper, or, by having a due Attention to the Deſign of our Author, and the Context, the Miſtakes in our Tranſlations are ſet right; mark'd* [‡].

So that, when the Reader ſees any of theſe Characteriſticks, *he may be aſſured what Manner of Note he is to expect. And, that nothing may be wanting to the farther Illuſtration of this Work, ſuch* Cuts *and* Sculptures, *as conduce to that End, ſhall be all along inſerted in their proper Places; but the* Chronological, *and other Tables muſt be reſerv'd to the Concluſion of the Work.*

An

An Account of the Years, Months, *and* Kalender *of the* Jews; *together with a* Reduction *of the* Money, Weights, *and* Meaſures, *to the preſent* Standard, *and Manner of Computation, to which the Reader, in the Courſe of the Hiſtory, will have frequent Occaſion to refer.*

The Jewish Years.

THE *Hebrews* did originally (even as the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians)* begin their Year from the *autumnal* Equinox; but, upon their coming up out of the Land of *Egypt*, (which happened in the Month of *Niſan)* they, in Commemoration of that Deliverance, made their Year commence at the Beginning of that Month, which uſually happened about the Time of the *vernal* Equinox. *(c)* This Form they ever after made uſe of in the Calculation of the Times of their *Faſts*, *Feſtivals*, and all other *Eccleſiaſtical* Concerns; but in all *civil* Matters, as Contracts, Obligations, and all other Affairs, that were of a *ſecular* Nature, they ſtill made uſe of the old Form, and began their Year, as formerly, from the firſt of *Tiſri*, which happened about the Time of the *autumnal* Equinox: So that the *Jews* had two Ways of beginning their Year; their ſacred Year (as they called it) with the Month *Niſan*, and the *civil* Year, with the Month *Tiſri*.

THE Form of the Year, which they anciently made uſe of, was wholly *inartificial:* For it was not ſettled by any *Aſtronomical* Rules, or Calculations, but was made of *Lunar* Months, ſet out by the *Phaſis* or Appearance of the Moon. When they ſaw the new Moon, then they began their Months, which ſometimes conſiſted of 29, and ſometimes of 30 Days, according as the new Moon did, ſooner or later, appear. The Reaſon of this was, becauſe the *ſynodical* Courſe of the Moon *(i. e.* from new Moon to new Moon) being 29 Days and a half, the half Day, (which a Month of 29 Days fell ſhort of) was made up, by adding it to the next Month, which made it conſiſt of 30 Days: So that their Months were made up of 29 Days, or 30 Days, ſucceſſively, and alternately; with this certain Rule, that the firſt or initial Month (whether of their *ſacred* or *civil* Year) always conſiſted of 30 Days, and the firſt Day of each Month was called the *New Moon*. Of twelve of theſe Months did their common Year conſiſt: But, as twelve *Lunar* Months fell eleven Days ſhort of a *ſolar* Year; ſo every one of theſe common Years began eleven Days ſooner, which, in thirty Years Time, would carry back the Beginning of the Year through all the four Seaſons, to the ſame Point again, and get a whole Year from the *ſolar* Reckoning. To remedy therefore the Confuſion that might from hence ariſe, their Cuſtom was, ſometimes in the *third* Year, and ſometimes in the *ſecond*, to caſt in another Month (which they called *Veader*, or the ſecond *Adar)* and make their Year then conſiſt of thirteen Months; ſo that, by the Help of this *Intercalation*, they reduced their *Lunar* Year, in ſome Meaſure, to that of the Sun, and never ſuffered the one, for any more than a Month at any Time, to vary from the other.

THIS *Intercalation* of a Month however, every ſecond or third Year, makes it impracticable to fix the Beginnings of the *Jewiſh* Months to any certain Day in the *Julian* Kalender; but, as they therein always fell within the Compaſs of 30 Days, ſooner or later, I have given the Reader the beſt View I could, of their Co-incidence, and Correſpondency, in the following *Scheme*, wherein the firſt *Column* gives the ſeveral Names, and Order of the *Jewiſh* Months, and the ſecond of the *Julian*; within the Compaſs of which, the ſaid *Jewiſh* Months have always, ſooner or later, their Beginning and Ending.

(c) Prideaux's Connection, in the Preface.

JEWISH MONTHS.

1 *Niſan*	takes in Part of	March and April	7 *Tiſri*	takes in Part of	September and October
2 *Jyar*		April and May	8 *Marcheſvan*		October and November
3 *Sivan*		May and June	9 *Ciſleu*		November and December
4 *Tamuz*		June and July	10 *Tebeth*		December and January
5 *Ab*		July and Auguſt	11 *Shebat*		January and February
6 *Elul*		Auguſt and September	12 *Adar*		February and March.

THE thirteenth Month *(Veader)* is then only *intercalated*, or caſt in, when the Beginning of *Niſan* would otherwiſe be carried back into the End of *February*.

THE *Jews* of old had very exact *Kalenders*, wherein were ſet down their ſeveral *Faſts* and *Feſtivals*, and all thoſe Days, wherein they celebrated the Memory of any great Event, that had happened to their Nation; but theſe are no longer extant. All they have, that ſavours of any Antiquity, is their *Megilla Thaanith*, or *Volume of Affliction*, which contains the Days of Faſting and Feaſting, that were heretofore in Uſe among them, but are now laid aſide, and therefore no longer to be found in their *common* Kalenders. Out of this Volume however, as well as ſome of their other Kalenders, I thought it not improper to ſet down ſome of their *hiſtorical Events*, in order to let the Reader ſee, on what particular Day of each Month, their Memorial (whether by Faſting or Feaſting) was obſerved.

THE JEWISH KALENDER.

Months.	Days.
1. NISAN or ABIB.	I. New Moon. Beginning of the *ſacred*, or eccleſiaſtical Year; a Faſt for the Death of the Children of *Aaron*, Lev. x. 1, 2.
	X. A Faſt for the Death of *Miriam*, the Siſter of *Moſes*, Numb. xx. 1.
	XIV. The Paſchal Lamb ſlain on the Evening of this Day.
	XV. The great and ſolemn Feaſt of the *Paſſover*.
	XVI. The Oblation of the firſt Fruits of the *Harveſt*.
	XXI. The Concluſion of the *Paſſover*, or End of *unleavened Bread*.
	XXIV. A Faſt for the Death of *Joſhua*.
2. JYAR or JIAR.	VII. The Dedication of the Temple, when the *Aſmoneans* conſecrated it again, after the Perſecutions of the *Greeks*.
	X. A Faſt for the Death of the High-Prieſt *Eli*, and for the taking of the Ark by the *Philiſtines*.
	XXIII. A Feaſt for the taking of the City of *Gaza* by *Simon Maccabeus*, 1 *Mac.* xiii. 43, 44.
	XXVIII. Faſt for the Death of the Prophet *Samuel*, 1 Sam. xxv. 1.
3. SIVAN.	VI. *Pentecoſt*, or the fiftieth Day after the *Paſſover*, called likewiſe the *Feaſt of Weeks*, becauſe it happened ſeven Weeks after the *Paſſover*.
	XV. A Feaſt for the Victory of the *Maccabees* over the People of *Bethſan*, 1 *Mac.* v. 52.
	XVII. A Feaſt for the taking of *Cæſarea* by the *Aſmoneans*.
	XXVII. A Faſt in Remembrance of *Jeroboam*'s forbidding his Subjects to carry their firſt Fruits to *Jeruſalem*, 1 Kings xii. 27.
	XXX. A Feaſt in Memory of the ſolemn Judgment given by *Alexander the Great*, in Favour of the *Jews*, againſt the *Iſhmaelites* and *Egyptians*.

Months.	Days.	
4. TAMUZ or THAMMUZ.	IX.	A Faſt for the taking of *Jeruſalem* on that Day, but whether by *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, or the *Romans*, it is not ſaid.
	XVII.	A Faſt in Memory of the *Tables of the Law* that were broken by *Moſes*, Exod. xxxii. 15.
5. AB.	IX.	A Faſt in Memory of God's declaring to *Moſes* (as on this Day) that none of the murmuring *Iſraelites* ſhould enter into the Land of *Canaan*, Numb. xiv. 29, 31.
	X.	A Faſt, becauſe, on this ſame Day, the City and Temple were taken, and burnt, firſt by the *Chaldeans*, and afterwards by the *Romans*.
	XVIII.	A Faſt, becauſe that, in the Time of *Ahab*, the Evening-Lamp went out.
6. ELUL.	VII.	A Feaſt in Memory of the Dedication of the Walls of *Jeruſalem* by *Nehemiah*, Ezra vi. 16.
	XVII.	A Faſt for the Death of the *Spies*, who brought an ill Report of *the Land of Promiſe*, Numb. xvi. 36, 37.
7. TISRI.	I.	*The Feaſt of Trumpets*, Lev. xxiii. 34. Numb. xxix. 1, 2.
	III.	A Faſt for the Death of *Gedaliah*, whereupon the Expulſion of the People, and the utter Deſtruction of the Land enſued, *Jer.* xli. 2.
	VII.	A Faſt for the *Iſraelites* worſhipping the Golden Calf, and the Sentence which God pronounced againſt them in Conſequence of that Crime, *Exod.* xxxii. 6, *&c.*
	X.	The Faſt of Expiation, as ſome think, in Memory of Man's Fall, and Expulſion out of Paradiſe, *Lev.* xxiii. 19.
	XV.	The Feaſt of *Tabernacles*, in Memory of their dwelling in Tents, in their Paſſage through the Wilderneſs, *Lev.* xxiii. 34.
	XXIII.	*The Rejoicing for the Law*; or, a Feaſt inſtituted in Memory of the Law, which God gave them by the Hand of *Moſes*.
8. MARCHESVAN.	VI.	A Faſt upon Occaſion of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s putting out *Zedekiah*'s Eyes, after that he had ſlain his Children in his Sight, 2 *Kings* xxv. 7. *Jer.* lii. 11.
9. CISLEU.	VI.	A Faſt in Memory of the Book of *Jeremiah*, torn and burnt by King *Jehoiachim*, Jer. xxxvi. 23.
	VII.	A Feaſt in Memory of the Death of *Herod the Great*, a bitter Enemy to the *Sages*.
	XXI.	The *Feaſt of Mount Gerizim*, upon their obtaining Leave of *Alexander the Great*, to deſtroy the Temple of *Samaria*, which was ſituate there.
	XXV.	The *Feaſt of Dedication*, viz. of the Temple, profaned by the Order of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and repaired and beautified by the Care of *Judas Maccabeus*. This Feſtival Chriſt honoured with his Preſence at *Jeruſalem*. It is likewiſe called the *Feaſt of Lights*, becauſe, during the Time of it's Celebration, the People were uſed to illuminate their Houſes, by ſetting up Candles at every one's Door. *Vid.* 1 *Mac.* iv. 52. 2 *Mac.* ii. 16. *John* x. 22.
10. TEBETH.	X.	A Faſt in Memory of the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, 2 *Kings* xxv. 1.
	XXVIII.	A Feaſt for the Excluſion of the *Sadducees*, out of the *Sanhedrim*, where they had once all the Power.
11. SHEBETH.	IV.	A Faſt in Memory of the Death of the Elders, who ſucceeded *Joſhua*, Judg. ii. 10.
	XV.	*The Beginning of the Years of Trees*, when they were firſt allowed to eat the Fruit thereof, after they were four Years planted, *Lev.* xix. 23, &c.
	XXIII.	A Faſt for the War of the Ten Tribes againſt that of *Benjamin*, for the Outrage committed upon the Body of the *Levite*'s Wife, *Judg.* xx.

XXIX. A

Months.	Days.	
	XXIX.	A Memorial of the Death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, a cruel Enemy to the *Jews*, 1 *Mac.* vi.
12 ADAR.	VII.	A Faſt in Remembrance of the Death of *Moſes*, *Deut.* xxxiv. 5.
	XIII.	*Eſther*'s *Faſt*, probably in Memory of that, which is mentioned in *Eſther* iv. 16.
	XV.	A Feaſt in Memory of the Death of *Nicanor*, a bitter Enemy to the *Jews*, 1 *Mac.* xv. 30.
		The Feaſt of *Purim* or *Lots*; becauſe, when *Haman* purpoſed to deſtroy all the *Jews* that were in *Perſia*, according to the Superſtition of the Country, he firſt drew *Lots*, to know on what Day of the Year it would be beſt to put his Deſign in Execution, from whence the Feaſt, in Commemoration of their Eſcape, took it's Name.
	XIII.	The Dedication of the Temple of *Zerubbabel*, Ezra vi. 16.
	XXVIII.	A Feaſt in Commemoration of the Repeal of the Decree, whereby the Kings of *Greece* had forbidden the *Jews* to circumciſe their Children, to obſerve the Sabbath, and to reject foreign Worſhip.

WHEN the Year conſiſts of thirteen Months, *here* is the Place where the *ſecond* Month of *Adar*, or *Veadar*, by Way of Intercalation, comes in.

JEWISH MONEY.

THE Cuſtom of making Money, of ſuch a Form, ſuch an Allay, and ſuch a determinate Value, is not ſo ancient, as ſome may imagine. *(d)* The *original* Way of Commerce was certainly by Way of *Barter*, or exchanging one Kind of Merchandize for another, as it is the Cuſtom, in ſome Places, even to this Day. In Proceſs of Time, ſuch Metals, as were generally eſteemed to be moſt valuable, were received into Traffick, but then the Cuſtom was to weigh them out to one another; till, finding the Delays and other Inconveniencies of this Method, they agreed to give each Metal a certain Mark, a certain Weight, and a certain Degree of Allay, in Order to fix it's Value; but it was a long while, before Men came into this Agreement. The Coinage of Money among the *Perſians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, was but of late Date: Among the *Perſians*, no older than the Times of *Darius*, Son of *Hyſtaſpes*; and among the *Grecians*, (from whom the *Romans* very probably took it) of the ſame Date with *Alexander*. We have no Traces of this Practice among the antient *Egyptians*, before the Time of the *Ptolemy's*; nor had the *Hebrews* this Cuſtom among them, *(e)* until the Government of *Simon Maccabeus*, to whom *Antiochus Sidetes*, King of *Syria*, granted the Privilege of coining his own Money in *Judea*.

BEFORE *that* Time, they made all their Payments by Weight; and therefore the Reader need leſs wonder, that one and the ſame Word ſhould denote, both a certain Weight of any Commodity, and ſuch a *(f)* determinate Sum of Money; what he has to remark is this — *(g)* that, among the *Antients*, the Proportion of Gold to Silver was moſt commonly as ten to one; ſometimes it raiſed to be as eleven to one, ſometimes as twelve, and ſometimes as thirteen: That though, in the Time of King *Edward* the Firſt, it was here in *England* at ſo low an Eſtimate as ten to one, yet is it now advanced to the Value of ſixteen to one, and in all the Reductions of this Kind, that we make, is to be ſo computed.

The

(d) *Calmet*'s Diſſertation, Vol. I. *(e)* And yet the *Jews* have a Tradition, that not only *Joſhua*, *David*, and *Mordecai*, but even *Abraham* himſelf had found out the Way of coining. It is ſaid of *Abraham* indeed, that *he was very rich in Silver and Gold*, Gen. xiii. 2. But we no where read that this Money was ſtamped with any Impreſſion; and yet the *Jewiſh* Tradition runs thus, *viz.* *That on* Abraham's *Money were ſtampt on one Side an old Man and an old Woman, on the other, a young Man and a young Maid*; *on* Joſhua's *Money, one Side an Ox, on the other a Monoceros*; *on* David's *Money, one Side a Staff and a Scrip, on the other a Tower*; *and on* Mordecai's *Money, on one Side Sackcloth and Aſhes, on the other a Crown*. But this ſeems to have the Air of a *Rabbinical* Fiction. *Lewis*'s *Antiq. Heb. Lib. VI.* *(f)* For ſo the Word *Shekel* comes from *ſhakal*, to *weigh*; and may properly be interpreted the Weight. *Lewis*, Ibid. *(g)* *Prideaux*'s Connection, in the Preface.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
The Gerah	000	00	01	3
The *Hebrew* Drachm	000	00	09	
Two Drachms made a Bekah	000	01	06	
Two Bekahs made a Shekel	000	03	00	
Sixty Shekels made a Mina	009	00	00	
Fifty Minas made a Talent	450	00	00	
A Talent of Gold, ſixteen to one	7200	00	00	

Jewish Weights.

	lb.	*oz.*	*gr.*	*dec.*
The Gerah	000	00	10	95
The *Hebrew* Drachm or Zuza	000	00	54	75
Two Zuzas made a Bekath	000	00	109½	
Two Bekaths made a Shekel	000	00	219	
An hundred Shekels made a Mineth	050	00	00	
Thirty Mineths made a Talent.	1500	00	00	

Measures of Length.

	Engliſh Feet.	Inch.
The *Hebrew Cubit*, ſomewhat more than	0	21
The *Zerith*, or Span, a little more than	0	10
The *Span* of a Cubit, a little above	0	7
The *Palm*, or Hand's-Breadth, ſomewhat above	0	3
The *Fathom*, which makes 4 Cubits, above	7	0
Ezekiel's *Reed*, which was 6 Cubits above	10	0
The antient *Meaſuring-Line*, or Chain, which was 80 Cubits, above	145	0
A *Sabbath Day*'s *Journey*, 2000 Cubits	3648	0

	Miles.	Paces.	Feet.
An Eaſtern Mile, 4000 Cubits,	1	10	0
A Day's Journey generally computed much about	33	0	0

Measures of Capacity.

Dry Meaſures.

The *Cab* contained a Quarter of a Peck.

The *Omer*, or *Gnomer* in the *Hebrew*, was *the tenth Part of an Ephah.*

The *Ephah* is computed to be about our Buſhel; and

The *Homer* is ſuppoſed to be *ten.*

Liquid Meaſures.

The *Log* came near to our Pint.

16 *Logs* made an *Hin*, which anſwered our Gallon.

6 *Hins* made a *Bath*, which was about ſix Gallons; and

10 *Baths* made an *Homer*, which was 60.

The Reader will be pleaſed to obſerve, that, in the Valuation of Money, I have chiefly followed Dean *Prideaux*, in his Preface to the firſt Part of his *Connection of Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory*; and, in the Reduction of Weights and Meaſures, our learned *Cumberland:* But whoever deſires a fuller Account of theſe Matters, may conſult the ſaid Biſhop *Cumberland*, of the *Jewiſh Weights*, *Meaſures*, and *Monies*; Mr. *Brerewood*, *de ponderibus & pretiis veterum Nummorum*; Dr. *Bernard*, *de menſuris & ponderibus antiquis*; and others that have written on this Argument, which is not a little difficult and perplexing.

THE



Hulett Sculp.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

BIBLE.

BOOK I.

Containing an Account of Things from the Creation *to the* Flood, in all 1656 Years.

CHAP. I.

Of the CREATION *of the WORLD.*

The INTRODUCTION.

A. M. 1. Ant. Chriſ. 4004. The Creation of the ſupreme Heaven not included in Moſes's Account.

THE chief Deſign of the Author of the *Pentateuch* is, to give us a ſhort Account of the *Formation* of the Earth, and the *Origin* of Mankind; of the moſt remarkable *Events*, that attended them in the Infancy of the World; and of the Tranſactions of one *particular* Nation more eſpecially, from whence the *Meſſias* was to ſpring: And therefore it cannot well be expected, that he ſhould extend his Hiſtory to the Creation of the ſupreme *Empyrean* Heaven, which God might make the Place of his own *Reſidence*, and the *Manſions* of thoſe celeſtial Beings, whom he conſtituted the Miniſters of his Court, and Attendants on his Throne, * an immenſe Space of Time

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

* This is no *novel* Notion of our own, but what has been confirmed by many great Authorities, as the learned and ingenious Dr. *Burnet* teſtifies. For, ſpeaking of ſome, who ſuppoſed that the whole Univerſe was created at

A. M. 1. Ant. Chriſ. 4004.

Time perhaps, before the *Moſaic* Account of the Origination of this *planetary* World begins.

In the Introduction of the Hiſtory indeed we are told, that *God created* † *the Heaven and the Earth:* But when it is conſidered, that Heaven, in Scripture-Language is very commonly ſet to ſignify no more, than the upper Region of the Air; that we frequently read of *(a)* the Firmament of Heaven, *(b)* the Windows of Heaven, *(c)* the Bottles of Heaven, and *(d)* the hoary Froſt of Heaven, *&c.* none of which extend beyond our *Atmoſphere*, we have no Grounds to conclude, that, at one and the ſame Time, God created every Thing that is contained in the vaſt *extra-mundanous* Spaces of the Univerſe. On the contrary, when we find him recounting to *Job*, that at the Time, *(e) when he laid the Foundations of the Earth, the Morning Stars ſang together, and all the Sons of God ſhouted for Joy*, we cannot but infer, that theſe *Stars*, and theſe *Sons* of *God* were pre-exiſtent, and, conſequently, no Part of the *Moſaic* Creation.

By the *Heaven* therefore we are to underſtand no more, than that Part of the World, which we behold above us: But then I imagine, we have very good Reaſon to extend our Conceptions of this World above us ſo far, as to include in it the whole *planetary* Syſtem. † The Truth is, the ſeveral Planets, that are contain'd within the *Magnus Orbis* (as 'tis call'd) or the *Circle*, which *Saturn* deſcribes about the Sun, have ſo near a Similitude and Relation, the ſame Form, the ſame Center, and the ſame common Luminary with one another, that it can hardly be imagin'd, but that they were the Production of one and the ſame Creation. And therefore, tho' the Hiſtorian ſeems chiefly to regard the *Earth* in his whole Narration; yet there is Reaſon to preſume, that the other Parts of the *planetary* World went, all along, on in the ſame Degrees of Formation with it.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

That this World was formed out of a pre-exiſting Chaos.

2dly, It is to be obſerved farther, that this *planetary* World, or Syſtem of Things, was not immediately created out of nothing (as very probably the ſupreme Heavens were) but out of ſome ſuch pre-exiſtent

at one and the ſame time, and the higheſt Heaven and Angels included in the firſt Day's Work; Hieronymi Verba, *ſays he*, libet hic opponere: *Sex mille necdum noſtri orbis implentur anni, & quantas prius Æternitates, quanta Tempora, quantas ſeculorum Origines fuiſſe arbitrandum eſt, in quibus Angeli, Throni, Dominiones, cæteræque Virtutes ſervierint Deo.* In libro de *Trinitate* (ſive *Novitiani*, ſive *Tertulliani* ſit) tam Mundus angelicus, quam ſuper-firmamentarius conditus dicitur ante Mundum Moſaicum his verbis: *Quam etiam ſuperioribus*, i. e. *ſuper ipſum quoque Solidamentum partibus, angelos prius inſtituerit* Deus, *ſpirituales Virtutes digeſſerit, Thronos Poteſtateſque præfecerit, & alia multa cælorum immenſa ſpatia condiderit*, &c. *ut hic Mundus noviſſimum magis Dei opus eſſe appareat, quàm ſolum & unicum.* Denique Catholicorum communem hanc fuiſſe Sententiam notat *Caſſianus* ſuo tempore, nempe ſeculo quinto ineunte: *Ante illud Geneſeos temporale principium, omnes illas Poteſtates cæleſtes Deum creâſſe, non dubium eſt.* Burnet's Archæolog. Philoſoph. c. viii.

† By *Heaven* ſome underſtand, in this Place, the higheſt *ſuper-firmamentary* Heaven, and by the *Earth*, that pre-exiſtent Matter, whereof the Earth was originally made; and ſo the Senſe of the Words will be —— "that God "at firſt created the Matter, whereof the whole Univerſe was compos'd, all at once, in an Inſtant, and by a "Word's Speaking; but it was the *ſupreme* Heaven only, which he then finiſh'd, and formed into a moſt excellent Or-"der, for the Place of his own Reſidence, and the Habitation of his holy Angels; the Earth was left *rude* and indi-"geſted, in the Manner that *Moſes* has deſcrib'd it, until there ſhould be a fit Occaſion for its being reviſed, and ſet "in Order likewiſe."

(a) Gen. i. 20. *(b)* Gen. vii. 11. *(c)* Job xxxviii. 37. *(d)* Ibid. ver. 29. *(e)* Ibid. ver. 4, 7.

† The better to underſtand this, and ſome other Matters, in our Explication of the Formation of celeſtial Bodies, it is proper to obſerve, that there are three more remarkable Syſtems of the World, the *Ptolemaic*, *Copernican*, and what is called the *new Syſtem*, which Aſtronomers have deviſed.

1ſt, In the *Ptolemaic*, the *Earth* and *Waters* are ſuppoſed to be in the Center of the Univerſe, next to which is the Element of *Air*, and next above that the Element of *Fire*; then the Orb of *Mercury*, then that of *Venus*, and then that of the *Sun*; above the *Sun*'s Orb, thoſe of *Mars*, *Jupiter*, and *Saturn*; and, above them, all the Orbs of the fixed Stars, then the *Cryſtalline* Orbs, and, laſtly, the *Cœlum Empyreum*, or Heaven of Heavens. All theſe maſſy Orbs, and vaſt Bodies borne by them, are, in this *Syſtem*, ſuppoſed to move round the terraqueous Globe once in twenty-four Hours, and, beſides that, to perform other *Revolutions* in certain *periodical* Times, according to their Diſtance from the ſuppos'd *Center*, and the different Circumference they take.

2dly, In

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exiſtent Matter, as the antient Heathens were wont to call *Chaos*. And accordingly we may obſerve, that in the Hiſtory, which *Moſes* gives us of the Creation, he does not ſay, that God at once made all Things in their full Perfection, but that * *in the Beginning he created the Earth*, i. e. the Matter, whereof the *Chaos* was compoſed, which *was without Form*, without any Shape or Order, *and void*, without any Thing living, or growing in it; *and Darkneſs was upon the Face of the Waters*, nothing was ſeen for want of Light, which lay bury'd in the vaſt *Abyſs*.

ACCORDING to *Tradition* then, and the Repreſentation, which this inſpir'd Author ſeems to give us, * this *Chaos* was a fluid *Maſs*, wherein were the Materials and Ingredients of all Bodies, but mingled in Confuſion with one another, ſo that heavy and light, denſe and rare, fluid and ſolid Particles were jumbled together, and the *Atoms*, or ſmall conſtituent Parts of Fire, Air, Water, and Earth (which have ſince obtain'd the Name of Elements) were every one in every Place, and *all* in a wild Confuſion and Diſorder. This ſeems to be a Part of God's *original* Creation: But why he ſuffer'd it to continue ſo long, before he transform'd it into an habitable World, is a Queſtion only reſolvable into the Divine Pleaſure; ſince, according to the Ideas we have of his *moral* Perfections, there is nothing to fix the Creation of any Thing ſooner or later, than his own *arbitrary* Will determined. Only we may imagine, that, after the Revolt of ſo many Angels, God, intending to make a new Race of Creatures, in order to ſupply their Place, and fill up (as it were) the Vacancy in Heaven; and withal, reſolving to make Trial of their Obedience, before he admitted them into his beatific Preſence, ſingled out *one* (as perhaps * there might be many *Chaotic* Bodies in the Univerſe) placed at a proper Diſtance

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

2*dly*, In the *Copernican* Syſtem, the Sun is ſuppos'd to be in the *Center*, and the Heavens and Earth to revolve round about it, according to their ſeveral *Periods*; firſt *Mercury*, then *Venus*, then the Earth with its *Satellite*, the *Moon*; then *Mars*, then *Jupiter* with its four Moons; laſtly, *Saturn* with its five, or more Moons revolving round it; and beyond, or above all theſe, is the *Firmament*, or Region of *fixed Stars*, which are all ſuppoſed to be at equal Diſtances from their Center, the *Sun*.

3*dly*, In the *new* Syſtem, the Sun and Planets have the ſame Site and Poſition, as in the *Copernican*; but then, whereas the *Copernican* ſuppoſes the *Firmament* of the fixed Stars to be the Bounds of the Univerſe, and placed at equal Diſtance from its *Center* the Sun; this new Hypotheſis ſuppoſes, that there are many more Syſtems of Suns and Planets, beſides that, in which we have our Habitation; that every fixed Star, in ſhort, is a Sun, encompaſſed with its Complement of Planets, both *primary* and *ſecondary*, as well as ours; and that theſe *Stars*, with their *Planets*, are placed at regular Diſtances from each other, and, according to their Diſtances from us, ſeem to vary in their reſpective Magnitudes. *Durham*'s *Aſtro-Theology*, in the preliminary Diſcourſe.

* What our Tranſlators render [*in the Beginning*] ſome learned Men have made [*in Wiſdom*] *God created the Heaven and the Earth*; not only becauſe the *Jeruſalem Targum* has it ſo, but becauſe the Pſalmiſt, paraphraſing upon the Works of the Creation, breaks forth into this Admiration, *O Lord! how wonderful are thy Works! In Wiſdom haſt thou made them all*, Pſalm civ. 24. And again, exhorting us to give Thanks unto the Lord for his manifold Mercies, he adds, *who by Wiſdom made the Heavens*, ibid. cxxxvi. 5. where, by *Wiſdom*, as ſome imagine, he means the *Son of God*, by whom (ſays the Evangeliſt, *John* i. 3.) *all Things were made*, or *all Things created* (ſays the Apoſtle, *Col.* i. 16.) *that are in Heaven, and that are in the Earth*; and therefore the Meaning of the Phraſe muſt be, that God, in creating the World, made uſe of the Agency of his Son. Fuit hæc apud antiquos [*ſays* Petavius, de Officio ſex Dierum, l. 1. c. 1.] pervagata, multumque communis Opinio, *Principii* nomine *verbum* ſignificari, ſeu *filium*. And to this Interpretation, the Word *Elohim* in the *plural* Number, joined with *bara*, a Verb *ſingular*, ſeems to give ſome Countenance; though others are of Opinion, that a Noun *plural*, governing a Verb *ſingular*, is no more than the common *Idiom* of the *Hebrew* Tongue; and for this *Idiom* a very *conſiderable* Commentator aſſigns this Reaſon: ——— That the *Hebrew* Language was originally that of the *Canaanites*, a People ſtrangely addicted to *Idolatry*, and *Polytheiſm*, and who therefore made more Uſe of the Plural *Elohim*, than of the Singular *Eloah*; which Uſage the *Jews* continued, though they were zealous Aſſertors of the Unity of the Godhead, and, thereupon, moſt commonly joined a Verb of the *ſingular* Number with it, purſuant to their Notions of the Divine Unity. *Le Clerc*'s Diſſert. de Ling. Hebraicâ.

* To mention one Author out of the many which *Grotius* has cited, *Ovid*, in the Beginning of his *Metamorphoſes*, has given us this Deſcription of it:

Ante Mare, & Terras, &, quod tegit omnia, Cœlum,
Unus erat toto Naturæ vultus in Orbe,
Quem dixere Chaos: rudis, indigeſtaque Moles,
Nec quicquam, niſi pondus iners, congeſtaque eodem
Non bene junctarum diſcordia ſemina rerum, &c.

* Si materia Chaus extitit ante mundi *Moſaici* Principium, *quid fuit, quem in finem extitit, aut ubinam Loci ante illud tempus?* Reſpondeo, hæc non eſſe nimis ſollicitè quærenda, cum magnâ ex parte notitiam noſtram fugiant. Sed

vidimus

A. M. 1. Ant. Chriſ. 4004.

Diſtance from his own *Empyrean* Seat to be the Habitation of the Creatures, he was about to form, and might delay the fitting it up for them, until the Time, which his infinite Wiſdom had determined for their Creation, was fully come.

The Wiſdom of Moſes's *Account of Things.*

3*dly*, It is to be obſerv'd farther, that, tho' *Moſes* might have in his View the whole *planetary Syſtem*, and know very well, that every Day each Planet advanced in the ſame Proportion, as the Earth did, in its Formation; yet what he principally choſe to inſiſt on (as a Specimen of all the reſt) was this *ſublunary* Creation. He, who was vers'd in all the *Learning of the Egyptians*, cou'd not be unacquainted with the *Vulgar*, or what is uſually call'd the *Ptolemaic* Hypotheſis, which came originally from *Egypt* into *Greece*; and yet, inſtead of expreſſing his Notions according to *this*, or any other *Syſtem*, we find him giving us a plain *Narrative*, how Matters were tranſacted, without aſſerting or denying any *philoſophic* Truth. Had he indeed talk'd a great deal of *globular* and *angular* Particles, of *centrinal* Motion, planetary *Vortices*, *Atmoſpheres* of Comets, the Earth's *Rotation*, and the *Sun*'s *Reſt*, he might poſſibly have pleaſed the Taſte of ſome *Theoriſts* better; but Theories, we know, are Things of uncertain Mode. They depend, in a great meaſure, upon the Humour and Caprice of an Age, which is ſometimes in Love with one, and ſometimes with another. But this Account of *Moſes* was to laſt for ever, as being the Ground-work which God deſign'd for all his future Revelations; and therefore it was requiſite to have it fram'd in ſuch a Manner, as that it might *condeſcend* to the meaneſt Capacity, and yet not *contradict* any received Notions of *Philoſophy*.

The *Jews*, it muſt be own'd, were a Nation of no great Genius for Learning; and therefore, if *Moſes* had given them a *falſe* Syſtem of the Creation, ſuch as a ſimple People might be apt to fancy, he had both made himſelf an *Impoſtor*, and expos'd his Writings to the Contempt and Deriſion of every Man of Underſtanding; and yet, to have given them a particular Explication of the *true* one, muſt have made the illiterate look upon him as a *wild Romancer*. By God's Direction therefore, he took the middle and wiſeſt Way, which was to ſpeak exact Truth, but *cauteiouſly*, and in ſuch general Terms, as might neither confound the Minds of the *ignorant Jews*, nor expoſe him to the Cenſure of *philoſophizing* Chriſtians: And we may well account it an evident Token of a particular Providence of God over-ruling this inſpir'd *Penman*, that he has drawn up the *Coſmogony* in ſuch a Manner, as makes it of perpetual Uſe and Application; foraſmuch as it contains no peculiar Notions of his own, no Principles borrow'd from the ancient *exploded* Philoſophy, nor *any* repugnant to the various Diſcoveries of the *New*.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

4*thly*, It is to be obſerv'd farther, in relation to this Account of *Moſes*, that, when God is ſaid to give the Word, and every Thing thereupon proceeded to its Formation, he did not leave Matter and Motion to do their beſt, whilſt he ſtood by (according to Dr. *Cudworth*'s Expreſſion) as an Idle Spectator of this *Luſus Atomorum*, and the various Reſults of it; but himſelf interpos'd, and, conducting the whole Proceſs, gave not only *Life* and *Being*, but *Form* and *Figure* to every Part of the Creation.

The Creation not left to Matter *and* Motion.

The warmeſt Abettors of *mechanical* Principles do not deny, but that *(a)* a divine *Energy*, at leaſt, muſt be admitted in this Caſe, where a World was to be form'd, and a wild *Chaos* reduc'd to a fair, regular, and permanent Syſtem. The immediate Hand of God, (they cannot but acknowledge) is apparent in a Miracle, which is an Infraction upon the *ſtanding* Laws

vidimus quandoque novas Stellas in Cœlo oriri, quæ nunquam antea apparuerant, quas tamen præextitiſſe, ſub aliquâ formâ, & alicubi locorum, æquum eſt credamus. Præterea, *Cometas* ſæpe in Cœlo advertimus, quarum Origo, & primæ ſedes nos latent. Denique neutiquam fingendum eſt, cœlos *incorruptibiles:* Corpora cœleſtia, proinde ac Terreſtria, ſuas habent viciſſitudines & tranſmutationes; atque ipſæ *Fixæ* in *Planetas*, mediante *Chao*, converti poſſunt, & viciſſim *Planetæ*, excuſſis ſordibus, in *fixas* reviviſcere, *&c.* *Burnet*'s Archæol. Philoſoph. cap. 9.

(a) Vid. *Whiſton*'s Theory.

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Laws of Nature; but certainly, of all Miracles, the Creation of the World is the greateſt, not only as it ſignifies the Production of Matter and Motion out of nothing, but as it was likewiſe the ranging and putting Things into ſuch Order, as might make them capable of the Laws of Motion, which were to be ordained for them. *(a)* For, whatever Notions we may have of the ſtated *Oeconomy* of Things now, 'tis certain, that the Laws of Motion (with which Philoſophers make ſuch Noiſe) could not take Place, before every Part of the Creation was ranged and ſettled in it's proper Order.

IT may be allowed however, ſince, even in the *Moſaic* Account, there are ſome Paſſages, (ſuch as, *let the Earth bring forth Graſs, let the Earth bring forth the living Creature after his Kind, and it was ſo)* that whatever comes under the Compaſs of *mechanical* Cauſes, might poſſibly be effected by *Matter* and *Motion*, only ſet on work by infinite Wiſdom, and ſuſtained in their Being and Operation by infinite Power; but whatever is above the Power of *ſecond* Cauſes, ſuch as the Production of Matter out of Nothing, the Formation of the Seeds of all Animals and Vegetables, the Creation of our firſt Parents, and inſpiring them with immortal Souls, *&c.* theſe we affirm, and theſe we ought to believe, were the pure Reſult of God's *omnipotent* Power, and are aſcribed to him alone.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

To this Purpoſe we may obſerve, that before our Author begins to acquaint us with what particular Creatures were, each Day ſucceſſively, brought into Being, he takes Care to inform us, (as a Thing eſſential and preparatory to the Work) † *that the Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters.* For, whether by *the Spirit of God*, we are to underſtand *(b)* his holy and eſſential Spirit, which is the *third* Perſon in the ever-bleſſed *Trinity*, whether *(c)* that *plaſtic* Nature, which (according to ſome) was made ſubſervient to him upon this Occaſion, or any other Emanation of the Divine Power and Energy, 'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that it's moving, or *Incubation* upon the *chaotic* Maſs, derived into it a certain Fermentation, impregnated it with ſeveral Kinds of *motive* Influence, and ſo ſeparated, and digeſted it's confuſed Parts, as to make it capable of the Diſpoſition and Order, it was going to receive.

The HISTORY

The Work of the firſt Day.

IN this Condition we may ſuppoſe the *Chaos* to have been, when the † *Fiat* for Light was given; whereupon, all the confuſed, ſtagnating Particles of Matter began to range into Form and Order. The dull, heavy, and terrene Parts, which overclouded the *Expanſum*, had their Summons to retire to their reſpective *Centers.* They preſently obeyed the Almighty's Orders, and Part of them ſubſided to the Center of

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(a) Vid. *Hale*'s Origin of Mankind.

† The Word in the *Hebrew*, according to the Opinion of ſome, both *antient* and *modern* Interpreters, ſignifies literally a *brooding* upon the Waters, even as an Hen does upon her Eggs; but as there are only two Places, wherein the Word occurs, [*Deut.* xxxii. 11. and *Jer.* xxxiii. 9.] Mr. *Le Clerc* contends, that in neither of theſe it will properly admit of this Senſe; and therefore he rather thinks it (as our *Ainſworth* ſeems to do) to be a Metaphor taken from the hovering and fluttering of an Eagle, or any other Bird, over it's Young, but not it's ſitting over, or brooding upon them. A Diſtinction of no great Moment in my Opinion.

(b) Cudworth's Intellectual Syſtem.

(c) Gen. i. 2. It is obſerved by ſome later *Jewiſh*, as well as *Chriſtian* Interpreters, that the ſeveral Names of God are often given as Epithets to thoſe Things, which are the greateſt, the ſtrongeſt, and the beſt of their Kind; and thereupon they think, that ſince the Word *Ruach* ſignifies the *Wind*, as well as the *Spirit*, *Ruach Elohim* ſhould be tranſlated a moſt *vehement Wind*, inſtead of the *Spirit of God*; and that this Signification agrees very well with *Moſes*'s Account, which repreſents the Earth, ſo mixed with the Waters, that it could not appear, and therefore ſtood in need of a Wind to dry it. But, beſides that this Senſe ſeems to be a ſad debaſing of the Text, 'tis certain, that the Wind (which is nothing but the moving of the Air) could not be ſpoken of now, becauſe it was not created until the ſecond Day.

† The Words are, *let there be Light*, which, as *Longinus* takes Notice, is a truly lofty Expreſſion; and herein appears the Wiſdom of *Moſes*, that he repreſents God like himſelf, commanding Things into Being by his Word, *i. e.* his *Will:* For, wherever we read the Words [*he ſaid*] in the Hiſtory of the Creation, the meaning muſt be, that he willed *ſo*, and ſo. *Patrick*'s Comment.

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the *Earth*, ſome to *Jupiter*, ſome to *Saturn*, ſome to *Venus*, &c. till the Globes of theſe ſeveral Planets were compleated. And, as the groſſer Parts ſubſided, the lighter, and more tenuous mounted up; and the lucid and fiery Particles, (being lighter than the reſt) aſcending higher, and by the Divine Order, meeting together in a Body, were put in a *circular* Motion, and, in the Space of a *natural Day*, made to viſit the whole *Expanſum* of the *Chaos*, which occaſioned a Separation of the *Light* from *Darkneſs*, and thereby a Diſtribution of Day and Night: † And this was the Work of the *firſt* Day.

The Second.

THE next Thing, which God Almighty commanded, was, that the Waters, which as yet, were univerſally diſperſed over the Face of the *Chaos*, ſhould retire to their reſpective *Planets*, and be reſtrained within their proper Limits by ſeveral *Atmoſpheres*. Hereupon all the *Aqueous* Parts immediately ſubſided towards the Centers of the ſeveral Planets, and were circumfuſed about their Globes; by which Means the great *Expanſum* was again cleared off, and the Region of the Air became more lucid and ſerene. And this is the Operation, which *Moſes* calls *dividing the Waters under* † *the Firmament from the Waters, which are above* † *the Firmament*; for the Waters under the Firmament are the Waters of the Earth, the Waters above the Firmament are thoſe of the *Moon*, and other Planets, which, in the ſecond Day's Work, were diſmiſſed to their ſeveral *Orbs*, but were confuſedly mixed, and overſpread the whole Face of the *Expanſum* before. Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

The Third.

THUS on the *ſecond* Day, the delightful Element of *Air* was diſentangled, and extracted from the *Chaos*: And one Part of the Buſineſs of the *Third*, was to ſeparate the other remaining Elements, *Water* and *Earth*. For the watery Particles, as we ſaid, clearing the *Expanſum*, and falling upon the *planetary* Orbs, muſt be ſuppoſed to cover the Face of the Earth, as well as other Planets, when the great Creator gave the Command for *the Waters to be gathered into one Place, and the dry Land to appear*: Whereupon the mighty Mountains inſtantly reared up their Heads, and the Waters, falling every Way from their Sides, ran into thoſe large extended Vallies, which this Swelling of the Earth in *ſome* Places had made for their Reception in *others*. The Earth, being thus ſeparated from the Waters, and deſigned for the Habitation of Man and Beaſt (which were afterwards to be created) was firſt to be furniſhed with ſuch Things as were proper for their Support; Graſs for Cattle, and Herbs, and Fruit-Trees for the Nouriſhment of Man. Immediately therefore, upon the Divine Command, it was covered with a beautiful Carpet of Flowers and Graſs, Trees and Plants of all Kinds, which were produced in their full Proportion, laden with Fruit, and not ſubjected to the ordinary Courſe of *Maturation*. For how great ſoever the Fecundity of the *primogenial* Earth might be, yet it is ſcarce to be imagined, how †

Trees

† If we rather approve the *Copernican Hypotheſis*, we muſt ſay, that the *Earth*, having now received it's *diurnal* and *annual* Motion, and having turned round about it's *Axis*, for about the Space of 12 Hours, made this luminous Body, now fixed in a proper Place, appear in the *Eaſt*, which, in the Space of 12 Hours more, ſeemed to ſet in the *Weſt*, and that this Revolution made a Diſtinction between Day and Night. *Bedford*'s Chronology.

† *Gen.* i. 6. The LXX Interpreters, in tranſlating the Word [*Rakiagh*] the *firm* or *ſolid*, ſeem to have followed the Philoſophy of the firſt Ages: For the *Antients* fancied, that the Heavens were a ſolid Body, and that the Stars were faſtened therein, which might likewiſe be the Notion of *Elihu*, [*Job* xxxvii. 18.] ſince he repreſents the Heaven to be *ſtrong* or ſolid, *like a molten Looking-Glaſs*; whereas the proper Senſe of the Word is ſomething *ſpread* or *ſtretched out*. And to this, both the *Pſalmiſt* and *Prophet* allude, when they tell us, that God *ſpreadeth out the Heaven like a Curtain*, Pſal. civ. 2. and *ſtretched them out by his Diſcretion*, Jer. x. 12.

† Several Commentators ſuppoſe the *Waters above the Firmament* to be thoſe, which hang in the Clouds; but the Notion of their being *planetary* Waters ſeems more reaſonable, becauſe, at this Time, there were no Clouds, neither had it as yet rained on the Earth, vid. *Gen.* ii. 6.

† There are two Things, wherein the Production of Plants, in the Beginning, differed from their Production ever ſince. 1ſt, That they have ſprung, ever ſince, out of their Seed, either ſown by us, or falling from the Plants themſelves; but, in the Beginning, were brought out of the Earth, with their Seed in them, to propagate them ever after. 2dly, That they need now, (as they have ever done ſince the firſt Creation) the Influence of the *Sun*, to make them ſprout; but then they came forth by the Power of God, before there was any Sun, which was not formed till the next Day. *Patrick*'s Comment. in Loc.

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Trees and Plants could be ripened, into their full Growth and Burthen of Fruit, in the ſhort Period of a Day, any other Way, than by Virtue of a ſupernatural Power of God, which firſt collected the Parts of Matter fit to produce them; then formed every one of them, and determined their Kinds; and, at laſt, provided for their Continuance, by a curious Incloſure of their *Seed*, in order to propagate their *Species*, even unto the End of the World: And this was the Work of the *third* Day.

The Fourth.

WHEN God had finiſhed the lower World, and furniſhed it with all Manner of Store, that Maſs of fiery Light, (which we ſuppoſe to have been extracted on the *firſt* Day, and to have moved about the *Expanſum* for two Days after) was certainly of great Uſe in the Production of the *Æther*, the Separation of the Waters, and the *Rarefraction* of the Land, which might poſſibly require a more violent Operation at firſt, than was neceſſary in thoſe leſſer Alterations, which were afterwards to be effected; and therefore, on the *fourth* Day, God took and *condenſed* it, and, caſting it into a proper *Orb*, placed it at a convenient Diſtance from the *Earth*, and other Planets; inſomuch, that it became a *Sun*, and immediately ſhone out in the ſame glorious Manner, in which it has done ever ſince.

AFTER this, God took another Part of the *Chaos*, an *opaque* Subſtance, which we call the *Moon*, and, having caſt it into a proper Figure, placed it in another *Orb*, at a nearer Diſtance from the Earth, that it might perpetually be moving round it, and that the Sun, by darting it's Rays upon it's ſolid Surface, might reflect Light to the *terreſtrial* Globe, for the Benefit of it's Inhabitants: And, at the ſame Time, that God thus made the Moon, he made, in like Manner, † the other five Planets of the *ſolar* Syſtem, and their *Satellites*. Nor was it only for the Diſpenſation of Light to this Earth of ours, that God appointed the two great *Luminaries* of the Sun and Moon to attend it, but for the Meaſure and Computation of Time likewiſe: That a ſpeedy and ſwift Motion of the Sun (according to the *Ptolemaic* Syſtem) in twenty-four Hours round the Earth, or, of the Earth (according to the *Copernican*) upon it's own *Axis*, might make a *Day*; that the Time from one *Change* of the Moon to another, or thereabouts, might make a *Month*; and the apparent Revolution of the Sun, to the ſame Point of the *Ecliptic* Line, might not only make a *Year*, but occaſion likewiſe a grateful Variety of Seaſons in the ſeveral Parts of the Earth, which are thus *gradually*, and *ſucceſſively* viſited by the reviving Heat of the Sunbeams: And this was the Work of the *fourth* Day.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

AFTER the *inanimate* Creation, God, on the *fifth* Day, proceeded to form the *animate*; and, becauſe *Fiſh* and *Fowl* are not ſo perfect in their Kind, neither ſo curious in their bodily *Texture*, nor ſo ſagacious in their *Inſtinct*, as terreſtrial Creatures are known to be, he therefore began with them, and || out of the *Waters*, i. e. out of ſuch Matter, as was mixed and concocted with the *Water*, he formed ſeveral, of different

The Fifth.

† I am very ſenſible that the Words in the Text are, *he made the Stars alſo*, ver. 16. but the whole Sentence comes in ſo very abruptly, that one would be apt to imagine, that, after *Moſes*'s Time, it was clapped in by Some body, who had a Mind to be mending his *Hypotheſis*, or elſe was added, by way of *Marginal Note* at firſt, and, at length, crept into the Text itſelf (as F. *Simon* has evidenced in ſeveral other Inſtances). For the fixed Stars do not ſeem to be comprehended in the *ſix Days Work*, which relates only to this *planetary* World, that has the Sun for it's Center. *Patrick*'s Comment. and *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I. *vid.* Anſwer to the ſubſequent Objection.

|| From the Words in *Gen.* [ch. i. ver. 20.] *let the Waters* bring *forth abundantly the moving Creatures that hath Life, and Fowl, that may fly above the Earth*, &c. ſome have ſtarted an Opinion, that Fowl derive their Origin from the Water; and others, from the Words, *Out of the Ground God formed every Beaſt of the Field, and every Fowl of the Air*, raiſe another, *viz.* that Fowl took their Beginning from *the Earth:* But theſe two Texts are eaſily reconciled, becauſe neither denies what the other ſays, tho' they ſpeak differently; as when *Moſes* ſays, let the Waters bring forth Fowl, does not by that ſay, that the Earth did not bring forth Fowl. It is moſt reaſonable therefore to think, that they had their Original partly from the Waters, and partly from the Earth; and this might render the Fleſh of Fowl leſs groſs, than that of Beaſts, and more firm, than that of Fiſhes. Hence *Philo* calls Fowl *the Kindred of Fiſh*; and that they are ſo, the great Congruity there is in their Natures (they being both *oviparous*, which makes them more fruitful, than other Animals, and both ſteering and directing their Courſe by their Tails) is a ſufficient Indication.

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different Shapes and Sizes; ſome *vaſtly big*, † to ſhew the Wonders of his *creating* Power; and ſome *extremely ſmall*, to ſhew the Goodneſs of his *indulgent* Providence. And (what is peculiar to this Day's Work) here we have the firſt Mention made of God's bleſſing his Creatures, and † *bidding them be fruitful and multiply*, i. e. giving them, at their firſt Creation, a *prolific* Virtue, and a natural Inſtinct for *Generation*, whereby they might not only preſerve their *Species*, but multiply their *Individuals*: And this was the Work of the *fifth* Day.

The Sixth. THUS every Thing being put in order; the *Earth* covered with Plants; the *Waters* ſtored with Fiſh; the *Air* repleniſhed with Fowl; and the *Sun* placed at a proper Diſtance, to give a convenient Warmth and Nouriſhment to all; in order to make this ſublunary World a ſtill more comfortable Place of Abode, in the Beginning of the *ſixth*, and laſt Day, ‖ God made the *terreſtrial* Animals, which the ſacred Hiſtorian diſtributes into three Kinds: 1*ſt*, *Beaſts*, by which we underſtand all wild and *ſavage* Creatures, ſuch as Lions, Bears, Wolves, &c. 2*dly*, *Cattle*, all tame and *domeſtic* Creatures, deſigned for the Benefit and Uſe of Men, ſuch as Oxen, Sheep, Horſes, &c. And, 3*dly*, *Creeping Things*, ſuch as Serpents, Worms, and other Kinds of Inſects.

THUS, when all Things, which could be ſubſervient to Man's Felicity, were perfected; when the Light had, for ſome Time, been penetrating into, and clarifying the dark and thick *Atmoſphere*; when the *Air* was freed from its noiſome Vapours, and become pure, and clear, and fit for his *Reſpiration*; when the *Waters* were ſo diſpoſed, as to miniſter to his Neceſſities by Miſts and Dews from Heaven, and by Springs and Rivers from the Earth; when the Surface of the *Earth* was become dry, and ſolid for his Support, and covered over with Graſs and Flowers, with Plants and Herbs, and Trees of all Kinds, for his Pleaſure and Suſtenance; when the glorious *Firmament* of Heaven, and the beautiful *Syſtem* of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, were laid open for his Contemplation, and, by their powerful Influences, appointed to diſtinguiſh the Seaſons, and make the World a fruitful, and delicious Habitation for him; when, laſtly, all Sorts of Animals in the Sea, in the Air, and on the Earth, were ſo ordered and diſpoſed, as to contribute, in their ſeveral Capacities, to his Benefit and Delight: When all theſe Things, I ſay, were, by the Care and Providence of God, prepared for the Entertainment of this *principal* Gueſt, 'twas then that *Man* was created, and introduced into the World, in a Manner and Solemnity not unbecoming the

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

† *Moſes* inſtances in the *Whale*, becauſe it is ſuppoſed to be the *principal* and largeſt of all Fiſhes; but the original Word denotes ſeveral Kinds of great Fiſh, as *Bochart* [in his Hierozom. p. 1. l. 1. c. 7.] obſerves at large; and ſhews withal the prodigious Bigneſs of ſome of them; but he ſhould have added, that the Word ſignifies a *Crocodile* likewiſe, as well as a *Whale*. *Patrick*, and *Le Clerc* in Loc.

† That Fiſh and Fowl ſhould here have a Bleſſing pronounced upon them, rather than the Beaſts, which were made the ſixth Day, ſome have ſuppoſed this to be the Reaſon;—that the Production of their *Young* requires the particular Care of Divine Providence, becauſe they do not bring them forth *perfectly* formed, as the Beaſts do, but only lay their *Eggs*, in which the Young are hatched, and formed, even when they are ſeparate from their Bodies: And *what a wonderful Thing is this*, ſays one, *that when the womb (as we may call it) is ſeparated from the Genitor, a living Creature, like itſelf, ſhould be produced?* *Patrick*'s Comment.

‖ In the 24th Verſe of this Chapter it is ſaid, that God commanded the Earth to produce ſuch and ſuch Animals; *let the Earth bring forth the living Creature after his Kind*; and yet, in the very next Verſe, it follows, that God *made the Beaſt of the Earth, and every Thing that moveth, after his Kind:* But this ſeeming Contradiction is eaſily reconciled, by putting together the proper Meaning of both theſe Paſſages, which muſt certainly be this——That God himſelf effectually formed thoſe *terreſtrial* Animals, and made uſe of the Earth only as to the *Matter*, whereof he conſtituted their Parts. Some indeed have made it a Queſtion, whether theſe ſeveral Creatures were at firſt produced in their full State and Perfection, or God only created the Seeds of all Animals, (*i. e.* the Animals themſelves in Miniature) and diſperſed them over the Face of the Earth, giving Power to that Element, aſſiſted by the genial Heat of the Sun, to hatch and bring them forth; but for this there is no Manner of Occaſion, ſince it is much more rational to ſuppoſe, that God did not commit the Formation of Things to any intermediate Cauſes, but himſelf created the firſt Set of Animals in the full Proportion, and Perfection of their ſpecific Natures, and gave to each Species a Power afterwards, by Generation, to propagate their Kind; for that even *now*, and in the preſent Situation of Things, any perfect Species can either, naturally or accidentally, be produced by any Preparation of Matter, or by any Influence of the Heavens without the Interpoſition of an Almighty Power, Phyſical Experiments do demonſtrate. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bentley*'s Sermons at *Boyle*'s Lectures.

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the Lord and Governor of it. To this Purpoſe we may obſerve, that God makes a manifeſt Diſtinction between him and other Creatures, and ſeems to undertake the Creation, even of his Body, with a Kind of mature Deliberation, if not Conſultation with the other Perſons of the ever-bleſſed *Trinity*; † *Let us make Man.*

HOWEVER this be, 'tis certain, that the Force and Energy of the Expreſſion denotes thus much — that the Production of Mankind, at firſt, was ſo immediately the Work of Almighty God, that the Power of no ſubordinate Intelligence could be capable of it: That the curious Structure of Man's Body, the Accommodation of it to *Faculties*, and the furniſhing it with *Faculties*, that are accommodated to it (even as to its animal Life) imports a Wiſdom and Efficacy, far above the Power of any created Nature to effect. And this may poſſibly ſuggeſt the Reaſon, why, in the Formation of his Body, God made choice of *the Duſt of the Ground*, viz. that, from the Incongruity of the Matter, we might judge of the Difficulty, and learn to attribute the Glory of the Performance to him alone. And if the Creation of the Body of our great Progenitor was a Work of ſo much Divine Wiſdom and Power, we cannot but expect, that the ſpiritual and immaterial Nature, the immortal Condition, active Powers, and free and rational Operations, which, in Reſemblance of the Divine Being, the Soul of Man was to participate, ſhould require ſome peculiar and extraordinary Conduct in it's Production at firſt, and Union with Matter afterwards: All which is expreſſed by God's *breathing into the* Man's ‡ *Noſtrils the Breath of Life*, *i. e.* doing ſomething analogous to breathing (for God has no Body to breathe with) whereby he infus'd a rational and immortal Spirit (for we muſt not ſuppoſe, that God gave any Part of his own *Eſſence)* into the Man's *Head*, as the principal Seat thereof; *and* ‖ *Man became a living Soul.* Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

AS ſoon as *Adam* found himſelf alive, and begun to caſt his Eyes about him, he could not but perceive, that he was in no ſmall Danger, as being ſurrounded with a Multitude of *ſavage* Creatures, all gazing on him, and (for any Thing he knew) ready, and diſpoſed to fall upon and devour him. And therefore, to ſatisfy his Mind in this Particular, God took Care to inform him, that all the Creatures upon Earth were ſubmitted to his Authority: that on them he had impreſſed an Awe and Dread of him; had inveſted him with an abſolute Power and Dominion over them; and, to convince him of the full Poſſeſſion of that Power, he immediately appointed every Creature to appear before him, which accordingly

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† *Gen.* i. 26. The *Jewiſh* Doctors are of Opinion, that the Conſultation was real, and held with ſuch angelical Beings, as God might employ in the Work of Man's Creation; and they tell a Story, upon this Occaſion, which ſeems a little *fictitious*, viz. that as *Moſes* was writing his Book by God's Appointment, and theſe Words came to be dictated, he refuſed to ſet them down, crying out, *O Lord! wouldſt thou then plunge Men in Error, and make them doubt of the Doctrine of the Unity?* Whereupon it was anſwer'd by God, *I command thee to write, and if any will err, let them err.* Several modern Expoſitors account it only a majeſtic form of Speech, as nothing is more common than for Kings and ſovereign Princes to ſpeak in the plural Number, eſpecially when they are giving out any important Order or Command. It has been obſerved however, that, as there were no Men, and conſequently no great Men, when this was ſpoken; ſo there was no ſuch Manner of Speech in uſe, among Men of that Rank, for many Ages after *Moſes*. Their common Cuſtom was, in all their publick Inſtruments and Letters (the better to enhance the Notion of Sovereignty) to ſpeak in the *firſt* Perſon, as it was in our Nation not long ago, and is in the Kingdom of *Spain* to this very Day; and therefore, upon the Authority of almoſt all the Fathers of the Church (nam hæc verba Deum patrem ad filium & ſpiritum ſanctum, aut ſaltem ad filium dixiſſe, omnes fere Patres, ab ipſis Apoſtolorum temporibus, fidenter pronunciant: *Whitby* ſtructuræ patrum.) others have thought, that this Language of *Moſes* repreſents God ſpeaking, as he is, *i. e.* in a Plurality of Perſons.

‡ The original Word, which our Tranſlators render *Noſtrils*, ſignifies more *properly* the Face or Head.

‖ It is not to be doubted, but that *Eve*, the *Mother of all Living*, was created by Almighty God, and inſpired with a rational and immortal Soul, the ſame Day with her Huſband; for ſo it is ſaid, that, in the *ſixth Day*, *Male and Female created he them*, Ver. 27. and therefore the Hiſtorian only re-aſſumes the Argument in the *ſecond* Chapter to give us a more full and particular Account of the Woman's Origin, which was but briefly delivered, or rather indeed but hinted at, in the *firſt*.

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cordingly they did, and, * by their lowly Carriage, and Gestures of Respect, suitable to their several Species, evidenc'd their Submission; and, as they pass'd along, such Knowledge had *Adam* then of their several Properties and Destinations, that he assigned them their Names, which, a small Skill in the *Hebrew* Tongue will convince us, were very proper, and significant of their Natures.

THIS *Survey* of the several Creatures might possibly occasion some uneasy Reflections in *Adam*, to see every one provided with it's *Mate*, but himself left destitute of any Companion of a *similar* Nature; and therefore, to answer his Desires in this Particular likewise, *(c) God caused a deep Sleep to fall upon him*, which was intended, not only as an Expedient for the Performance of the wonderful Operation upon him without Sense of Pain *, but as a Trance, or Extasy likewise, wherein was represented to his Imagination, both what was done to him, and what was the mystical Meaning of it, and whereby he was prepared for the Reception of that Divine *Oracle (d)* concerning the sacred Institution of Marriage, which presently, upon his awaking, he utter'd. Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

WHILE *Adam* continued in this Sleep, God, who, with the same Facility, wherewith he made him, could have formed the Woman out of the *Dust of the Earth*, (being willing to signify that Equality and Partnership, that Love and Union, and Tenderness of Endearment, which ought to interfere between Husband and Wife) took Part of the Substance of the Man's Body, ‡ near his Side, and, closing up the Orifice again, out of that Substance he † formed the Body of *Eve*, and then, *breathing into her the Breath of Life*, made her, in like Manner, *become a living Soul.*

THIS was the * conclusive Act of the whole Creation: And upon a general Survey of such Harmony risen from Principles so

* *Milton* has expressed himself upon this Occasion in the following Manner:

As thus he spake, each Bird, and Beast, behold
Approaching, two and two; these cow'ring low
With Blandishment; each Bird stoop'd on his Wing.
I nam'd them, as they pass'd, and understood
Their Nature, with such Knowledge God endu'd
My sudden Apprehension! BOOK VIII.

(c) Gen. ii. 21.

* In like Manner, he makes this Sleep, which fell upon *Adam*, to have been a kind of *Trance*, or Extasy (for so the LXX translate it) and thus he relates the Occasion and Nature of it:

He ended, and I heard no more; for now
My *earthly*, by his *heavenly* o'erpower'd,
Which it had long stood under, strain'd to th' Height
In that celestial Colloquy sublime,
(As with an Object, that excels the Sense,
Dazzled and spent) sunk down, and sought Relief
Of Sleep, which instantly fell on me, call'd
By Nature as in Aid, and clos'd mine Eyes.
Mine Eyes he clos'd, but open left the Cell
Of *Fancy*, my internal Sight; by which
(Abstract, as in a *Trance*) methought I saw,
Tho' sleeping, where I lay, and saw the Shape
Still glorious, before whom awake I stood——
Under his forming Hands a Creature grew
Man-like, but different Sex; so lovely fair,
That what seem'd fair in all the World, seem'd now
Mean, or in her summ'd up, in her contain'd,
And in her Looks, which from that Time infus'd
Sweetness into my Heart, unfelt before;
And into all Things from her Air inspir'd
The Spirit of Love and amorous Delight.
BOOK VIII.

(d) Gen. ii. 23.

‡ As the original Word does not strictly signify a *Rib*, and is all along rendered by the LXX πλευρα, so I thought it not improper to give it that Construction, thereby to cut off from *Infidels* an Occasion for Raillery, and to spare them all their Wit about the *redundant* or *defective* Rib of *Adam*.

† The original Word signifies *building*, or *framing* any Thing with a singular Care, Contrivance, and Proportion, and hence our Bodies are in Scripture frequently called Houses, *Job* iv. 19. 2 *Cor.* v. 1. and sometimes Temples, *John* ii. 15. 1 *Cor.* iii. 16.

* It is not very necessary to determine, at what Season of the Year the World was made; yet it seems most probable, that it was about the *Autumnal Equinox*, and that not only because the Trees were laden then with Fruit, as the History tells us our first Parents did eat of them; but because the *Jews* did then begin their *civil* Year *(viz.* in the Month *Tisri*, which answers Part of our *September* and *October)* from whence their *sabbatical* and *jubilee* Years did likewise commence, *Exod.* xxiii. 16. xxxiv. 22. *Lev.* xxv. 9. The Month *Abib* (which answers to Part of our *March* and *April)* had indeed the Honour afterwards to be reckoned among the *Jews* the Beginning of their Year in *Ecclesiastical* Matters, because the Children of *Israel*, on that Month, came out of the Land of *Egypt*; but from the very Creation, the Month *Tisri* was always counted the first of their *civil* Year, because it was the general Opinion of the

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ſo jarring and repugnant, and ſo beautiful a Variety and Compoſition of Things from a mere Maſs of Confuſion and Diſorder, God was pleaſed with the Work of his Hands; and, having pronounced it *Good*, or properly adapted to the Uſes, for which it was intended, *he reſted from all his Work*, *i. e.* he ceaſed to produce any more Creatures, as having accompliſhed his Deſign, and anſwered his original Idea; and thereupon he * *ſanctified*, and ſet apart the next enſuing Day, (which was the *Seventh* from the Beginning of the Creation, and the *firſt* of *Adam*'s Life) as a Time of ſolemn Reſt and Rejoicing for ever after, to be obſerved and expended in Acts of Praiſe and religious Worſhip, and in Commemoration of the infinite Wiſdom, Power, and Goodneſs of God, in the World's Creation. Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

The OBJECTION.

Againſt Moſes's Account of the Creation.

" BUT how great ſoever the Diſ-
" play of the Divine Attributes
" may ſeem in the glorious Works of
" the Creation, yet *Moſes*, one would
" think, is far from endeavouring to give
" us the moſt advantageous Repreſenta-
" tion of them. To ſpeak the World
" into Being at once, and in an Inſtant,
" had been more agreeable to the No-
" tions we have of an *Almighty* Power,
" than the ſpinning it out into ſo many
" Days Labour. But, allowing this Suc-
" ceſſion of Time to have been real,
" what a ſad Blunder does the Hiſtorian
" make, even at his firſt ſetting out,
" when he talks of *Light*, before there
" was any ſuch Thing as the Sun, and
" of the Moon's being a *great Light*,
" when every body knows it to be an
" opaque Body; when he diſtributes the
" whole Work into ſuch unequal Pro-
" portions, and accounts for ſome Parts
" of it, in a Manner inconſiſtent with the
" Wiſdom of it's Maker! For, on the
" *firſt* Day, to have no more to do than
" what might be diſpatched in the twink-
" ling of an Eye, but, on the *Third*, to
" have all the Waters of the Abyſs
" drained off, and broad Channels dug for
" the Reception of the Sea; to have the
" Sun, Moon, and other Planets, together
" with the Stars, (a vaſt Number of immenſe
" Bodies!) all made on the *Fourth*, and,
" when one Piece of Clay would have done
" for both, to have two diſtinct Creations
" for our firſt Parents; and (what is worſt
" of all) in the Hurry of the Work (for the
" *Sixth* Day, being the winding up of all,
" was

the Antients, that the World was created at the Time of the *Autumnal Equinox*; and for this Reaſon, the *Jews* do ſtill, in the *Æra* of the Creation, as well in that of *Contracts*, and other *Inſtruments*, compute the Beginning of their Year from the firſt Day of *Tiſri*. Herein, however, the *Jews* differ from us; that, whereas they make the World only 3760, moſt of the Chriſtian *Chronologers* will have it to be much about 4000 Years older than Chriſt; ſo that by them 5732 Years, or thereabouts, are thought a moderate Computation of the World's Antiquity. Vid. *Uſher*'s Annals, *Bedford*'s Chronology, and *Shuckford*'s Connection.

* Whether the Inſtitution of the *Sabbath* was from the Beginning of the World, and one Day in ſeven always obſerved by the *Patriarchs*, before the Promulgation of the Law; or whether the *Sanctification* of the Seventh Day is related only by Way of *Anticipation*, as an Ordinance not to take Place until the Introduction of the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy, is a Matter of ſome Debate among the Learned, but I think with little or no Reaſon; for, when we conſider, that, as ſoon as the Sacred Penman had ſaid, *God ended his Work, and reſted*, he adds immediately, in the Words of the ſame Tenſe, *he bleſſed the Seventh Day, and ſanctified it*; when we compare this Paſſage in *Geneſis* with the Twentieth Chapter of *Exodus*, wherein *Moſes* ſpeaks of God's *bleſſing and ſanctifying the Sabbath*, not as an Act then firſt done, but as what he had formerly done upon the Creation of the World; when we remember that all the *Patriarchs* from *Adam* to *Moſes* had ſet Times for their ſolemn Aſſemblies, and that theſe Times were *weekly*, and of Divine Inſtitution; that, upon the Return of theſe Week *Sabbaths*, very probably it was, that *Cain* and *Abel* offered their reſpective Sacrifices to God; and that *Noah*, the only righteous Perſon among the *Antediluvians*, *Abraham*, the moſt faithful Servant of God after the Flood, and *Job*, that *perfect and upright Man, who feared God, and eſchewed Evil*, are all ſuppoſed to have obſerved it; we cannot but think, that the Day, whereon the Work of the Creation was concluded, from the very Beginning of Time, was, every Week, (until Men had corrupted their Ways) *kept holy*, as being the *Birth-Day of the World* (as Philo *de Mundi Opificio* ſtyles it) and the *Univerſal Feſtival of Mankind*. Bedford's Scripture Chronology, *and* Patrick's Commentary.

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" was a Day of great Hurry) to forget the " Creation of the poor Woman's Soul, to " ſay nothing of the ſtrange *Subſtratum* of " her Body: Theſe, and ſeveral other " Particulars, are enough to make us ſuſ- " pect the *Phyſical* Truth of our Author's " *Coſmogony*, and to pronounce it not much " better than what me meet with in the " *Theology*, or Hiſtories of other antient " Nations."

Anſwered, by ſhewing that a gradual and ſucceſſive Creation *comported beſt with the Glory of God.*

(e) WHERE waſt thou, when I laid the Foundations of the Earth? Declare, if thou haſt Underſtanding. Whereupon are the Foundations thereof faſtened, and who laid the Corner-Stone thereof? Is a Queſtion very proper to be put to thoſe, who demand a Reaſon for the Actions of God: For, if they cannot comprehend the Works themſelves, they are certainly very culpable in enquiring too buſily into the Time, and Manner of his doing them. But, (to gratify the Inquiſitive for once) though we do not deny, that all Things are equally eaſy to Almighty Power, yet it pleaſed the Divine *Architect* to employ the Space of *ſix Days* in the gradual Formation of the World, becauſe he foreſaw, that ſuch Procedure would be a Means conducive to the better Inſtruction both of *Men* and *Angels*. Angels (as we hinted before) were very probably created, when the *ſupreme* Heavens were made, at leaſt ſome conſiderable Time before the Production of this viſible World. Now, tho' they be great and glorious Beings, yet, ſtill they are of a finite Nature, and unable to comprehend the wonderful Works of God. There are ſome Things (as *(f)* the Apoſtle tells us) that theſe Celeſtial Creatures *deſire to look into*; and the more they are let into the Knowledge and Wiſdom of God, the more they are incited to praiſe him. *(g)* That therefore they might not want ſufficient Matter for this heavenly Exerciſe, the whole Scene of the Creation, according to the ſeveral Degrees and Nature of Things, ſeems to have been laid open in Order before them, that thereby they might have a more full and comprehenſive View of the Divine Attributes therein exhibited, than they could have had, in Caſe the World had ſtarted forth in an Inſtant, or jumped (as it were) into this beautiful Frame and Order all at once; juſt as he, who ſees the whole Texture and Contrivance of any curious Piece of Art, values and admires the Artiſt more, than he, who beholds it in the Groſs only. Gen. Ch. and Part of the iid.

God was therefore pleaſed to diſplay his Glory before the Angels; and, by ſeveral Steps and Degrees, excite their Praiſe, and Love, and Admiration, which moved them to Songs and *Shouts of Joy*. By this Means his Glory, and their Happineſs were advanced, far beyond what it would have been, had all Things been created, and ranged in their proper Order in a Moment. By this Means they had Time to look into the firſt *Principles* and *Seeds* of all Creatures, both *animate* and *inanimate*, and every Day preſented them with a glorious Spectacle of new Wonders; ſo that the more they ſaw, the more they knew, and the more they know of the Works of God, the more they for ever love and adore him. But this is not all.

By this ſucceſſive and gradual Creation of Things, in the Space of *ſix Days*, the Glory of God is likewiſe more manifeſt to *Man*, than it would have been, had they been made by a ſudden and inſtantaneous Production. The Heavens and *all the Hoſts of them*, we may ſuppoſe, were made in an Inſtant, becauſe there were then perhaps no other Creatures, to whom God might diſplay the Glory of his Works; but, as they were made in an Inſtant, we have little or no Perception of the Manner, wherein they were made: But now, in this *leiſurely* Procedure of the Earth's Formation, we ſee, as it were, every Thing ariſing out of the *primordial* Maſs, firſt the ſimple Elements, and then the compounded, and more curious Creatures, and are led, Step by Step, full of Wonder and Admiration, until we ſee the Whole completed. So that, in Condeſcenſion to our Capacity it was, that God divided the Creation into ſtated Periods, and

(e) Job. xxxviii. 4, 6. *(f)* 1 Pet. i. 12. *(g) Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs of the Chriſtian Religion.

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and prolonged the Succeſſion of what he could have done in ſix Moments, to the Term of ſix Days, that we might have clearer Notions of his eternal Power and Godhead, and, every particular Day of the Week, new and particular Works, for which we are to praiſe him. And this, by the Bye, ſuggeſts another Argument, founded on the Inſtitution of the *Sabbath-Day*: For if, *in ſix Days, the Lord made Heaven and Earth, and, reſting on the ſeventh Day, did bleſs and ſanctify it*, this ſeems to imply, that God obliged himſelf to continue the Work of the Creation for ſix Days, that, ſhewing himſelf (if I may ſo ſay) a Divine Example of *weekly* Labour, and *ſabbatical* Reſt, he might more effectually ſignify to Mankind, what Tribute of Duty he would require of them, *viz.* that, one Day in ſeven, abſtaining from Buſineſs and worldly Labour, they ſhould devote and conſecrate it to his Honour, and religious Worſhip.

THERE is therefore no Neceſſity of departing from the literal Senſe of the Scripture in this Particular. The reiterated Acts, and the different Operations mentioned by *Moſes*, ought indeed to be explained in ſuch a Manner, as is conſiſtent with the infinite Power, and perfect Simplicity of the Acts of God, and in ſuch a Manner, as may exclude all Notions of Weakneſs, Wearineſs, or Imperfection in him; but all this may be done without receding from a *ſucceſſive* Creation, which redounds ſo much to the Glory of God, and affords the whole *intelligent Creation* ſo fair a Field for Contemplation.

Why Light *before the Sun.*

SOME of the *Jewiſh* Doctors are of Opinion, that in the *firſt* Day, when God created *Light*, at the ſame Time he formed and compacted it into a *Sun*; and that the Sun is mentioned again on the *fourth* Day, merely by Way of *Repetition*; while others maintain, that this *Light* was a certain luminous Body (not unlike that, which conducted the Children of *Iſrael* in the Wilderneſs) that moved round the World, until the Day, wherein the Sun was created. But there is no Occaſion for ſuch Conjectures as theſe: Every one knows, that *Darkneſs* has, in all Ages, been the chief Idea, which Men have had of a *Chaos*. *(h)* Both Poets and Philoſophers have made *Nox*, and *Erebus*, and *Tartarus*, the principal Parts and Ingredients of it's Deſcription; and therefore it ſeems very agreeable to the Reaſon of Mankind, that the firſt Remove from the *Chaos* ſhould be a Tendency to Light. But then by Light (as it was produced the *firſt* Day) we muſt not underſtand the Darting of Rays from a luminous Body, ſuch as do now proceed from the Sun, *(i)* but thoſe Particles of Matter only, which we call *Fire*, (whoſe Properties we know are *Light* and *Heat*) which *the Almighty* produced, as a proper Inſtrument for the Preparation, and Digeſtion of all other Matter. For Fire, being naturally a ſtrong and reſtleſs *Element*, when once it was diſentangled and ſet free, would not ceaſe to move, and agitate from Top to Bottom the whole heavy and confuſed *Maſs*, until the purer and more ſhining Parts of it being ſeparated from the groſſer, and ſo uniting together (as Things of the ſame *Species* naturally do) did conſtitute that *Light*, which, on the *fourth* Day, was more *compreſſed* and *conſolidated*, and ſo became the Body of the *Sun*.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

THE Author of the Book of *Wiſdom* tells us indeed, that *(k) God ordered all Things in Meaſure, and Number, and Weight*; but we cannot from hence infer, that, in the *Hexæmeron*, he was ſo nice and curious, as to weigh out to himſelf in gold Scales (as it were) his daily Work by Grains and Scruples. We indeed, who are finite Creatures, may talk of the *Heat and Burthen of the Day*, and, in a Weekly Taſk, are forced to proportion the Labour of each Day to the preſent Condition of our Strength; but this is the Caſe of human Infirmity, and no Way compatible to God. To *Omnipotence* nothing can be laborious, nor can there be more or leſs of Pains, where all Things are equally eaſy. But, in the mean Time, how does it appear, that, even in human Conception, the Work of the *third* Day,

No Diſproportion *in the Work of each Day.*

(h) Patrick's Comment. in Locum. *(i) Nichells's* Conference, Vol. I. *(k)* Wiſd. xi. 20.

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which conſiſted in draining the Earth, and ſtocking it with Plants; or even of the *fourth* Day, wherein the Sun and Moon, and other Planets were made, was more difficult, than that of the *firſt*, which is accounted the ſimple Production of *Light?*

THE Compaſs of the *Chaos* (as we ſuppoſed) took up the whole *ſolar Syſtem*, or that Space, which *Saturn* circumſcribes in his Circulation round the Sun: And if ſo, what a prodigious Thing was it, to give Motion to this vaſt unweildy Maſs, and to direct that Motion in ſome Sort of Regularity; in the general Struggle and Combuſtion, to unite Things, that were no Ways akin, and to ſort the promiſcuous Elements into their proper Species; to give the Properties of *Reſt* and *Gravitation* to one Kind, and of *Aſcenſion* and *Elaſticity* to another; to make ſome Parts ſubſide and ſettle themſelves, not in one continued *Solid*, but in ſeveral different *Centers*, at proper Diſtances from each other, and ſo lay the Foundation for the *Planets*; to make others aſpire and mount on high, and, having obtained their Liberty by hard Conflict, join together, as it were, by Compact, and make up one Body, which, by the *Tenuity* of it's Parts, and *Rapidity* of it's Motion, might produce Light and Heat, and ſo lay the Foundation for the *Sun*; to place this luminous Body in a Situation, proper to influence the upper Parts of the *Chaos*, and to be the Inſtrument of *Rarefaction*, *Separation*, and all the reſt of the Operations to enſue; to cauſe it, when thus placed, either to circulate round the whole *planetary Syſtem*, or to make the planetary Globes turn round to it, in order to produce the Viciſſitudes of Day and Night? To do all this, and more than this, I ſay, as it is included in the ſingle Article of creating *Light*, is enough to make the *firſt Day*, wherein Nature was utterly *impotent* (as having Motion then firſt impreſſed upon her) a Day of more Labour, and curious Contrivance, than any ſubſequent one could be, when Nature was become more *awake* and *active*, and ſome Aſſiſtance might poſſibly be expected from the *Inſtrumentality* of *ſecond Cauſes*. Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

To *excavate* ſome Parts of the Earth, and raiſe others, in order to make the Waters ſubſide into proper Channels, is thought a Work not ſo comporting with the Dignity and Majeſty of God; and therefore * ſome have thought, that it poſſibly might have been effected, by the ſame Cauſes, that occaſion *Earthquakes*, *i. e.* by *ſubterraneous* Fires, and *Flatus's*. What incredible Effects the Aſcenſion of *Gunpowder* has, we may ſee every Day; how it rends Rocks, and blows up the moſt ponderous and ſolid Walls, Towers, and Edifices, ſo that it's Force is almoſt irreſiſtible. And why then might not ſuch a proportionable Quantity of the like Materials, ſet on Fire together, raiſe up the Mountains (how great and weighty ſoever) and the whole Superficies of the Earth above the Waters, and ſo make Receptacles for them to run into? *(l)* Thus we have a Channel for the Sea, even by the Intervention of ſecond Cauſes: Nor are we deſtitute of good Authority to patronize this Notion; for, after that the Pſalmiſt had ſaid, *the Waters ſtand above the Mountains*, immediately he ſubjoins, *at thy Rebuke they fled, at the Voice of thy Thunder* (an Earthquake, we know, is but a ſubterraneous Thunder) *they haſted away, and went down to the Valley beneath, even unto the Place, which thou haſt appointed to them.* *How Channels for the Sea might eaſily be made.*

HOWEVER this be, it is probable, and (if our *Hypotheſis (m)* be right) it is certain, that, on the *fourth* Day, the Sun, Moon, and Planets, were pretty well advanced in their Formation. The *luminous* Matter, extracted from the *Chaos* on the *firſt* Day, being a little more condenſed, and put into a proper *Orb*, became the Sun, and the Planets had all along been working off, in the ſame Degrees of Progreſſion *The Work of the* fourth *Day not* diſproportionably *great.*

* This we may conceive to have been effected by ſome Particles of Fire, ſtill left in the Bowels of the Earth, whereby ſuch *Nitro-ſulphureous* Vapours were kindled, as made an *Earthquake*, which both lifted up the Earth, and alſo made Receptacles for the Waters to run into. *Patrick*'s Comment.

(l) Pſal. civ. 6, 7, 8. *(m)* *Ray*'s Wiſdom of God in the Creation.

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ſion with the Earth; ſo that the Labour of this Day could not be ſo diſproportionably great, as is imagined. It is true indeed, the Scripture tells us, that God, on this Day, *not only made the Sun, and the Moon, but that he made the Stars alſo*; and, conſidering the almoſt infinite Number of theſe heavenly Bodies, (which we may diſcern with our Eyes, and much more with *Glaſſes*) we cannot but ſay, that a Computation of this Kind would ſwell the Work of the *fourth* Day to a prodigious Diſproportion: But then we are to obſerve, that our *Engliſh* Tranſlation has interpolated the Words [he made] which are not in the *Original*; for the ſimple Verſion of the *Hebrew* is this——and *(n) God made two great Lights, the greater Light to rule the Day, and the leſſer Light to rule the Night, and the Stars:* Which laſt Words [and the Stars] are not to be referred to the Word [made] in the Beginning of the Verſe, but to the Word [rule] which immediately goes before them: And ſo this Sentence, *the leſſer Light to rule the Night, and the Stars*, will only denote the peculiar Uſefulneſs and Predominancy of the Moon, above all other Stars or Planets, in reſpect of this Earth of ours; in which Senſe it may not improperly be ſtyled (as * ſome of the moſt polite Authors are known to call it) the *Ruler of the Night*, and a *Queen*, or *Goddeſs*, as it were, *among the Stars*. With regard to us therefore, who are the Inhabitants of the Earth, the *Moon*, though certainly an *opaque* Body, may not be improperly called a *great Light*; ſince, by reaſon of it's Proximity, it communicates more Light (not of it's own indeed, but what it borrows from the Sun) and is of more Uſe and Benefit to us, than all the other Planets put together. Nor muſt we forget (what indeed deſerves a peculiar Obſervation) that the Moon, *(o)* by it's conſtant Deviations towards the Poles, affords a ſtronger and more laſting Light to the Inhabitants of thoſe *forlorn* Regions, whoſe long and tedious Nights are of ſome Days, nay, of ſome Months Continuance, than if it's Motion were truly *circular*, and the Rays, it reflects, conſequently more *oblique*. A mighty Comfort and Refreſhment this to *them*, and a ſingular Inſtance of the great Creator's Wiſdom in contriving, and Mercy in preſerving, all his Works!

Why the Moon may be called a great Light.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

ST. *Paul*, in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, makes all Mankind (as certainly our firſt Parent literally was) *Clay* in the Hands of the *Potter*, and thereupon he aſks this Queſtion; *(p) Nay but, O Man, who art thou, that replieſt againſt God? Shall the Thing formed ſay to him that formed it, why haſt thou formed me thus? Hath not the Potter Power over the Clay, of the ſame Lump to make one Veſſel unto Honour, and another unto Diſhonour?* It but badly becomes us therefore, to enquire into the Reaſon, that might induce God to make the Man and the Woman at different Times, and of different Materials; and it is an impertinent, as well as impious Banter, to pretend to be ſo *frugal* of his Pains. What if God, willing to ſhew a pleaſing Variety in his Works, condeſcended to have the Matter, whereof the Woman was formed, paſs twice through his Hands, in order to * ſoften the Temper, and meliorate

Why the Woman was made of a Rib.

(n) Gen. i. 16.

* Lucidum cœli Decus——Siderum Regina bicornis. *Hor.*—Aſtrorum Decus. *Virg. Æn.*——Obſcuri Dea clara mundi. *Seneca Hip.*—Arcanæ moderatrix Cynthia noctis. *Statius Theb.*———Phœben imitantem Lumina Fratris Semper, & in proprio regnantem tempore noctis. *Manil.*

(o) Derham's Aſtro-Theology, Ch. iv. *(p) Rom.* ix. 20, 21.

* *Milton* has given us a very curious Deſcription of *Eve's* Qualifications both in Body and Mind.

Tho' well I underſtand, in the prime End
Of Nature, her th' inferior in the Mind,
And inward Faculties, which moſt excel;
In outward alſo her reſembling leſs
His Image, who made both, and leſs expreſſing
The Character of that Dominion giv'n
O'er other Creatures; yet, when I approach
Her Lovelineſs, ſo abſolute ſhe ſeems,
So in herſelf complete, ſo well to know
Her own, that what ſhe wills to do, or ſay,
Seems wiſeſt, virtuouſeſt, diſcreeteſt, beſt.
All higher Knowledge in her Preſence falls
Degraded, Wiſdom in Diſcourſe with her
Loſes diſcountenanc'd, and like Folly ſhews:
Authority and Reaſon on her wait,
As one intended firſt, but after made
Occaſionally; and, to conſummate all,
Greatneſs of Mind, and Nobleneſs, their Seat
Build in her Lovelineſs, and create an Awe
About her, as a Guard angelic plac'd. BOOK VIII.

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liorate the Compoſition? Some peculiar Qualities, remarkable in the *female Sex*, might perhaps juſtify this Suppoſition: But the true Reaſon, as I take it, is couched in theſe Words of *Adam (q)*, *This is now Bone of my Bones, and Fleſh of my Fleſh; ſhe ſhall be called* † *Woman, becauſe ſhe was taken out of Man; therefore ſhall a Man leave his Father and his Mother, and cleave to his Wife, and they ſhall be one Fleſh.*

SINCE God was determined then to form the Woman out of ſome Part of the Man's Body, and might probably have a *myſtical* Meaning in ſo doing; to have taken her (like the Poets *Minerva)* out of the Head, might have entitled her to a *Superiority*, which he never intended for her; to have made her of any inferior, or more diſhonourable Part, would not have agreed with that *Equality*, to which ſhe was appointed; and therefore he took her out of the Man's *Side*, to denote the Obligations to the ſtricteſt Friendſhip and Society; to beget the ſtrongeſt Love and Sympathy between him and her, as Parts of the ſame *Whole*; and to recommend *Marriage* to all Mankind, as founded in Nature, and as the *Re-union* of Man and Woman.

Why the Woman's Soul *is not mentioned in the Works of Creation.*

'TIS an eaſy Matter to be *ſceptical*; but ſmall Reaſon, I think, there is to wonder, why no Mention is made, in this Place, of the Inſpiration of the Woman's Soul. What the Hiſtorian means here, is only to repreſent a peculiar Circumſtance in the Woman's Compoſition, *viz.* her Aſſumption from the Man's Side: And therefore what relates to the Creation of her Soul, muſt be preſumed to go before, and is indeed ſignified in the Preface, God makes, before he begins the Work; *(r) It is not good that Man ſhould be alone, I will make him an help*-Meet *for him*, i. e. of the ſame *(s) eſſential* Qualities with himſelf. For we cannot conceive of what great Comfort this Woman would have been to *Adam*, had ſhe not been endowed with a *rational* Part, capable of converſing with him; had ſhe not had, I ſay, the ſame Underſtanding, Will, and Affections, tho' perhaps in a lower Degree, and with ſome Accommodation to the Weakneſs of her Sex, in order to recommend her Beauty, and to endear that Softneſs, wherein (as I hinted before) ſhe had certainly the Pre-eminence.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

SUCH is the Hiſtory, which *Moſes* gives us of the Origin of the World, and the Production of Mankind: And, if we ſhould now compare it with what we meet with in other Nations recorded of theſe great Events, we ſhall ſoon perceive, that it is the only rational and *philoſophical* Account extant; which, conſidering the low Ebb that Learning was at in the *Jewiſh* Nation, is no ſmall Argument of it's Divine *Revelation*. What a wretched Account was that of the *Egyptians* (from whence the *Epicureans* borrowed their *Hypotheſis)* that the World was made by *Chance*, and Mankind grew out of the Earth like *Pumkins?* What ſtrange Stories does the *Grecian* Theology tell us of Οὐρανὸς and Γῆ, *Jupiter* and *Saturn*; and what ſad Work do their antient Writers make, when they come to form Men and Women out of *projected Stones?* How unaccountably does the *Phœnician* Hiſtorian *(t)* make a dark and windy Air the Principle of the Univerſe; all intelligent Creatures to be formed alike in the Shape of an *Egg*, and both Male and Female awakened into Life by a great Thunder-clap? The *Chineſe* are accounted a wiſe People, and yet the Articles of their Creed are ſuch as theſe——That one *Tayn*, who lived in Heaven, and was famous for his Wiſdom, diſpoſed the Parts of the World into the Order we find them; that he created out of nothing the firſt Man *Panſon* and his Wife *Panſone*; that this *Panſon*, by a Power from *Tayn*, created another Man called *Tanhom*, who was a great *Naturaliſt*, and thirteen Men more, by whom the World was peopled, till, after awhile,

The ridiculous *Accounts, which other Nations give us of the* Creation.

(q) *Gen.* ii. 23, 24.

† *Arius Montanus* renders the *Hebrew* Word *Virago*, in the Margin *Viriſſa*, i. e. *She-man*.

(r) *Gen.* ii. 18. (s) So the original Word means, and ſo the vulgar *Latin* has tranſlated it. (t) Vid. *Cumberland*'s Sanchoniatho.

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awhile, the Sky fell upon the Earth, and deſtroyed them all; but that the wiſe *Tayn* afterwards created another Man, called *Lotziram*, who had two Horns, and an odoriferous Body, and from whom proceeded ſeveral Men and Women, who ſtocked the World with the preſent Inhabitants. But, of all others, the *Mahometan* Account is the moſt ridiculous; for it tells us, that the firſt Things, which were created, were the *Throne* of God, * *Adam*, *Paradiſe*, and a great *Pen*, wherewith God wrote his Decrees; that this Throne was carried about upon Angels Necks, whoſe Heads were ſo big, that Birds could not fly, in a thouſand Years, from one Ear to another; that the Heavens were propped up by the Mountain *Koff*; that the Stars were *Firebrands*, thrown againſt the Devils, when they invaded Heaven, and that the Earth ſtands upon the Top of a great *Cow's Horn*; that this Cow ſtands upon a white Stone, this Stone upon a Mountain, and this Mountain upon *God knows what*; with many more Abſurdities of the like Nature.

and the Juſtneſs *of that of* Moſes.

THESE are ſome Accounts of the World's Creation, which Nations of great Sagacity, in other Reſpects, have at leaſt pretended to believe. But, alas! how fordid and trifling are they, in Compariſon of what we read in the Book of *Geneſis*, where every Thing is eaſy and natural, comporting with God's Majeſty, and not repugnant to the Principles of Philoſophy? Nay, where every Thing agrees with the Poſitions of the greateſt Men in the Heathen World, * the Sentiments of their wiſeſt Philoſophers, and the *Deſcription* of their moſt renowned Poets. So that were we to judge of *Moſes* at the Bar of Reaſon, merely as an *Hiſtorian*; had we none of thoſe *ſupernatural* Proofs of the Divinity of his Writings, which ſet them above the Sphere of all human Compoſitions; had his Works none of that manifeſt Advantage of *Antiquity* above all others, we ever yet ſaw; and were we not allowed to preſume, that his living near the Time, which he makes the *Æra* of the World's Creation, gave him great Aſſiſtances in Point of *Tradition*; were we, I ſay, to wave all this, that might be alledged in his Behalf; yet the very Manner of his treating the Subject gives him a Preference above all others. Nor can we, without Admiration, ſee a Perſon, who had none of the *Syſtems* before him, which we now ſo much value, giving us a clearer Idea of Things, in the Way of an eaſy *Narrative*, than any Philoſopher, with all his *hard*

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

* As to the Formation of *Adam*'s Body, the *Mahometans* tell us many ſtrange Circumſtances, *viz.* That after God, by long continued Rains, had prepared the Slime of the Earth, out of which he was to form it, he ſent the Angel *Gabriel*, and commanded him, of ſeven *Lays* of Earth, to take out of each an Handful: That, upon *Gabriel*'s Coming to the *Earth*, he told her, that God had determined to extract *that* out of her Bowels, whereof he propoſed to make Man, who was to be Sovereign over all, and his Vicegerent: That, ſurprized at this News, the Earth deſired *Gabriel* to repreſent her Fears to God, that this Creature, whom he was going to make in this Manner, would one Day rebel againſt him, and draw down his Curſe upon her: That *Gabriel* returned, and made a Report to God of the Earth's Remonſtrances; but God, reſolving to execute his Deſign, diſpatched *Michael*, and afterwards *Aſraphel*, with the ſame Commiſſion: That theſe two Angels returned, in like Manner, to report the Earth's Excuſes, and abſolute Refuſal to contribute to this Work; whereupon he deputed *Azrael*, who, without ſaying any Thing to the Earth, took an Handful out of each of the ſeven different Lays, or Beds, and carried it to a Place in *Arabia*, between *Mecca* and *Taief*: That, after the Angels had mixed, and kneaded the Earth, which *Azrael* brought, God, with his own Hand, formed out of it an human Statue, and having left it in the ſame Place for ſome Time to dry, not long after communicating his Spirit, or enlivening Breath, infuſed Life and Underſtanding into it; and cloathing it in a wonderful Dreſs, ſuitable to it's Dignity, commanded the Angels to fall proſtrate before it; which *Eblis* (by whom they mean *Lucifer*) refuſing to do, was immediately driven out of Paradiſe. *N. B.* The Difference of the Earth, employed in the Formation of *Adam*, is of great Service to the *Mahometans*, in explaining the different Colours, and Qualities of Mankind, who are derived from it, ſome of whom are White, others Black, others Tawny, Yellow, Olive-coloured, and Red; ſome of one Humour, Inclination, and Complexion, and others of a quite different. *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Adam*.

* *Thales*, quem primum Græci putant rerum naturalium Cauſas eſſe rimatum, mundum opus eſſe Dei, Deumque antiquiſſimum eſſe Rerum omnium, utpote Ortûs expertem, aſſerit. *Pythagoras*, cùm Mundi hujus Fabricam & Ornatum contemplaret, videri ſibi, aiebat, audire vocem illam Dei, quâ exiſtere juſſus eſt. *Plato* non ex æternâ materiâ, ſuique coæquali, Deum mundum compegiſſe ratus eſt, ſed eduxiſſe ex nihilo, ſolâque ſuâ voluntate ad id eguiſſe, neque ſolum à Deo, ſed ad Dei ſimilitudinem factum eſſe hominem, & animos noſtros Deo eſſe cognatos & ſimiles, eidem *Platoni* notum fuit. Vocandi quoque ad Partes Poetæ: inter *Latinos*, Virgilius, cùm canentem inducit *Silenum*, ut coactis Rerum ſeminibus mundi tener orbis concreverit; præcipuè *Ovidius*, cùm Cœli Terræque narrat ortum, hominiſque ad Dei effigiem confecti; & inter *Græcos*, imprimis *Heſiodus*, qui Rerum omnium Machinationem, ſuaviſſimis Carminibus, Moſaicæ Doctrinæ conſonis, in *Theogoniâ* celebravit. *Huetii* Alnetanæ Quæſtiones.

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Words, and new-invented Terms, has yet been able to do; and, in the Compaſs of two ſhort *Chapters*, comprizing all, that has been advanced with Reaſon, even from his own Time, to this very Day. Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

DISSERTATION I.

The Wiſdom of God in the Works of the Creation.

THO' the Author of the *Pentateuch* (a) never once attempts to prove the *Being* of a God, as taking it all along for a Thing undeniable; yet it may not be improper for us, in this Place, to take a *curſory* View of the Works of the Creation (as far at leaſt as they come under the *Moſaic* Account) in order to ſhew the Exiſtence, the Wiſdom, the Greatneſs, and the Goodneſs of their Almighty Maker.

The Being and Wiſdom of God proved from the Make and Motion of heavenly Bodies.

LET us then caſt our Eyes up to the *Firmament*, where the rich *Handy-work* of God preſents itſelf to our Sight, and aſk ourſelves ſome ſuch Queſtions as theſe. What Power built, over our Heads, this vaſt and magnificent *Arch*, and *ſpread out the Heavens like a Curtain?* Who garniſhed theſe Heavens with ſuch a Variety of ſhining Objects, a thouſand, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand different Stars, new Suns, new Moons, new Worlds, in Compariſon of which, this Earth of ours is but a Point, all regular in their Motions, and ſwimming in their liquid *Æther?* Who painted the Clouds with ſuch a Variety of Colours, and in ſuch Diverſity of Shades and Figures, as is not in the Power of the fineſt *Pencil* to emulate? Who formed the Sun of ſuch a determinate Size, and place it at ſuch a convenient Diſtance, as not to annoy, but only refreſh us, and nouriſh the Ground with it's kindly Warmth? If it were *larger*, it would ſet the Earth on Fire; if *leſs*, it would leave it frozen: If it were *nearer* us, we ſhould be ſcorched to Death; if *further* from us, we ſhould not be able to live for want of Heat: Who then hath made it ſo commodious *(b) a Tabernacle* (I ſpeak with the Scriptures, and according to the common Notion) *out of which it cometh forth*, every Morning, *like a Bridegroom out of his Chamber, and rejoiceth, as a Giant, to run his Courſe?* For ſo many Ages paſt, it never failed *riſing* at it's appointed Time, nor once miſſed ſending out the *Dawn* to proclaim it's Approach: But, at whoſe Voice does it ariſe, and by whoſe Hand is it directed in it's *diurnal* and *annual* Courſe, to give us the bleſſed Viciſſitudes of the Day and Night, and the regular Succeſſion of different Seaſons? That it ſhould always proceed in the ſame ſtraight Path, and never once be known to ſtep aſide; that it ſhould turn at a certain determinate *Point*, and not go forward in a *Space*, where there is nothing to obſtruct it; that it ſhould traverſe the ſame Path back again, in the ſame conſtant and regular Pace, to bring on the Seaſons by gradual Advances; that the *Moon* ſhould ſupply the Office of the Sun, and appear, at ſet Times, to illuminate the Air, and give a *vicarious* Light, when it's Brother is gone to carry the Day to the other *Hemiſphere*; *(c)* that it ſhould procure, or at leaſt regulate the *Fluxes*, and *Refluxes* of the Sea, whereby the Water is kept in conſtant Motion, and ſo preſerved from Putrefaction, and accommodated to Man's manifold Conveniencies, beſides the Buſineſs of Fiſhing, and the Uſe of Navigation: In a Word, that the reſt of the *Planets*, and all the innumerable *Hoſt* of heavenly Bodies ſhould perform their Courſes and *Revolutions*, with ſo much Certainty and Exactneſs, as never once to fail, but, for almoſt theſe 6000 Years, come conſtantly about to the ſame *Period*, in the hundredth Part of a Minute; this is ſuch a clear, and inconteſtable Proof of a divine *Architect*, and of that Counſel and Wiſdom wherewith he rules and directs the Univerſe, as made the *Roman* Philoſopher, with good

(a) Vid. *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 1. (b) Pſal. xix. 4, 5. (c) *Ray*'s Wiſdom of God in the Creation.

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good Reaſon, conclude, " That *(d)* who-
" ever imagines, that the wonderful Order,
" and incredible Conſtancy of the heaven-
" ly Bodies, and their Motions (whereupon
" the Preſervation, and Welfare of all
" Things do depend) is not governed by an
" *intelligent* Being, himſelf is deſtitute of
" Underſtanding. For, ſhall we, when we
" ſee an *artificial Engine*, a Sphere, a Dial,
" for Inſtance, acknowledge, at firſt Sight,
" that it is the Work of *Art* and Under-
" ſtanding; and yet, when we behold the
" Heavens, moved and whirled about with
" an incredible Velocity, moſt conſtantly
" finiſhing their anniverſary Viciſſitude,
" make any Doubt, that theſe are the Per-
" formances, not only of Reaſon, but of a
" certain excellent and divine Reaſon?"

AND if *Tully*, from the very imperfect Knowledge of *Aſtronomy*, which his Time afforded, could be ſo confident, that the heavenly Bodies were framed, and moved by a wiſe and underſtanding Mind, as to declare, that, in his Opinion, whoever aſſerted the contrary, was himſelf deſtitute of Underſtanding; *(e)* what would he have ſaid, had he been acquainted with the modern Diſcoveries of *Aſtronomy*; the immenſe *Greatneſs* of the World, that Part of it (I mean) which falls under our Obſervation; the exquiſite *Regularity* of the Motions of all the Planets, without any Deviation or Confuſion; the inexpreſſible Nicety of *Adjuſtment* in the *primary* Velocity of the Earth's *annual* Motion; the wonderful Proportion of it's *diurnal* Motion about it's own *Center*, for the Diſtinction of Light and Darkneſs; the exact Accommodation of the *Denſities* of the Planets to their Diſtances from the Sun; the admirable Order, Number, and Uſefulneſs of the ſeveral *Satellites*, which move about their reſpective Planets; the Motion of the *Comets*, which are now found to be as regular, and *periodical*, as that of other planetary Bodies; and, laſtly, the Preſervation of the ſeveral *Syſtems*, and of the ſeveral Planets and *Comets* in the ſame *Syſtem*, from falling upon each other: What, I ſay, would *Tully*, that great Maſter of Reaſon, have thought and ſaid, if theſe, and other newly diſcovered Inſtances of the inexpreſſible Accuracy and Wiſdom of the Works of God, had been obſerved and conſidered, in his Days? Certainly *Atheiſm*, which even *then* was unable to withſtand the Arguments drawn from this Topic, muſt *now*, upon the additional Strength of theſe later *Obſervations*, be utterly aſhamed to ſhew it's Head, and forced to acknowledge, that it was an Eternal and Almighty Being, God alone, who gave theſe celeſtial Bodies their proper *Menſuration* and Temperature of *Heat*, their Dueneſs of *Diſtance*, and Regularity of *Motion*, or, in the Phraſe of the Prophet, *(f) who eſtabliſhed the World by his Wiſdom, and ſtretched out the Heavens by his Underſtanding.*

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the ſid.

The Air *and it's* Meteors.

IF, from the *Firmament*, we deſcend to the *Orb* whereon we live, what a glorious Proof of the divine Wiſdom do we meet with in this *intermediate* Expanſion of the *Air*, which is ſo wonderfully contrived, as, at one and the ſame Time, to ſupport Clouds for Rain, and to afford Winds for Health and Traffick; to be proper for the Breath of Animals by it's *Spring*, for cauſing Sounds by it's *Motion*, and for conveying Light by it's *Tranſparency?* But whoſe Power was it, that made ſo thin and fluid an *Element*, the ſafe Repoſitory of Thunder and Lightning, of Winds and Tempeſts? By whoſe Command, and out of whoſe *Treaſuries*, are theſe *Meteors* ſent forth to purify the Air, which would otherwiſe ſtagnate, and conſume the Vapours, which would otherwiſe annoy us? And by what ſkilful Hand is the *(g)* Water, which is drawn from the Sea, by a natural Diſtillation made freſh, and bottled up, as it were, in the Clouds, to be ſent upon the *Wings of the Wind* into different Countries, and, in a Manner, equally diſperſed, and diſtributed over the *Face of the Earth*, in gentle Showers?

From the Earth, and it's Animals.

WHOSE Power and Wiſdom was it, that *hanged the Earth upon Nothing*, and gave it a *ſpherical* Figure, the moſt commodious, that could be deviſed, both for the *Conſiſtency* of it's Parts, and the *Velocity* of it's Motion?

(d) Tully de Nat. Deorum. *(e) Clarke*'s Demonſtration of a God. *(f)* Jer. li. 15. *(g) Ray*'s Wiſdom of God in the Creation.

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Motion? That *weighed the Mountains in Scales*, and the *Hills in a Ballance*, and diſpoſed of them in their moſt proper Places for Fruitfulneſs and Health? That diverſified *the Climates* of the Earth into ſuch an agreeable Variety, that, at the fartheſt Diſtance, each one has it's proper Seaſons, Day and Night, Winter and Summer? That cloathed the *Face* of it with Plants and Flowers, ſo exquiſitely adorned with various and inimitable Beauties, that even *Solomon, in all his Glory, was not arrayed like one of them?* That placed the Plant in the Seed (as the Young is in the Womb of Animals) in ſuch elegant *Complications*, as afford at once both a pleaſing and aſtoniſhing Spectacle? That painted and perfumed the Flowers, gave them the ſweet *Odours*, which they diffuſe in the Air for our Delight, and, with one and the ſame Water, dy'd them into different Colours, the Scarlet, the Purple, the Carnation, ſurpaſſing the Imitation, as well as Comprehenſion of Mankind? That has repleniſhed it with ſuch an infinite Variety of living Creatures, *(h)* ſo *like*, and, at the ſame Time, ſo *unlike* to each other, that of the innumerable *Particulars*, wherein each Creature differs from all others, every one is known to have it's peculiar Beauty, and ſingular Uſe? Some walk, ſome creep, ſome fly, ſome ſwim; but every one has Members and Organs, *(i)* fitted to it's peculiar Motions. In a Word, the Pride of the *Horſe*, and the Feathers of the *Peacock*, the Largeneſs of the *Camel*, and the Smallneſs of the *Inſect*, are equal Demonſtrations of an infinite Wiſdom and Power: Nay, * the ſmaller the Creature is, the more amazing is the Workmanſhip; and when, in a little *Mite*, we do (by the Help of Glaſſes) ſee Limbs perfectly well organiz'd, an Head, a Body, Legs, and Feet, all diſtinct, and as well proportioned for their Size, as thoſe of the vaſteſt Elephants; and conſider withal, that, in every Part of this living *Atom*, there are Muſcles, Nerves, Veins, Arteries, and Blood; in that Blood *ramous* Particles and Humours; and, in thoſe *Humours*, ſome Drops, that are compoſed of other minute Particulars: When we conſider all this, I ſay, can we help being loſt in Wonder and Aſtoniſhment, or refrain crying out, with the bleſſed Apoſtle, *(k) O the Depth of the Riches both of the Wiſdom, and Knowledge of God! how unſearchable are his Works, and his Ways* of Creation and Providence *paſt finding out!*

Gen. Ch. i and Part of the iid.

But there is another Thing in Animals, both *terreſtrial* and *aqueous*, no leſs wonderful than their Frame, and that is, their *natural Inſtinct*. In Compliance with the common Forms of Speech, I call it ſo, but, in Reality, it is the providential Direction of them by an all-wiſe, and all-powerful Mind. For what elſe has infuſed into *Birds* the Art of building their Neſts, either hard or ſoft, according to the Conſtitution of their Young? What elſe makes them keep ſo conſtantly in their Neſts, while they are hatching their Young, as if they knew the Philoſophy of their own Warmth, and it's Aptneſs for Animation? What elſe moves the *Swallow*, upon the Approach of Winter, to fly to a more temperate Climate, as if it underſtood the Celeſtial Signs, the Influence of the Stars, and the Change of Seaſons? What elſe *(l)* cauſes the *Salmon*, every

(h) Dr. *Sam. Clarke*'s Serm. Vol. I. *(i)* *Ray*'s Wiſdom of God in the Creation.

* *Where has Nature diſpoſed ſo many Senſes, as in a Gnat?* (ſays *Pliny* in his *Natural Hiſtory*, when conſidering the Body of that *Inſect*) "Ubi Viſum prætendit? Ubi Guſtatum applicavit? Ubi Odoratum inſeruit? Ubi vero truculentam "illam, & portione maximam Vocem ingeneravit? Quâ ſubtilitate pennas adnexuit? Prælongavit pedum Crura, diſpo- "ſuit jejunam Caveam, uti alvum, avidam ſanguinis, & potiſſimum humani accendit? Telum vero, perfodiendo Tergori, "quo ſpiculavit Ingenio? Atque, ut in capaci, cùm cerni non poſſit Exilitas, ita reciprocâ geminavit arte, ut fodiendo "acuminatum, pariter ſorbendoque fiſtuloſum eſſet?" And if *Pliny* made ſo many Queries concerning the Body of a *Gnat* (which, by his own Confeſſion, is none of the leaſt of Inſects) what would he, in all Likelihood, have done, had he ſeen the Bodies of theſe *Animalcula*, which are diſcernible by Glaſſes, to the Number of 10, 20, or 30 Thouſand, in a Drop of Pepper-Water, not larger than a Grain of Millet? And if theſe Creatures be ſo very ſmall, what muſt we think of their Muſcles, and other Parts? Certain it is, that the *Mechaniſm*, by which Nature performs the *muſcular* Motion, is exceedingly minute and curious, and to the Performance of every muſcular Motion, in greater Animals at leaſt, there are not fewer diſtinct Parts concerned, than many Millions of Millions, and theſe viſible through a Microſcope. *Ray*'s Wiſdom of God in the Creation.

(k) *Rom.* xi. 33. *(l)* *Ray*'s Wiſdom of God.

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every Year, to aſcend from the Sea up a River, ſome four or five hundred Miles perhaps, only to caſt it's *Spawn*, and ſecure it in Banks of Sand, until the Young be hatched, or excluded, and then return to the Sea again? How theſe Creatures, when they have been wandering, a long Time, in the wide Ocean, ſhould again find out, and repair to the Mouth of the ſame Rivers, ſeems to me very ſtrange, and hardly accountable, without having Recourſe either to ſome Impreſſion given at their firſt Creation, or the immediate and continual Direction of a ſuperior Cauſe. In a Word, *(m)* can we behold the Spider's *Net*, the Silk-worm's *Webs*, the Bee's *Cells*, or the Ant's *Granaries*, without being loſt in the Contemplation, and forced to acknowledge that infinite Wiſdom of their Creator, who either directs their unerring Steps himſelf, or has given them a *Genius* (if I may ſo call it) fit to be an *Emblem*, and to ſhew Mankind the Pattern of Art, Induſtry, and Frugality?

From the Water, *and it's Animals.*

IF from the Earth, and the Creatures which live upon it, we caſt our Eye upon the Water, we ſoon perceive, that it is a liquid and tranſparent Body, and that, had it been more or leſs *rarefied*, it had not been ſo proper for the Uſe of Man: But who gave it that juſt *Configuration* of Parts, and exact Degree of *Motion*, as to make it both ſo fluent, and, at the ſame Time, ſo *ſtrong*, as to carry and waft away the moſt unweildy Burthens? Who hath taught the Rivers to run, in winding Streams, through vaſt Tracts of Land, in order to water them more plentifully; then throw themſelves into the Ocean, to make it the common *Center* of Commerce; and ſo, by ſecret and imperceptible Channels, return into their Fountain-head, in one perpetual Circulation? Who ſtored and repleniſhed theſe Rivers with Fiſh of all Kinds, which glide, and ſport themſelves in the limpid Streams, and run heedleſly into the Fiſher's Net, or come greedily to the Angler's Hook, in order to be caught (as it were) for the Uſe and Entertainment of Man? *The great and wide Sea* is a very awful, and ſtupendous Work of God, and the Flux and Reflux of it's Waters are not the eaſieſt *Phænomena* in Nature. *(n)* All that we know of Certainty is this, that the Tide carries, and brings us back to certain Places, at preciſe Hours: But whoſe Hand is it, that makes it ſtop, and then return with ſuch Regularity? A little more or leſs Motion in this *fluid Maſs* would diſorder all Nature, and a ſmall Incitement upon a Tide ruin whole Kingdoms: Who then was ſo *wiſe*, as to take ſuch exact Meaſures in immenſe Bodies, and who ſo *ſtrong*, as to rule the Rage of that proud Element at Diſcretion? Even He, *(o) who hath placed the Sand for the Bound thereof, by a perpetual Decree, that they cannot paſs*; and placed the *Leviathan* (among other Animals of all Kinds) *therein to take his Paſtime, out of whoſe Noſtrils goeth a Smoke, and whoſe Breath kindleth Coals*; ſo that *he maketh the Deep to boil like a Pot, and maketh the Sea like a Pot of Ointment*, as the Author of the Book of *(p) Job* elegantly deſcribes that moſt portentous Creature.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

And from the Make of Man's *Body and Soul.*

IF now, from the *World* itſelf, we turn our Eyes more particularly upon *Man*, the principal Inhabitant, that God has placed therein, no Underſtanding certainly can be ſo low and mean, no Heart ſo ſtupid and inſenſible, as not plainly to ſee, that nothing, but infinite Wiſdom, could, in ſo wonderful a Manner, have faſhioned his Body, and inſpired into it a Being of ſuperior Faculties, whereby he *(q) teacheth us more than the Beaſts of the Field, and maketh us wiſer than the Fowls of Heaven.*

SHOULD any of us ſee a Lump of Clay riſe immediately from the Ground into the complete Figure of a Man, full of Beauty and Symmetry, and endowed with all the Parts and Faculties, we perceive in ourſelves, and poſſibly far more exquiſite and beautiful: Should we preſently, after his Formation, obſerve him perform all the Operations of Life, Senſe, and Reaſon; move as gracefully, talk as eloquently, reaſon as juſtly, and do every Thing as dexterouſly, as the moſt accompliſhed Man breath-

(m) *Charnock*'s Exiſtence of a God. *(n)* *Fenelon*'s Demonſtration of a God. *(o)* Jer. v. 22. *(p)* Job xli. 31. *(q)* Job xxxv. 11.

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ing; the ſame was the Caſe, and the ſame the Moment of Time, in God's Formation of our firſt Parent. But (to give the Thing a ſtronger Impreſſion upon the Mind) we will ſuppoſe, *(r)* that this Figure riſes by Degrees, and is finiſh'd Part by Part, in ſome Succeſſion of Time; and that, when the Whole is completed, the Veins and Arteries bored, the Sinews and Tendons laid, the Joints fitted, and the Liquor (tranſmutable into Blood and Juices) lodged in the *Ventricles* of the Heart, God infuſes into it a vital Principle; whereupon the Liquor in the Heart begins to deſcend, and thrill along the Veins, and an heavenly Bluſh ariſes in the Countenance, ſuch as ſcorns the Help of Art, and is above the Power of Imitation. The Image moves, it walks, it ſpeaks; it moves with ſuch a Majeſty, as proclaims it the Lord of the Creation, and talks with ſuch an Accent, and Sublimity of Sentiment, as makes every Ear attentive, and even it's great Creator enter into Converſe with it: Were we to ſee all this tranſacted before our Eyes, I ſay, we could not but ſtand aſtoniſhed at the Thing; and yet this is an exact Emblem of every Man's Formation, and a Contemplation it is, that made holy *David* break out into this rapturous Acknowledgment, *(s) Lord! I will give thee Thanks, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made; marvellous are thy Works, and that my Soul knoweth right well: Thine Eyes did ſee my Subſtance, yet being imperfect, and in thy Book were all my Members written.*

Nay, ſo curious is the Texture of the human Body, and, in every Part, ſo full of Wonder, that even *Galen* himſelf (who was otherwiſe backward enough to believe a God) after he had carefully ſurvey'd the Frame of it, and viewed the Fitneſs and Uſefulneſs of every Part, the many * ſeveral Intentions of every little Vein, Bone, and Muſcle, and the beautiful Compoſition of the *Whole*, fell into a Pang of Devotion, and wrote an Hymn to his Creator's Praiſe. *(t)* And, if in the Make of the Body, how much more does the Divine Wiſdom appear in the Creation of the Soul of Man, a Subſtance *immaterial*, but united to the Body by a *Copula*, imperceptible, and yet ſo ſtrong, as to make them mutually operate, and ſympathize with each other, in all their Pleaſures, and their Pains; a Subſtance, endued with thoſe wonderful Faculties of *Thinking*, *Underſtanding*, *Judging*, *Reaſoning*, *Chuſing*, *Acting*, and (which is the End and Excellency of all) the Power of knowing, obeying, imitating, and praiſing it's Creator; though certainly neither *It*, nor any ſuperior Rank of Beings, *Angels*, and *Arch-angels*, or the *whole Hoſt of Heaven*, can worthily and ſufficiently do it; *(u) for who can expreſs the mighty Acts of the Lord, or ſhew forth all his Praiſe?* Gen. Ch. 1. and Part of the iid.

Thus, which Way ſoever we turn our Eyes; whether we look upwards, or downwards; without us, or within us; upon the *animate*, or *inanimate* Parts of the Creation; we ſhall find abundant Reaſon to take up the Words of the Pſalmiſt, and ſay, *(x) O Lord, how wonderful are thy Works! in Wiſdom haſt thou made them all; the Earth is full of thy Riches. (y) O, that Men wou'd therefore praiſe the Lord for his Goodneſs, and declare the Wonders, that he doth for the Children of Men! that they wou'd offer him the Sacrifice of Thankſgiving, and tell out all his Works with Gladneſs!*

(r) Hale's Origination of Mankind. *(s)* Pſal. cxxxix. 14, 16.

* *Galen*, in his Book *de Formatione Fœtus*, takes Notice, that there are, in an human Body, above 600 Muſcles, in each of which there are, at leaſt, ten ſeveral *Intentions*, or due Qualifications, to be obſerved; ſo that, about the Muſcles alone, no leſs than 6000 ſeveral Ends and Aims are to be attended to. The Bones are reckoned to be 284, and the diſtinct *Scopes*, or Intentions of each of theſe are above 40; in all, about 12000; and thus it is in ſome Proportion with all the other Parts, the *Skin*, *Ligaments*, *Veſſels*, *and Humours*; but more eſpecially with the ſeveral Veſſels of the Body, which do, in regard of the great Variety, and Multitude of thoſe ſeveral Intentions required to them, very much exceed the *homogeneous* Parts. *Wilkins*'s Nat. Rel.

(t) Clarke's Serm. Vol. I. *(u)* Pſal. cvi. 2. *(x) Ibid.* civ. 24. *(y) Ibid.* cvii. 21, 22.

CHAP.





Pl. 2

And they were both naked the Man and his Wife;
and were not ashamed. Gen. 2 C. 25.

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Gen. Ch. ii. from ver. 8.

CHAP. II.

Of the State of Man's Innocence.

The HISTORY.

God's conducting Eve *to* Adam, *marrying, and bleſſing them.*

AS ſoon as the *ſeventh* Day from the Creation (the firſt Day, as we ſaid, of *Adam*'s Life, and, conſequently, the firſt Day of the Week) was begun, *Adam*, awaking out of his Sleep, and muſing, very probably, on his Viſion the preceding Night, beheld the fair Figure of a Woman approaching him †, conducted by the Hand of her Almighty Maker; and, as ſhe advanced, the ſeveral innocent Beauties, that adorned her Perſon, the Comelineſs of her Shape, and Gracefulneſs of her Geſture, the Luſtre of her Eye, and Sweetneſs of her Looks, diſcovered themſelves in every Step more and more.

IT is not to be expreſſed, nor now conceived, * what a full *Tide* of Joy entered in at the Soul of our firſt Parent, when he ſurveyed this lovely Creature, who was deſtined to be the Partner and Companion of his Life; when, by a ſecret *Sympathy*, he felt that ſhe was of his own Likeneſs, and Complexion, *Bone of his Bones, and Fleſh of his Fleſh*, his very Self, diverſified only into another Sex; and could eaſily foreſee, that the Love and Union, which was now to commence between them, was to be perpetual, and for ever inſeparable. *(a)* For the ſame Divine Hand, which conducted the Woman to the Place where *Adam* was, preſented her to him in the Capacity of a *matrimonial Father*; and, * having joined them together in the *nuptial* State, pronounced his

† It is the general Opinion of Interpreters, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian*, that God himſelf, or, more particularly, the *ſecond* Perſon in the *ever-bleſſed Trinity*, God the Son (who is therefore ſtyled in Scripture [*Iſa.* lxiii. 9.] *the Angel of God's Preſence)* appeared to *Adam*, on this, and ſundry other Occaſions, in a viſible glorious Majeſty, ſuch as the *Jews* call the SHECHINAH; which ſeems to have been *a very ſhining Flame*, or *amazing Splendor of Light*, breaking out of a thick Cloud, of which we afterward read very frequently, under the Name of *the Glory of the Lord*, and to which we cannot ſuppoſe our firſt Parents to have been Strangers. We therefore look upon it, as highly probable, that this *Divine Majeſty* firſt conducted *Eve* to the Place where *Adam* was, and, not long after their Marriage, conveyed them both, from the Place where they were formed, into the Garden of *Eden*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* *Milton* has expreſſed the Joy and Tranſport of *Adam*, upon his firſt Sight of *Eve*, in the following Manner.

When out of Hope, behold her! not far off;
Such as I ſaw her in my Dream, adorn'd
With what all Earth, or Heaven could beſtow,
To make her amiable: On ſhe came,
Led by her heav'nly Maker (tho' unſeen)
And guided by his Voice; not uninform'd
Of nuptial Sanctity, and Marriage Rites.
Grace was in all her Steps, Heav'n in her Eye,
In ev'ry Geſture Dignity and Love.
I, overjoy'd, could not forbear aloud:
"This Turn hath made Amends; thou haſt fulfill'd
"Thy Words, Creator bounteous, and benign!
"Giver of all Things fair! but faireſt this
"Of all thy Gifts!" BOOK VIII.

(a) Vid. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* The Words of *Milton*, upon this Occaſion, are extremely fine.

——— all Heav'n,
And happy Conſtellations, on that Hour
Shed their ſeleƈteſt Influence: The Earth
Gave Sign of Gratulation, and each Hill:
Joyous the Birds; freſh Gales, and gentle Airs
Whiſper'd it to the Woods, and from their Wings
Flung Roſe, flung Odors, from the ſpicey Shrub,
Diſporting. BOOK VIII.

Nor can we paſs by his *Epiſode* upon Marriage, which, for it's grave and majeſtic Beauty, is inimitable.

Hail wedded Love! myſterious Law! true Source
Of human Offſpring! ſole Propriety
In Paradiſe, of all Things common elſe!
By Thee adult'rous Luſt was driv'n from Men,
Among the beſtial Herds to range; by Thee
(Founded in Reaſon, loyal, juſt, and pure)
Relations dear, and all the Charities
Of Father, Son, and Brother, firſt were known.
Perpetual Fountain of domeſtic Sweets!
Whoſe Bed is undefil'd, and chaſte pronounc'd———
Here Love his golden Shafts employs; here lights
His conſtant Lamp, and waves his purple Wings;
Reigns here and revels——
BOOK IV.

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his *Benediction* over them; to the Intent that *(b)* they might enjoy the unmoleſted Dominion, he had given them, over the other Parts of the Creation, and, being themſelves † fruitful in the Procreation of Children, might live to ſee the *Earth repleniſhed* with a numerous Progeny, deſcended from their Loins.

The Situation of Paradiſe.

In the mean Time God had taken Care to provide our firſt Parents * with a pleaſant and delightful Habitation in the Country of *Eden (c)*, which was watered by four Rivers; by the *Tigris*, in Scripture called *Hiddekel*, on one Side, and by *Euphrates* on the other, which, joining their Streams together in a Place, where (not long after the Flood) the famous City of *Babylon* was ſituate, paſs through a large Country, and, then dividing again, form the two Rivers, which the ſacred Hiſtorian calls *Piſon*, and *Gihon*, and ſo water Part of the Garden of Paradiſe, wherein were all Kinds of Trees, Herbs, and Flowers, which could any way delight the Sight, the Taſte, or the Smell. Gen. Ch. ii. from ver. 8.

The Tree of Life, and that of Knowledge, why ſo called.

Among other Trees, however, there were two of very remarkable Names and Properties, planted *in the Midſt*, or moſt eminent Part of the Garden, to be always within the View and Obſervation of our firſt Parents; *the Tree of Life*, ſo called, *(d)* becauſe it had a Virtue in it, not only to repair the animal Spirits, as other Nouriſhment does, but likewiſe to preſerve and * maintain them in the ſame equal Temper and State, wherein they were created, without Pain, Diſeaſes, or Decay; and *the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil*, ſo called, *(e)* not becauſe it had a Virtue to confer any ſuch Knowledge, but * becauſe

(b) Vid. *Gen.* i. 28, 29, 30.

† The Words of the Text are, *Be fruitful, and multiply, and repleniſh the Earth:* Whereupon ſome have made it a Queſtion, whether this is not a Command, obliging all Men to *Marriage* and *Procreation*, as moſt of the *Jewiſh* Doctors are of Opinion. But to this it may be replied, 1*ſt*, That it is indeed a Command, obliging all Men ſo far, as not to ſuffer the Extinction of Mankind, in which Senſe it did abſolutely bind *Adam* and *Eve*, as alſo *Noah*, and his Sons, and their Wives, after the Flood: But, 2*dly*, That it does not oblige every particular Man to marry, appears from the Example of our *Lord Jeſus*, who lived and died in an unmarried State; from his Commendation of thoſe, who made themſelves *Eunuchs for the Kingdom of God*, Matth. xix. 12. and from St. *Paul*'s frequent Approbation of *Virginity*, 1 *Cor.* vii. 1, &c. And therefore, 3*dly*, It is here rather a Permiſſion, than a Command, though it be expreſſed in the Form of a Command, as other Permiſſions frequently are. Vid. *Gen.* ii. 16. *Deut.* xiv. 4. *Pool*'s Annotations.

* The Deſcription, which *Milton* gives us of the Garden of Paradiſe, is very agreeable in ſeveral Places, but in one more eſpecially, where he repreſents the pleaſing Variety of it.

——— Thus was this Place
A happy rural Seat of various View.
Groves, whoſe rich Trees wept od'rous Gums, and Balm;
Others, whoſe Fruit, burniſh'd with golden Rind,
Hung amiable, (*Heſperian* Fables true,
If true, *here* only) and of delicious Taſte.
Betwixt them Lawns, or level Downs, and Flocks,
Grazing the tender Herb, were interpos'd;
Or palmy Hillock, or the flow'ry Lap
Of ſome irriguous Valley ſpread her Store.
Flow'rs of all Hue, and without Thorn the Roſe.
Another Side umbrageous Grots, and Caves
Of cool Receſs, o'er which the mantling Vine
Lays forth her purple Grape, and gently creeps
Luxuriant. Mean while murm'ring Waters fall
Down the ſlope Hills, diſpers'd, or in a Lake
(That to the fringed Bank, with Myrtle crown'd,
Her cryſtal Mirror holds) unite their Streams.
The Birds their Choir apply. Airs, vernal Airs,
Breathing the Smell of Fields, and Groves, attune
The trembling Leaves, while univerſal Pan,
Knit with the Graces, and the Hours, in Dance,
Lead on th' eternal Spring.———

BOOK IV.

(c) Hiſtoire de la Bible, par M. *Martin*.

(d) *Patrick*'s Comment. & vid. Ch. iii. Ver. 20.

* Others think, that the *Tree of Life* was ſo called, in a *ſymbolical* Senſe, as it was a Sign and Token of that Life, which Man had received from God, and of his continual Enjoyment of it, without Diminution, had he perſiſted in his Obedience; and, as this Garden, ſay they, was confeſſedly a Type of Heaven, ſo God might intend by this Tree to repreſent that immortal Life, which he meant to beſtow upon Mankind with himſelf, *Revel.* xxii. 2. according to which, is that famous Saying of St. *Auſtin*, *Erat ei in cæteris Lignis Alimentum, in iſtis vero Sacramentum.* *Patrick*'s Commentary.

(e) *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I.

* Others think, the *Tree of Knowledge* was ſo called, either in Reſpect to God, who was minded by this Tree to prove our firſt Parents, whether they would be good or bad, which was to be *known* by their abſtaining from the Fruit, or eating it; or in Reſpect to them, who, in the Event, found, by ſad Experience, the Difference between *Good* and *Evil*, which they *knew* not before; but they found the Difference to be this, that *Good* is that, which gives the Mind Pleaſure and Aſſurance; but *Evil* that, which is always attended with Sorrow and Regret. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Young*'s Sermons, Vol. I.

THE BLACK SEA

GEORGIA

ARMENIA

PART OF TURKEY

MESOPOTAMIA

DESART OF SYRIA

ASIA

PERSIAN PART OF THE EMPIRE OF PERSIA

IRAK

ARABIA DESERTA

RUSSIA

THE CASPIAN SEA

TABRISTAN

KHUZESTAN

Tefflis
Kor R.
Derbend
Samur R.
Ganja
L. Sevan
Chala
Riza
Shamakki
Kars
Erivan
Erzerum
Kagheshan
Aras R.
Ardeshar
ARAN
Baylagan
Abaraner
Takhchiura
Kapan
Ordobad
Abubekrabad
Old Julfa
Bayazid
Dist
Ahr
Shiwan
Astara
Mouths of the Kor
Kezilagach
Tapriukkala
Euphrates R.
Charbagh
Bahhe
Kuy
Sofian
Van L.
Van
Ardebil
Tabris
Bedlis
Salmas
Shah Lake
Maraga
Kafondur
Ormiya
Varzu
Kuk
Hadran
Shahrazul
Diyarbekur
Arbela
Hazan Cepha
R. Lycus
Mansul
Nineveh
R. Caprus
Karkuk
Mountains of Ararat
Derram
Tulum
Amol
Firabad
Zenjan
Sultanayah
Kuztin
Firuzkuh
Ray
Sava
Kaw
Komm
Chigarmi
Kashan
Natenz
Deynanvar
Sayram
Kermonsha
Hamadan
Holwan
Ulendel
Asker
Old Baghdad
R. Tigris or Hiddekel
Anah
Juba
Ambarol
Baghdad
Habitation of Seth and his Family after the Death of Adam
Musaibeb
Tower of Babylon
Accad
Imam Huseyn
SHINAR
Tib
Karha R.
Kamalaya
Suwan
Korrin
Peria
ISPAHAN
al Lur
Habitation of Adam
Ctesiphon or Calneh
Cond.s of Paradise
Enoch
Sus
Land of Nod or Susiana
Amara
Kufah
Hus
al Hamar
Mashhad Imam Ali
Kader Samadava
R. Euphrates
R. Pison
Chaldea
Sura
Iadamia
Peytia
Korna
Ahwaz
Karon
River Choaspes
River Euleus or Ulai
Teredon now Basra
Reyan
Raamah
Sheba
I. Bahrim
PERSIAN GULPH
Calipha
Scale of Miles
30 60 90

The Place of
PARADISE
the Habitation of
ADAM and SETH,
And the
LAND of NOD.

60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70
East Longitude from Ferro



A. M. 1. Ant. Chriſ. 4004.

becauſe the Devil, in his Temptation of the Woman, pretended that it had; pretended that *(f)* as God knew all Things, and was himſelf ſubject to no one's Controul, ſo the Eating of this Tree would confer on them the ſame Degree of Knowledge, and put them in the ſame State of Independency: And from this unfortunate Deception (whereof God might ſpeak by way of *Anticipation)* it did not improperly derive it's Name.

The Prohibition given our firſt Parents.

INTO this † Paradiſe of much Pleaſure, but ſome Danger, wherein was one Tree of a pernicious Quality, though all the reſt were good in their Kind, and extremely ſalutary, *the Lord God* conducted our firſt Parents; who, at this Time, *were naked*, and yet *not aſhamed*, becauſe their Innocence was their Protection. They had no ſinful Inclinations in their Bodies, no evil Concupiſcence in their Minds, to make them bluſh; and, withal, the Temperature of the Climate was ſuch, as needed no Cloathing to defend them from the Weather. God having given them (as we may imagine) a Survey of their new Habitation, ſhewn them the various Beauties of the Place, the Work, wherein they were to employ themſelves by Day, and * the Bower, wherein they were to repoſe themſelves by Night, he granted to eat of the Fruit of every Tree in the Garden, except that one, *the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil*, which, (how lovely ſoever it might appear to the Eye) he ſtrictly charged them not ſo much as to *touch*, upon the Penalty of incurring his Diſpleaſure, forfeiting their Right and Title to eternal Life, and entailing upon themſelves, and their Poſterity, ‖ Mortality, Diſeaſes, and Death.

Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

Their Employment in Paradiſe.

WITH this ſmall Reſtraint, which the divine Wiſdom thought proper to lay upon *Adam*, as a Token of his Subjection, and a Teſt of his Obedience, God left him to the Enjoyment of this Paradiſe, where every

(f) Eſtius in difficiliora Loca.

† The Word *Paradiſe*, which the *Septuagint* make uſe of, (whether it be of *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, or *Perſian* Original) ſignifies *a Place encloſed for Pleaſure and Delight:* either *a Park*, where Beaſts do range, or a Spot of Ground, ſtocked with choice Plants, which is properly a *Garden*; or curiouſly ſet with Trees, yielding all Manner of Fruit, which is an *Orchard*. There are three Places in the *Hebrew* Text of the Old Teſtament, wherein this Word is found, 1ſt, in *Nehemiah* [ii. 8.] where that Prophet requeſts of *Artaxerxes* Letters to *Aſaph*, the *Keeper of the King's Foreſt*, or Paradiſe; 2dly, in the Song of *Solomon* [iv. 13.] where he ſays, that *the Plants* of the Spouſe *are an Orchard of Pomegranates*; and 3dly, in *Eccleſiaſtes* [ii. 5.] where he ſays, he *made himſelf Gardens*, or Paradiſes. In all which Senſes, the Word may very fitly be applied to the Place, where our firſt Parents were to live; ſince it was not only a pleaſant Garden, and fruitful Orchard, but a ſpacious Park and Foreſt likewiſe, whereinto the ſeveral Beaſts of the Field were permitted to come. *Edwards*'s Survey of Religion, Vol. I; and *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Paradiſe*.

* The Deſcription, which *Milton* gives us of this bliſsful Bower, is extremely fine.

——It was a Place,
Chos'n by the ſov'reign Planter, when he fram'd
All Things to Man's delightful Uſe: The Roof
Of thickeſt Covert was, in woven Shade,
Laurel and Myrtle, and what higher grew
Of firm and fragrant Leaf. On either Side
Acanthus, and each od'rous buſhy Shrub,
Fenc'd up the verdant Wall. Each beauteous Flow'r,
Iris, all Hues, Roſes, and Jeſſamin,
Rear'd high their flouriſh'd Heads between, and wrought
Moſaic: Underfoot the Violet,
Crocus, and Hyacinth, with rich Inlay,
Broider'd the Ground, more colour'd than with Stone
Of coſtlieſt Emblem. Other Creature here,
Beaſt, Bird, Inſect, or Worm, durſt enter none;
Such was their Awe of Man!

BOOK IV.

‖ The Words in our Verſion are, *In the Day thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt ſurely die*, which ſeem to imply, that on the Day, that *Adam* ſhould eat of the *Tree of Knowledge*, he ſhould die, which eventually prov'd not ſo, becauſe he liv'd many Years after; and therefore (as ſome obſerve very well) it ſhould be rendered, *Thou ſhalt deſerve to die without Remiſſion*; for the Scripture frequently expreſſes by the *Future*, not only what will come to paſs, but alſo what ought to come to paſs, to which Purpoſe there is a very appoſite Text in 1 *Kings* ii. 37. where *Solomon* ſays to *Shimei* ——*Go not forth thence* (viz. from *Jeruſalem) any whither; for in the Day thou goeſt out, and paſſeſt over the Brook* Kidron, *thou ſhalt ſurely die*, i. e. *thou ſhalt deſerve Death without Remiſſion*. For *Solomon* reſerved to himſelf the Power of puniſhing him, when he ſhould think fit; and, in Effect he did not put him to Death the ſame Day that he diſobeyed, any more than God did put *Adam* to Death, the ſame Day that he tranſgreſſed in eating the forbidden Fruit. This ſeems to be a good Solution: Though ſome Intepreters underſtand the Prohibition, as if God intended thereby to intimate to *Adam* the deadly Quality of the forbidden Fruit, whoſe Poiſon was ſo very exquiſite, that on the very Day he eat thereof, it would certainly have deſtroyed him, had not God's Goodneſs interpoſed, and reſtrained it's Violence. *Vid. Eſſay for a New Tranſlation*, and *Le Clerc*'s Comment.

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Thing was *pleaſant to the Sight*, and accommodated to his Liking. Not thinking it convenient however for him, even in his State of Innocence, to be idle or unemployed, here he appointed him to dreſs and keep the new Plantation, which, by reaſon of it's Luxuriancy, would in Time, he knew, require his Care. Here he was to employ his Mind, as well as exerciſe his Body; to contemplate, and ſtudy the Works of God; to ſubmit himſelf wholly to the divine Conduct; to conform all his Actions to the divine Will, and to live in a conſtant Dependance upon the divine Goodneſs. Here he was to ſpend his Days in the continual Exerciſes of Prayer and Thankſgiving; and, it may be, the natural Dictates of Gratitude would prompt him to offer ſome of the Fruits of the Ground, and ſome living Creatures, by way of Sacrifice to God. Here were thouſands of Objects to exerciſe his *intellective* Faculties, to call forth his Reaſon, and employ it; but that, wherein the ultimate Perfection of his Life was doubtleſs to conſiſt, was the Union of his Soul with the ſupreme God, that infinite and eternal Being, which alone can conſtitute the Happineſs of Man.

Their Happineſs.

(g) O! *Adam*, beyond all Imagination happy; with uninterrupted Health, and untainted Innocence, to delight thee; no Perverſeneſs of Will, or Perturbation of Appetite, to diſcompoſe thee; a Heart upright, a Conſcience clear, and an Head unclouded, to entertain thee; a delightful Earth for thee to enjoy; a glorious Univerſe for thee to contemplate; an everlaſting Heaven, a Crown of never-fading Glory, for thee to look for, and expect; and, in the mean Time, the Author of that Univerſe, the King of that Heaven, and Giver of that Glory, thy God, thy Creator, thy Benefactor, to ſee, to converſe with, to bleſs, to glorify, to adore, to obey!

Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

And deſigned Tranſlation.

This was the deſigned Felicity of our firſt Parents. Neither they nor their Poſterity were to be liable to Sorrow, or Miſery of any Kind, but to be poſſeſſed of a conſtant and never-failing Happineſs; and, after innumerable Ages and Succeſſions, were, in their Courſes, to be taken up into an *heavenly* Paradiſe. For *(h)* that the *terreſtrial* Paradiſe was to *Adam* a Type of Heaven, and that the never-ending Life of Happineſs, promiſed to our firſt Parents (if they had continued obedient, and grown up to Perfection under that Oeconomy, wherein they were placed) ſhould not have been continued in this *Earthly*, but only have commenced here, and been perpetuated in an *higher* State, *i. e.* after ſuch a Trial of their Obedience, as the divine Wiſdom ſhould think convenient, they ſhould have been tranſlated from Earth to Heaven, is the joint Opinion * of the beſt *ancient*, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian*, Writers.

(g) Revelation examined, *Part* i. *(h)* *Bull*'s State of Man before the Fall.

* The ſame learned Writer *(viz.* Biſhop *Bull)* has compiled a great many Authorities from the Fathers of the firſt *Centuries*, all full and ſignificant to the Purpoſe, and to which I refer the Reader, only mentioning one or two of more remarkable Force and Authority, for his preſent Satisfaction. *Juſtin Martyr*, ſpeaking of the Creation of the World, delivers not his own private Opinion only, but the common Senſe of Chriſtians in his Days: *We have been taught*, ſays he, *that God, being good, did, in the Beginning, make all Things out of uninformed Matter for the Sake of Men, who, if by their Works they had rendered themſelves worthy of his Acceptance, we preſume, ſhould have been favoured with his Friendſhip, and reigned together with him, being made incorruptible, and impaſſible.* Apol. 2. *Athanaſius*, among other Things, worthy our Obſervation, concerning the *primordial* State of our firſt Parents, has theſe remarkable Words: *He brought them therefore into Paradiſe, and gave them a Law, that, if they ſhould preſerve the Grace then given, and continue obedient, they might enjoy in Paradiſe a Life without Grief, Sorrow, or Care; beſides that, they had a Promiſe alſo of an Immortality in the Heavens.* De Incarnatione Verbi. And therefore we need leſs wonder, that we find it an Article, inſerted in the common Offices of the primitive Church; and that in the moſt antient Liturgy now extant [that of *Clemens*] we read theſe Words concerning *Adam*: *When thou broughteſt him into the Paradiſe of Pleaſure, thou gaveſt him free Leave to eat of all other Trees, and forbadeſt him to taſte of one only, for the Hope of better Things; that, if he kept the Commandment, he might receive Immortality, as the Reward of his Obedience.* Apoſt. Conſt. Lib. viii. Cap. 12.

65 70 75 80 85 90

45 40 35 30 25

BLACK SEA

CASPIAN SEA

TUBAL

IBERIA

ARMENIA MAJOR

ASIA MINOR

ANATOLIA

PART OF MEDIA

ASSYRIA or ADIBENE

GAUZANTIS

MESOPOTAMIA or ARAM NAHARAJIM

CILICIA

SYRIA

CŒLE SYRIA

ELYMAIS

PERSIA

ISPAHAN

SUSIANA or CHUZESTAN

ARABS

EDEN

ARABIA DESERTA

Desart

ARABIA PETREA

SABEANS

ARABIA FELIX

THE PERSIAN GULF

THE ARABIAN GULF or RED SEA

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

CYPRUS

Sahum
Baku
Kur R.
Tanat
Gunia
Erivan
Araxes R.
Rina
Trebizond
Astara
Bajazid
Mt. Masis or Ararat
Koy
Kiasart
The rise of the Euphrates
Tabris
Rasht
Kajoun
Mount Antitaurus
M. Niphates
The Gordian Mountains
The Spring of the Tygris
Cashin
Cydnus R.
Sarus R.
M. Taurus
M. Amanus
Bedlis
Sanvo
Ormiya
Ecbatana
Carrhæ
Mausat
Nineveh
TIGRIS R.
Shahrzul
M. Zagrus
Adana
Marsus
Salamis
Aleppo
Antioch
Ur
Selucia
Holwan
Arca
Orontes R.
Rohoboth
Ctesiphon
M. Parchoatras
Tripolis
M. Lebanon
Anotho
Ybnera Babel
Babylon
Araba
Susa
Sydon
Tyre
Damascus
Palmyra
EUPHRATES R.
Dan
Rasan
Sichem
Sabe
Hira
Bosra
Gilead
Jordan R.
Arnon R.
Jerusalem
Aracca
Calatha
Sodom
Gomorha
Adama
Zebrim
JUDEA
SUR
EDOM
Chus
Anuchitha
Charax Spasini
Pasinvallum
Pelodis
Nagira
Teredon
Calathua
Mt. Horeb
Sinai
Madian
Ichara now Carek
Baharen formerly Tilos
Calif
Regma
A MAP OF THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE according to Mr. Huet, with Improvements from Dr. Wells



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Gen. Ch. ii. from ver. 8.

The OBJECTION.

Againſt the Reality of a Terreſtrial Paradiſe.

" BUT how delightful ſoever the " Garden of *Eden* might be, a Type " of Heaven, and an Entrance into the " Regions of eternal Bliſs; yet all this " ſeems to be but *(i)* an *imaginary*, " and *romantic* Deſcription of what never " had any Exiſtence in Nature. In the " whole habitable World we can meet " with no ſuch Place, as had the four " great Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Gan-* " *ges*, and the *Nile* (which two latter, " according to ſome Mens Opinions, are " the *Piſon* and *Gihon* of *Moſes)* all con- " curring to water it: And therefore the " Oddneſs of this *Geography* has had ſeveral " learned Men to place this Paradiſe in the " third Heaven, in the Orb of the Moon, in " the Moon itſelf, in the middle Region of " the Air, *&c.* and of thoſe, who allow it " a Situation in this ſublunary World, " ſome have carried it into a far diſtant " Country, quite concealed from the " Knowledge of Men; whilſt others had " rather have it lie in *Tartary*, in *China*, " in *Armenia*, in *Meſopotamia*, in *Syria*, " in *Perſia*, in *Babylonia*, in *Arabia*, in " *Paleſtine*, in *Ethiopia*, &c. In ſhort, " there is ſcarce any Corner of the known " World, wherein this wonderful Garden " has not been ſeated; and therefore others " have more wiſely concluded, that there " was never any ſuch determinate Place; " that *(k)* the whole Earth, before it's De- " vaſtation, was entirely *paradiſiacal*; " that *Moſes*, in his Account, only puts " a Part for the Whole, the better to ac- " commodate it to his Reader's Concep- " tion; or that, if ever there was a *local* " Paradiſe, the violent Concuſſions, which " happened at the Flood, did unſettle " the Bounds of Countries, and Courſes " of Rivers, and ſo totally change the " Face of Nature, that it is next to im- " poſſible now to find it out."

Difference of Opinion no Argument againſt it.

THAT learned Men ſhould differ in their Opinions about a Queſtion, which, it muſt be confeſſed, has it's Difficulties attending it, is no wonderful Thing at all; but that *Moſes*, who wrote about 850 Years after the *Flood*, ſhould give us ſo particular a Deſcription of this Garden, and that other ſacred Writers, long after him, ſhould make ſuch frequent Mention of it, if there was never any ſuch Place, nay, if there were not then remaining ſome *Marks* and *Characters* of it's Situation, is pretty ſtrange and unaccountable. The very Nature of his Deſcription ſhews, that *Moſes* had no *imaginary* Paradiſe in his View, but a Portion of this habitable Earth, bounded with ſuch Countries and Rivers, as were very well known by the Names he gave them in his Time, and (as it appears from other Paſſages in Scripture) for many Ages after. *(l) Eden* is as evidently a real Country, as *Ararat*, where the Ark reſted, or *Shinaar*, where the Sons of *Noah* removed after the Flood. We find it mentioned, as ſuch, in Scripture, as often as the other two; and there is the more Reaſon to believe it, becauſe, in the *Moſaic* Account, the Scene of theſe three memorable Events is all laid in the Neighbourhood of one another.

Moſes, we muſt allow, is far from being *pompous* or *romantic* in his Manner of writing; and yet, it cannot be denied, but that he gives a manifeſt Preference to this Spot of Ground, above all others; which why he ſhould do, we cannot imagine, unleſs there was really ſuch a Place as he deſcribes: Nor can we conceive, *(m)* what other Foundation, both the ancient *Poets* and *Philoſophers* could have had, for their *fortunate Iſlands*, their *Elyſian Fields*, their *Garden of Adonis*, their *Garden of the Heſperides*, their *Ortygia* and *Toprabane* (as deſcribed by *Diodorus Siculus)* which

(i) Burnet's Theory. *(k) Burnet's* Theory, and Archæol. Philoſoph. *(l)* Univerſ. Hiſt. Book i. Chap. i. *(m)* Huet. Quæſt. Alnetan.

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which are but borrowed *Sketches* from what our inſpired Penman tells us of the firſt *terreſtrial Paradiſe*.

Moſes really intended a Deſcription of it.

IT is not to be queſtioned then, but that, in the *antediluvian* World, there really was ſuch a Place, as this Garden of *Eden*, a Place of diſtinguiſhed Beauty, and more remarkably pleaſant in it's Situation; otherwiſe we cannot perceive, * why the Expulſion of our firſt Parents from that Abode ſhould be thought any Part of their Puniſhment; nor can we ſee, what Occaſion there was for placing a *flaming Sword* about the *Tree of Life*; or, for appointing an Hoſt of Cherubims to guard the Entrance againſt their Return. The Face of Nature, and the Courſe of Rivers, might poſſibly be altered by the Violence of the Flood, but this is no valid Exception to the Caſe in Hand; *(n)* becauſe *Moſes* does not deſcribe the Situation of Paradiſe in *Antediluvian* Names. The Names of the Rivers, and the Countries adjacent, *Cuſh*, *Havilah*, &c. are Names of later Date than the Flood; nor can we ſuppoſe, but that *Moſes* (according to the known *Geography* of the World, when he wrote) intended to give us ſome Hints of the Place, near which, *Eden*, in the former World, and the Garden of *Paradiſe*, were ſeated.

And how to find it out.

NOW the Deſcription, which *Moſes* gives us of it, is delivered in theſe Words—*(o) And the Lord God planted a Garden eaſtward in* Eden; *and a River went out of* Eden *to water the Garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four Heads. The Name of the firſt is* Piſon; *that is it, which compaſſeth the whole Land of* Havilah, *where there is Gold, and the Gold of that Land is good: There is the* Bdellium, *and the* Onyx Stone. *And the Name of the ſecond River is* Gihon; *the ſame is it, that compaſſeth the whole Land of* Cuſh. *And the Name of the third River is* Hiddekel; *that is it, which goes before* Aſſyria: *And the fourth is* Euphrates. So that, to diſcover the Place of Paradiſe, we muſt find out the true Situation of the Land of *Eden*, whereof it was probably a Part, and then trace the Courſes of the Rivers, and inquire into the Nature of the Countries, which *Moſes* here ſpecified. Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

The different Countries called Eden, *and their ſeveral* Situations.

THE Word *Eden*, which, in the *Hebrew* Tongue (according to it's primary Acceptation) ſignifies *Pleaſure* and *Delight*, in a ſecondary Senſe, is frequently made the proper Name of ſeveral Places, which are either more remarkably fruitful in their Soil, or pleaſant in their Situation. Now, of all the Places, which go under this Denomination, the Learned have generally looked upon theſe *three*, as the propereſt Countries, wherein to inquire for the terreſtrial Paradiſe.

1. THE firſt is that Province, which the Prophet *Amos (p)* ſeems to take Notice of, when he divides *Syria* into three Parts, *viz. Damaſcus*, the Plain of *Aven*, and the Houſe of *Eden*, called *Cælo Syria*, or the hollow *Syria*, becauſe the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus* encloſe it on both Sides, and make it look like a Valley. But *(q)* (how great ſoever the Names be, that ſeem to patronize it) this, by no Means, can be the *Eden*, which *Moſes* means; not only, becauſe it lies, not

* *Eve*'s Lamentation, upon the Order, which *Michael* brought, for their Departure out of Paradiſe, is very beautiful, and affecting, in *Milton:*

O unexpected Shock, worſe far than Death!
Muſt I thus leave thee, Paradiſe, thus leave
Thee, native Soil? Thoſe happy Walks, and Shades,
Fit Haunt of Gods! where I had Hope to ſpend
Quiet, tho' ſad, the Reſpite of that Day,
Which muſt be mortal to us both! O Flow'rs,
That never will in other Climate grow,
My early Viſitation, and my laſt
At Ev'n, which I had bred with tender Hand
From the firſt op'ning Bud, and gave the Names!
Who now will rear you to the Sun, and rank
Your Tribes, or water from the ambroſial Fount?
Thee, laſtly, nuptial Bow'r, by me adorn'd
With what to Sight, or Smell, was ſweet! from thee
How ſhall I part, and whither wander down
Into a lower World? —— BOOK XI.

(n) Shuckford's Connect. L. i. *Heideggar* in his *Hiſtoria Patriarch.* *(o)* Gen. ii. 8, &c. *Le Clerc* in Gen. ii. 8. *(p)* Ch. i. 5. *(q)* It's chief Abettors are *P. Abram* in his *Pharus* Vet. Teſt. and *P. Harduin* in his Edition of *Pliny*.

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not to the *Eaſt*, but to the *North* of the Place, where he is ſuppos'd to have wrote his Book, but more eſpecially, becauſe it is deſtitute of all the Marks in the *Moſaical* Deſcription, which ought always to be the principal Teſt in this Enquiry.

2. THE ſecond Place, wherein *(r)* ſeveral learned Men have ſought for the Country of *Eden*, is *Armenia*, between the Sources of the *Tigris*, the *Euphrates*, the *Araxis*, and the *Phaſis*, which they ſuppoſe to be the four Rivers ſpecify'd by *Moſes*. But this Suppoſition is far from being well founded, becauſe, according to modern Diſcoveries, the *Phaſis* does not riſe in the Mountains of *Armenia* (as the antient *Geographers* have miſinform'd us) but at a great Diſtance from them, in Mount *Caucaſus*; nor does it run from *South* to *North*, but, directly contrary, from *North* to *South*, as ſome *(s)* late *Travellers* have diſcover'd. So that, according to this *Scheme*, we want a whole River, and can no ways account for *that*, which (according to *Moſes*'s Deſcription of it) *went out of the Country of* Eden, *to water the Garden of* Paradiſe.

3. THE third Place, and that, wherein the Country of *Eden*, as mention'd by *Moſes*, ſeems moſt likely to be ſeated, is *Chaldea*, not far from the Banks of the River *Euphrates*. To this Purpoſe, when we find *Rabſhekah*, vaunting out his Maſter's Actions, *(t) Have the Gods of the Nations deliver'd them which my Fathers have deſtroy'd, as* Gazan, *and* Haran, *and* Rezeph, *and the Children of* Eden, *which were in* Telaſſar? As *Telaſſar*, in general, ſignifies any *Garriſon*, or *Fortification*; ſo here, more particularly, it denotes *(u)* the ſtrong Fort, which the Children of *Eden* held, in an Iſland of the *Euphrates*, towards the Weſt of *Babylon*, as a Barrier againſt the Incurſions of the *Aſſyrians* on that Side. And therefore, in all Probability, *(x)* the Country of *Eden* lay on the *Weſt* Side, or rather on both Sides of the River *Euphrates*, after its Conjunction with the *Tigris*, a little below the Place, where, in Proceſs of Time, the famous City of *Babylon* came to be built. Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

THUS we have found out a Country, call'd *Eden*, which for its Pleaſure and Fruitfulneſs, * (as all Authors agree) anſwers the Character which *Moſes* gives of it; and are now to conſider his Deſcription of the four Rivers, in order to aſcertain the Place, where the Garden (we are in queſt of) was very probably ſituate.

The firſt River is Piſon, or Phiſon (as the Son of *Sirach* calls it) *that which compaſſeth the Land of* Havilah. Now, for the better underſtanding of this, we muſt obſerve, that, *(y)* when *Moſes* wrote his Hiſtory, he was, in all Probability, in *Arabia Petræa*, on the *Eaſt* of which lies *Arabia Deſerta*; but the Sterility of the Country will not admit of the Situation of the Garden of *Eden* in that Place, and therefore we muſt go on *Eaſtward* (as our Author directs us) until we come to ſome Place, through which *Euphrates* and *Tigris* are known to ſhape their Courſe. Now *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, tho' they both riſe out of the Mountains of *Armenia*, take almoſt quite contrary Courſes. *Euphrates* runs to the *Weſt*, and, paſſing thro' *Meſopotamia*, waters the Country, where *Babylon* once ſtood; whereas *Tigris* takes towards the *Eaſt*, and, paſſing along *Aſſyria*, waters the Country, where the once-fam'd City of *Nineveh* ſtood. After a long Progreſs, they meet a little below *Babylon*, and, running *The River* Piſon.

(r) The chief Patrons of this Scheme are *Santon* in his *Atlas*, *Reland* in his *Diſſertat. de Situ Paradiſi*, and *Calmet* both in his Dictionary, and Commentary on *Gen.* ii. 8. *(s)* Vid. *Thevenot*, and Sir *John Chardin*'s Travels.

(t) 2 Kings xix. 12. *and* Iſa. xxxvii. 12. *(u)* Vid. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology. *(x) Calvin* [on *Gen.* ii. 8.] was the firſt Starter of this Opinion, and is, with ſome little Variation, follow'd by *Marinus*, *Bochart*, *Huetius*, Biſhop of *Auranches*, and divers others.

* *Herodotus*, who was an Eye-Witneſs of it, tells us, that, where *Euphrates* runs out into *Tigris*, not far from the Place where *Ninus* is ſeated, that Region is, of all, that he ever ſaw, the moſt excellent; ſo fruitful in bringing forth Corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold, and ſo plenteous in Graſs, that the People are forc'd to drive their Cattle from Paſture, leſt they ſhou'd ſurfeit themſelves by too much Plenty. Vid. *Herod. Clio.* Lib. and *Quint. Curt.* L. 5.

(y) Vid. *Wells*'s Geography, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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ning a conſiderable Way together in one large Stream, with *Babylonia* and *Chaldea* on the *Weſt*, and the Country of *Suſiana* on the *Eaſt* Side, they ſeparate again, not far from *Baſſora*, and ſo fall, in two Channels, into the *Perſian Gulf*, incloſing the Iſland *Teredon*, now called *Balſara*.

The Land of Havilah.

Now, taking this along with us, we may obſerve farther, that there are two Places in Scripture, which make mention of the Land of *Havilah*. In the one we are told, that *(z) the* Iſraelites *dwelt from* Havilah *to* Shur, *that is before* Egypt; and in the other, that *(a)* Saul *ſmote the* Amalekites *from* Havilah, *until thou goeſt to* Shur, *that is before* Egypt; where, by the Expreſſion, *from* Havilah *unto* Shur, is probably meant the whole Extent of that Part of *Arabia*, which lies between *Egypt* to the *Weſt*, and a certain Stream, or River, which empties itſelf into the *Perſian Gulf*, on the *Eaſt*. That *Havilah* is the ſame with this Part of *Arabia*, is farther evinc'd from its abounding with *very good Gold*. For all Authors, both *ſacred* and *profane*, highly commend the Gold of *Arabia*; tell us, that it is there dug in great Plenty; is of ſo lively a Colour, as to come near to the Brightneſs of Fire; and of ſo fine a Kind, ſo pure and unmix'd, as to need no Refinement. *Bdellium* (which by ſome Interpreters is taken for *Pearl*, and by others for an *Aromatic* Gum) is, in both theſe Senſes, applicable to this Country: For the * *Bdellium*, or Gum of *Arabia*, was always held in great Eſteem; nor is there any Place in the World, which produces finer * Pearls, or in greater Quantities, than the Sea about *Baharen*, an Iſland ſituate in the *Perſian Gulf*; and, as for * the *Onyx Stone* in particular (if we will believe what *Pliny* tells us) the Antients were of Opinion, that it was no where to be found, but in the Mountains of *Arabia*. It ſeems reaſonable therefore to conclude, (according to all the Characters which *Moſes* has given us of it) that that Tract of *Arabia*, which lies upon the *Perſian Gulf*, was, in his Days, call'd the Land of *Havilah*, and that the Channel, which, after *Euphrates* and *Tigris* part, runs *Weſtward* into the ſaid *Gulf*, was originally call'd *Piſon*; and this the rather, becauſe † ſome Remains of its antient Name continued a long while after this Account of it.

Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

The ſecond River is Gihon, *that which compaſſeth, or runneth along, the whole Land of* ‡ Cuſh. Where we may obſerve, that

The River Gihon.

(z) Gen. xxv. 18. (a) 1 Sam. xv. 7.

* *Galen*, comparing the Gum of *Arabia* with that of *Syria*, gives ſome Advantage to the former, which he denies to the other, *De Simp. Medic. Lib.* 6. And *Pliny* prefers the *Bdellium* of *Arabia* before that of any other Nation, except that of *Bactriana*, *Plin.* Lib. 12. Cap. 9.

* *Nearchus*, one of *Alexander*'s Captains, who conducted his Fleet from the *Indies*, as far as the *Perſian Gulf*, ſpeaks of an Iſland there, abounding in Pearls of great Value, *Strabo*, Lib. 16. And *Pliny*, having commended the Pearls of the *Indian* Seas, adds, that ſuch as are fiſh'd towards *Arabia*, in the *Perſian Gulf*, deſerve the greateſt Praiſe, *Lib.* 6. *Cap.* 28.

* *Strabo* tells us, that the Riches of *Arabia*, which conſiſted in precious Stones, and excellent Perfumes (the Trade of which brought them a great deal of Gold and Silver, beſides the Gold of the Country itſelf) made *Auguſtus* ſend *Ælius Gallus* thither, either to make theſe Nations his Friends, and ſo draw to himſelf their Riches, or elſe to ſubdue them, *Lib.* 16. *Diodorus Siculus* deſcribes at large the Advantages of *Arabia*, and eſpecially its precious Stones, which are very valuable, both for their Variety, and Brightneſs of Colour, *Lib.* 2. And (to name no more) *Pliny*, who is very curious in remarking the Countries of precious Stones, aſſures us, that thoſe of the greateſt Value came out of *Arabia*, Lib. ult.

† It is a great while, ſince both this River and the River *Gihon* have loſt their Names. The *Greek* and *Roman* Writers call them ſtill, after their parting, by the Names they had before they met, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*; but there was ſome Remainder of the Name of *Piſon* preſerv'd in the River *Piſotigris*, which is *Piſon* mix'd with *Tigris* (as Mr. *Carver* obſerves.) By *Xenophon* it is call'd ſimply *Phyſcus*, in which the Name of *Phiſon* is plainly enough retain'd, and went under that Name, until the Time of *Alexander the Great*. For *Q. Curtius* commonly calls *Tigris* itſelf by the Name of *Phiſis*, and ſays, it was ſo call'd by the Inhabitants thereabout, which, in all Probability, was the Name of this other River *Phiſon*, but, in Proceſs of Time, loſt by the many Alterations, which were made in its Courſe, as *Pliny* tells us. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‡ The LXX Tranſlation renders the *Hebrew* Word *Cuſh* by the Name of *Ethiopia*, and in this Miſtake is all along follow'd by our *Engliſh* Verſion (whereas by the Land *Cuſh* is always meant ſome Part of *Arabia*) which has led *Joſephus*,

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that *Moſes* has not affix'd ſo many Marks on the *Gihon*, as he does on the *Piſon*, and that probably for this Reaſon; *(b)* becauſe, having once found out the *Piſon*, we might eaſily diſcover the Situation of the *Gihon*. For, *Piſon* being known to be the firſt River, in Reſpect to the Place where *Moſes* was then writing, it is but natural to ſuppoſe, that *Gihon* (as the *ſecond)* ſhou'd be the River next to it, and, conſequently, that other Stream, which, after the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* are parted, holds its Courſe *Eaſtward*, and empties itſelf in the *Perſian Gulf*. For all Travellers agree, that the Country lying upon the *Eaſtern* Stream, which other Nations call *Suſiana*, is by the Inhabitants, to this Day *, call'd *Chuzeſtan*, which carries in it plain Footſteps of the original Word *Cuſh*, or (as ſome write it) *Chuz*.

THO' therefore no Remains of this River *Gihon* are to be met with in the Country itſelf; yet, ſince it lies exactly in the ſecond Order, according to the Method that *Moſes* has taken in mentioning the four Rivers, and ſince the Province it runs along and waſhes was formerly call'd the Land of *Cuſh*, and has, at this Time, a Name not a little analogous to it; there is no Doubt to be made, but that the ſaid *Eaſterly* Channel, coming from the united Stream of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, is the very *Gihon* deſcrib'd by *Moſes*.

The River Hiddekel.

The third River is Hiddekel, *that which goeth towards the Eaſt of*, or (as it is better tranſlated) *that which goeth along the Side of*, Aſſyria. It is allow'd by all Interpreters, as well as the LXX, that this River is the ſame with *Tigris*, which (as *Pliny* ſays) was call'd *Diglito*, in thoſe Parts where its Courſe was ſlow, but, where it began to be rapid, it took the other Name. And, tho' it may be difficult to ſhew any juſt Analogy between the Names of *Hiddekel* and *Tigris*; yet, if we either obſerve *Moſes*'s Method of reckoning up the four Rivers, or conſider the true *Geography* of the Country, we ſhall eaſily perceive, that the River *Hiddekel* cou'd properly be no other. *(c)* For, as, in Reſpect to the Place where *Moſes* wrote, *Piſon* lay neareſt to him, and ſo, in a natural Order was nam'd firſt, and the *Gihon*, lying near to *that*, was accordingly reckon'd *ſecond*; ſo, having paſs'd over that Stream, and turning to the *left*, in order to come back again to *Arabia Petræa* (where *Moſes* was) we meet, in our Paſſage, with *Tigris* in the third Place; and ſo, proceeding *Weſtward* through the lower Part of *Meſopotamia*, come to *Pherath*, or *Euphrates*, at laſt. For *Tigris* (we muſt remember) parts *Aſſyria* from *Meſopotamia*, and meeting with *Euphrates*, a little below *Babylon*, runs along with it in one common Channel, until they ſeparate again, and make the two Streams of *Piſon* and *Gihon*, which, as we ſaid before, empty themſelves into the *Perſian Gulf*.

Gen. Ch. i. from Ver. 8.

Euphrates *and the four Heads of the* Rivers.

THE *fourth River was* † Euphrates; but this lay ſo near the Country of *Judea*, and was ſo well known to the Inhabitants thereof, that there was no Occaſion for *Moſes* particularly to deſcribe it. From the Courſe of theſe four Rivers however, which

ſephus, and ſeveral others, into a Notion, that the River *Gihon* was the *Nile* in *Egypt*; and, ſuppoſing withal, that the Country of *Havilah* was ſome Part of the *Eaſt Indies*, they have run into another Error, and taken *Piſon* for the *Ganges*, whereby they make the Garden of *Eden* contain the greateſt Part of *Aſia*, and ſome Part of *Africa* likewiſe; which is a Suppoſition quite incredible. *Patrick*, ibid. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology; and *Shuckford*'s Connection.

(b) Wells's Hiſtorical Geography, Vol. I.

* *Benjamin of Navarre* tells us, that the Province of *Elam*, whereof *Suſa* is the *Metropolis*, and which extends itſelf as far as the *Perſian Gulf*, at the *Eaſt* of the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*, or *Tigris* (as you pleaſe to term it) is call'd by that Name. *Wells*, ibid.

(c) Wells's Geography.

† *Euphrates* is of the ſame Signification with the *Hebrew Pherah*, and is properly ſo call'd, by Reaſon of the Pleaſantneſs, at leaſt the great Fruitfulneſs, of the adjacent Country. It muſt not be diſſembled however, that it is one of thoſe corrupt Names, which our Tranſlations have borrow'd from the *Septuagint* Verſion, and which probably the *Greeks*, as *Reland* [de Situ Paradiſi] judiciouſly obſerv'd, took from the *Perſians*, who often ſet the Word *Ab* or *Au*, which ſignifies *Water*, before the Names of Rivers, of which Word, and *Frat* (as it is ſtill call'd by the neighbouring People) the Name *Euphrates* is apparently compounded. *Univerſ. Hiſt.* Book I. Chap. I.

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which he manifeſtly makes the Bounds and Limits of it, we may perceive, that the Land of *Eden* muſt neceſſarily lie upon the great Channel, which the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* make, while they run together, and, where they part again, muſt there terminate: For ſo the ſacred Text informs us, *viz.* that a *River went out of* Eden *to water the Garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four Heads*; which Words manifeſtly imply, that in *Eden* the River was but one, *i. e.* one ſingle Channel; but *from thence*, i. e. when it was gone out of *Eden*, *it was parted*, and became four Streams or Openings (for ſo the *Hebrew* Word may be tranſlated) two upwards, and two below. For, ſuppoſing this Channel to be our *common Center*, we may, if we look one Way, *i. e.* up towards *Babylon*, ſee the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* coming into it; and, if we look another Way, *i. e.* down towards the *Perſian Gulf*, ſee the *Piſon* and the *Gihon* running out of it.

It ſeems reaſonable then to ſuppoſe, that this Country of *Eden* lay on each Side of this great Channel, partly in *Chaldea*, and partly in *Suſiana:* And, what may confirm us in this Opinion, is, the extraordinary Goodneſs and Fertility of the Soil. For, as it is incongruous to ſuppoſe, that God wou'd make Choice of a barren Land, wherein to plant the Garden of Paradiſe; ſo all antient *Hiſtorians*, and *Geographers* inform us, that not only *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea*, a good Part of *Syria*, and other neighbouring Countries, were the moſt pleaſant and fruitful Places in the World; but modern Travellers likewiſe particularly aſſure us, that, in all the Dominions which the *Grand Seignior* has, there is not a finer Country (tho', for Want of Hands, it lies in ſome Places *uncultivated)* than that which lies between *Bagdat* and *Baſſera*, the very Tract of Ground, which, according to our Computation, was formerly *call'd the Land of* Eden. Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

In what Part of Eden was the Garden of Paradiſe.

In what preciſe Part of the Land of *Eden* the Garden of Paradiſe was planted, the ſacred Hiſtorian ſeems to intimate, by informing us, that it *(d) lay Eaſtward in* Eden: For he does not mean, that it lay Eaſtward from the Place where he was then writing (That every Body might eaſily know) but his Deſign was to point out, as near as poſſible, the very Spot of Ground, where it was antiently ſeated. If then the Garden of Paradiſe lay in the *eaſterly* Part of the Country of *Eden*, and *(e) the River*, *which water'd* it, ran thro' that Province (as the Scripture tells us it did) before it enter'd into the Garden, then it muſt neceſſarily follow, that Paradiſe was ſituated on the Eaſt Side of one of the Turnings of *that* River, which the Conjunction of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* makes (now called the River of the *Arabs)* and very probably at the loweſt great Turning which *Ptolomy* takes Notice of, and not far from the Place, where *Aracca* (in Scripture call'd *Erec)* at preſent is known to ſtand.

The Alterations in the preſent Country accounted for.

Thus we have follow'd the Path, which * the learned and judicious *Huetius*, Biſhop of *Auranches*, has pointed out to us, and have happily found a Place, wherein to fix this *Garden of Pleaſure*. And, though it muſt be own'd, that there is no *Draught* of the Country, which makes the Rivers exactly anſwer the Deſcription that *Moſes*

(d) Gen. ii. 8. *(e)* Chap. ii. 10.

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which he manifeſtly makes the Bounds and Limits of it, we may perceive, that the Land of *Eden* muſt neceſſarily lie upon the great Channel, which the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* make, while they run together, and, where they part again, muſt there terminate: For ſo the ſacred Text informs us, *viz.* that a *River went out of* Eden *to water the Garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four Heads*; which Words manifeſtly imply, that in *Eden* the River was but one, *i. e.* one ſingle Channel; but *from thence*, i. e. when it was gone out of *Eden*, *it was parted*, and became four Streams or Openings (for ſo the *Hebrew* Word may be tranſlated) two upwards, and two below. For, ſuppoſing this Channel to be our *common Center*, we may, if we look one Way, *i. e.* up towards *Babylon*, ſee the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* coming into it; and, if we look another Way, *i. e.* down towards the *Perſian Gulf*, ſee the *Piſon* and the *Gihon* running out of it.

It ſeems reaſonable then to ſuppoſe, that this Country of *Eden* lay on each Side of this great Channel, partly in *Chaldea*, and partly in *Suſiana:* And, what may confirm us in this Opinion, is, the extraordinary Goodneſs and Fertility of the Soil. For, as it is incongruous to ſuppoſe, that God wou'd make Choice of a barren Land, wherein to plant the Garden of Paradiſe; ſo all antient *Hiſtorians*, and *Geographers* inform us, that not only *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea*, a good Part of *Syria*, and other neighbouring Countries, were the moſt pleaſant and fruitful Places in the World; but modern Travellers likewiſe particularly aſſure us, that, in all the Dominions which the *Grand Seignior* has, there is not a finer Country (tho', for Want of Hands, it lies in ſome Places *uncultivated)* than that which lies between *Bagdat* and *Baſſera*, the very Tract of Ground, which, according to our Computation, was formerly *call'd the Land of* Eden. Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

In what preciſe Part of the Land of *Eden* the Garden of Paradiſe was planted, the ſacred Hiſtorian ſeems to intimate, by informing us, that it *(d) lay Eaſtward in* Eden: For he does not mean, that it lay Eaſtward from the Place where he was then writing (That every Body might eaſily know) but his Deſign was to point out, as near as poſſible, the very Spot of Ground, where it was antiently ſeated. If then the Garden of Paradiſe lay in the *eaſterly* Part of the Country of *Eden*, and *(e) the River*, *which water'd* it, ran thro' that Province (as the Scripture tells us it did) before it enter'd into the Garden, then it muſt neceſſarily follow, that Paradiſe was ſituated on the Eaſt Side of one of the Turnings of *that* River, which the Conjunction of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* makes (now called the River of the *Arabs)* and very probably at the loweſt great Turning which *Ptolomy* takes Notice of, and not far from the Place, where *Aracca* (in Scripture call'd *Erec)* at preſent is known to ſtand. *In what Part of* Eden *was the Garden of Paradiſe.*

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firſt delineates the *Scheme* in his Mind, and then proceeds to erect the *Fabrick*. But this Opinion, how true ſoever, does not come up to the Point in Hand; becauſe it makes no Diſtinction between Man and other Creatures (for they were likewiſe made according to the *ideal Image* in the divine Intellect) tho' it be manifeſtly the Intent of the Scripture-Account to give him a particular Preference.

(l) ORIGEN, among *antient Chriſtian* Authors, will have it to be the *Son of God*, who is call'd *(m) the expreſs Image of the Father:* But there is no ſuch Reſtriction in the Words of *Moſes*. They are deliver'd *(n)* in the *Plural* Number; and therefore cannot, without Violence, be apply'd to one *ſingle* Perſon in the Godhead; and, among the *Moderns*, ſome have plac'd it in *Holineſs* alone; whilſt others have thought it more properly ſeated in *Dominion*. But theſe are only ſingle *Lines*, and far from coming to the whole *Portraiture*.

Its Diviſion and Explication.

THE divine Similitude, in ſhort, is a complex Thing, and made up of many Ingredients; and therefore (to give our Thoughts a Track in ſo ſpacious a Field) we may diſtinguiſh it into *Natural* and *Supernatural*; and accordingly ſhall, 1ſt, conſider the *ſupernatural* Gifts and Ornaments; and then, 2dly, thoſe *natural* Perfections and Accompliſhments, wherein this Image of God, impreſs'd in our firſt Parents, may be ſaid to conſiſt.

(o) AN eloquent Father of the Church has ſet this whole Matter before us in a very apt Similitude, comparing this *Animal* and living Effigies of the *King of Kings*, with the Image of an Emperor, ſo expreſs'd by the Hand of an Artificer, either in *Sculpture* or *Painting*, as to repreſent the very *Dreſs* and *Enſigns* of royal Majeſty, ſuch as the purple Robe, the Sceptre, and the Diadem, *&c.* But as the Emperor's Image does repreſent, not only his Countenance, and the Figure of his Body, but even his Dreſs likewiſe, his Ornaments, and royal Enſigns; ſo Man does then properly repreſent in himſelf the *Image* and *Similitude* of God, when, to the Accompliſhments of Nature (which cannot totally be extinguiſh'd) the Ornaments of *Grace* and Virtue are likewiſe added; when Man's *Nature* (as he expreſſes it) *is not cloath'd in Purple, nor vaunts its Dignity by a Sceptre or Diadem (for the* Archetype *conſiſts not in ſuch Things as theſe) but, inſtead of Purple, is cloath'd with Virtue, which, of all other, is the moſt royal Veſtment; inſtead of a Sceptre, is ſupported by a bleſſed Immortality; and, inſtead of a Diadem, is adorn'd with a Crown of Righteouſneſs.*

Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

THAT our firſt Parents, beſides the Seeds of natural Virtue and Religion ſown in their Minds, and beſides the natural Innocence and Rectitude, wherein they were created, were endued with certain Gifts and Powers *ſupernatural*, infus'd into them by the Spirit of God, is manifeſt, not only from the Authority of *(p)* Chriſtian Writers, but from the Teſtimony of *Philo* the *Jew* likewiſe, who is very full of ſublime Notions concerning the divine Image, and, in one Place more eſpecially, expreſſes himſelf to this Purpoſe. *(q) The Creator made our Soul*, ſays he, *while enclos'd in a Body, able of itſelf to ſee, and know it's Maker; but, conſidering how vaſtly advantageous ſuch Knowledge wou'd be to Man (for this is the utmoſt Bound of its Felicity) he inſpir'd into him, from above, ſomething of his own Divinity, which, being inviſible, impreſs'd upon the inviſible Soul its own Character; that ſo even this earthly Region might not be without ſome Creature made after the Image of God:* And this * he aſſerts

The ſupernatural Part of it, as to the Soul.

(l) Vid. *Edwards*'s Survey of Religion, Vol. I. *(m)* Heb. 1. 3. *(n)* Gen. i. 26. *Let us make Man.* *(o) Greg. Nyſſen.* de Hominis Opificio, Cap. 4. *(p)* Vid. *Bull*'s State of Man before the Fall. *(q)* Lib. quod det potiori inſid. ſoleat, p. 171.

* *The great* Moſes, ſays he, *makes not the Species of the rational Soul to be like to any of the Creatures, but pronounceth it to be the* Image *of the inviſible God, as judging it then to become the true and genuine* Coin *of God, when it is form'd, and impreſs'd by the divine Seal, the Character whereof is the eternal* Word. *For God,* ſaith he, *breath'd into his Face the Breath of Life; ſo that he, who receives the Inſpiration, muſt, of neceſſity, repreſent the Image of him that gives it; and for this Reaſon it is ſaid, that* Man was made *after the Image of God.* Lib. de Plantatione Noe.

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aſſerts to be the *recondite* Senſe of *Moſes*'s Words in the Hiſtory of Man's Creation.

AND indeed we need go no farther, than this Hiſtory of *Moſes*, to prove the very Point we are now upon. For, whereas it acquaints us, that the firſt Man, in his State of Integrity, was able to ſuſtain the Approaches of the divine Preſence, and converſe with his Maker, in the ſame Language, 'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that it was a particular Vouchſafement to him, to confirm his Mind, and enlighten his Underſtanding in this Manner; becauſe no Creature is fit to converſe with God without divine Illumination, nor is any Creature able to bear his majeſtic Appearance, that is not fortify'd and prepared for it by a divine Power.

WHEREAS it tells us, that *(r) God brought every living Creature unto* Adam, *to ſee what he wou'd call them, and whatever he call'd them, that was the Name thereof*; it can hardly be ſuppos'd (conſidering the Circumſtances of the Thing) but that this was the Effect of ſomething more than *human* Sagacity. That, in an infinite Variety of Creatures, never before ſeen by *Adam*, he ſhou'd be able, on a ſudden, without Labour or Premeditation, to give Names to each of them, ſo adapt, and fitted to their reſpective Natures, as that God himſelf ſhou'd approve the *Nomenclature*, is a Thing ſo aſtoniſhing, that we may venture to ſay, * no ſingle Man, among all the Philoſophers ſince the Fall, no *Plato*, no *Ariſtotle*, among the *Antients*, no *Des Cartes*, no *Gaſſendus*, no *Newton*, among the *Moderns*; nay, no *Academy*, or Royal Society whatever, durſt have once attempted it.

WHEREAS it informs us, that *Adam* no ſooner ſaw his Wife brought unto him, but *(s)* he told exactly her *Original*, and gave her a Name accordingly, tho' he lay in the profoundeſt Sleep, and Inſenſibility, all the while that God was performing the wonderful Operation of taking her out of his Side; this can be imputed to nothing, but either an immediate Inſpiration, or ſome *prophetic* Viſion (as we ſaid before) that was ſent upon him, while he ſlept. *(t)* From the Conformity of Parts, which he beheld in that goodly Creature, and her near Similitude to himſelf, he might have conjectur'd indeed, that God had now provided him with a *meet Help*, which before he wanted; but 'tis ſcarce imaginable, how he cou'd ſo punctually deſcribe her Riſe, and Manner of Formation, and ſo ſurely propheſy, that the general Event to his Poſterity wou'd be, for the Sake of her Sex, *to leave Father and Mother, and cleave to their Wives*, otherwiſe, than by divine Illumination; which enabled him *(u)* (as one excellently expreſſes it) "to view *Eſ-* "*ſences* in themſelves, and read *Forms* "without the Comment of their reſpective "Properties; which enabled him to ſee "*Conſequences* yet dormant in their Prin- "ciples, and *Effects* yet unborn, and in "the Womb of their *Cauſes*; which en- "abled him, in ſhort, to pierce almoſt "into *future Contingences*, and improv'd "his *Conjectures* and *Sentiments* even to "a *Prophecy*, and the Certainties of a "*Prediction*."

Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

THESE ſeem to be ſome of the *ſupernatural* Gifts, and what we may call the chief Lines, wherein the Image of God was ſo conſpicuous upon *Adam*'s *Soul*; and there was this *Supernatural* in his *Body* likewiſe, that, *(x)* whereas it was made *of the Duſt of the Earth*, and, in its Compoſition, conſequently corruptible, either

As to the Body.

(r) Gen. ii. 19.

* The Knowledge of *Adam* is highly extoll'd by the *Jewiſh* Doctors. Some of them have maintain'd, that he compos'd two Books, one concerning the Creation, and another about the Nature of God. They generally believe, that he compos'd the xciſt Pſalm; but ſome of them go farther, and tell us, that *Adam*'s Knowledge was not only equal to that of *Solomon*, and *Moſes*, but exceeded even that of *Angels*; and, for the Proof of this, they produce this Story——That, the Angels having ſpoke contemptuouſly of Man, God made this Anſwer,——That the Creature, whom they deſpis'd, was their Superior in Knowledge; and, to convince them of this, that he brought all the Animals to them, and bid them name them, which they being not able to do, he propos'd the Thing to *Adam*, and he did it immediately: With many more Fancies of the ſame ridiculous Nature. *Saurin*'s Diſſertations.

(s) Gen. ii. 23. *(t)* *Bull*'s Sermons and Diſcourſes. *(u)* *South*'s Sermons, Vol. I. *(x)* *Hopkins*'s Doctrine of the two Covenants.

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either by a Power continually proceeding from God, whereof *(y) the Tree of Life* was the divine Sign and *Sacrament*, or by the *inherent* Virtue of the Tree itſelf, perpetually repairing the Decays of Nature, it was to enjoy the Privilege of *Immortality*: *(z)* Not ſuch an Immortality, as the *glorify'd* Bodies of Saints ſhall hereafter poſſeſs (for they ſhall be made wholly *impaſſible*, and ſet free from the Reach of any outward Impreſſions, and elemental Diſorders, which may impair their Vigour, or endanger their Diſſolution) but an Immortality by *Donation*, and the Privilege of an eſpecial Providence, which engag'd itſelf to ſway, and over-rule the natural Tendency, which was in Man's Body, to Corruption; and, notwithſtanding the Contrarieties, and Diſſentions of a terreſtrial Conſtitution, to continue him in Life, as long as he ſhou'd continue himſelf in his Obedience.

The natural Part, as to the Soul.

2. Another chief Part of the *divine Image and Similitude* in our firſt Parents was an *univerſal* Rectitude in all the Faculties belonging to the Soul. Now the two great Faculties, or rather eſſential Acts of the Soul, are the *Underſtanding*, and *Will*; which, tho' (for the clearer Conception of them) we may ſeparate, are, in their Operation, ſo blended and united together, that we cannot properly think them diſtinct Faculties. 'Tis the ſame individual Mind, which ſees and perceives, as well as chuſes or rejects, the ſeveral Objects that are preſented to it. When it does the *Former*, we call it the *Underſtanding*, and when the *Latter*, the *Will*; ſo that they are both radically and inſeparably the ſame, and differ only in the Manner of our conceiving them. Nay, the cleareſt, and only diſtinct Apprehenſion we are able to form of them, (even when we come to conſider them ſeparately) is only this, that the Underſtanding is chiefly converſant about *intelligible*, the Will about *eligible* Objects; ſo that the one has *Truth*, and the other *Goodneſs*, in its View and Purſuit. There are, beſides theſe, belonging to the Soul of Man, certain *Paſſions* and *Affections*, which (according to the common Notion and Manner of Speaking) have chiefly their Reſidence in the *ſenſitive* Appetite; and however, in this laps'd Condition of our Nature, they may many Times mutiny and rebel, yet, when kept in due Temper and Subordination, are excellent Handmaids to the *(a)* Soul. Tho' the *Stoics* look upon them all as ſinful Defects, and Deviations from right Reaſon; yet it is ſufficient for us, that our bleſſed Saviour (who took upon him all our natural, but none of our ſinful Infirmities) was known to have them, and that our firſt *Progenitor*, in the State of his greateſt Perfection, was not devoid of them. Let us then ſee how far we may ſuppoſe, that the Image of God might be impreſs'd upon each of theſe.

Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

(b) His *Soul* itſelf was a rational Subſtance, immaterial, and immortal; and therefore a proper Repreſentation of that *ſupreme* Spirit, whoſe Wiſdom is infinite, and Eſſence eternal.

(c) His *Underſtanding* was, as it were, the upper Region of his Soul, lofty, and ſerene; ſeated above all ſordid Affections, and free from the Vapours and Diſturbances of inferior Paſſions. Its Perceptions were quick and lively, its Reaſonings true, and its Determinations juſt. A *deluded* Fancy was not then capable of impoſing upon it, nor a *fawning* Appetite of deluding it, to pronounce a falſe and diſhoneſt Sentence. In its Direction of the inferior Faculties, it convey'd its Suggeſtions with Clearneſs, and enjoined them with Power; and tho' its Command over them was but *ſuaſive*, yet it had the ſame Force and Efficacy, as if it had been *deſpotical*.

In its Underſtanding.

His *Will* was then very ductile and pliant to the Motions of right Reaſon. It purſu'd the Directions that were given it, and attended upon the Underſtanding, as a *Favourite* does upon his *Prince*, where the Service is both *Privilege* and *Preferment*: And, while it obey'd the Underſtanding, it

Will.

(y) Gen. ii. 9. *(z)* *Edwards*'s Survey of Religion, Vol. I. *(a)* *South*'s Sermons, Vol. I.
(b) *Edwards*'s Survey. *(c)* *South*'s Sermons, Vol. I.

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it commanded the other Faculties, that were beneath it; gave Laws to the *Affections*, and reſtrained the *Paſſions* from licentious Sallies.

Affections.

HIS *Paſſions* were then indeed all ſubordinate to his *Will*, and *Intellect*, and acted within the Compaſs of their proper Objects. His *Love* was center'd upon God, and flam'd up to Heaven in direct Fervours of Devotion. His *Hatred* (if Hatred may be ſuppos'd in a State of Innocence) was fix'd only upon that, which his Poſterity only love, *Sin*. His Joy was then the Reſult of a real *Good* ſuitably apply'd, and fill'd his Soul (as God does the Univerſe) ſilently, and without Noiſe. His Sorrow (if any ſuppos'd Diſaſter cou'd have occaſion'd Sorrow) muſt have mov'd according to the ſevere Allowances of Prudence; been as ſilent as Thought, and all confin'd within the Cloſet of the Breaſt. His *Hope* was fed with the Expectation of a better Paradiſe, and a nearer Admiſſion to the Divine Preſence; and (to name no more) his *Fear*, which was then a *Guard*, and not a *Torment* to the Mind, was fix'd upon him, who is only to be fear'd, *God*, but in ſuch a *filial* Manner, as to become an *Awe* without *Amazement*, and a *Dread* without *Diſtraction*.

Conſcience.

IT muſt be acknowledg'd indeed, that the Scriptures do not expreſsly attribute all theſe Perfections to *Adam* in his firſt Eſtate; but, ſince the oppoſite Weakneſſes now infeſt the Nature of Man *fallen*, we muſt conclude (if we will be true to the Rule of *Contraries)* that theſe, and ſuch like Excellencies, were the Endowments of Man *innocent*. And if ſo, then is there another Perfection ariſing from this *Harmony*, and due Compoſure of the Faculties, which we may call the Crown and Conſummation of all, and that is *a good Conſcience*. For, as in the Body, when the vital and principal Parts do their Office, and all the ſmaller Veſſels act orderly, there ariſes a ſweet Enjoyment upon the Whole, which we call *Health*; ſo in the Soul, when the ſupreme Faculties of the *Underſtanding* and *Will* move regularly, and the inferior *Paſſions* and *Affections* liſten to their Dictates, and follow their Injunctions, there ariſes a *Serenity* and Complacency upon the whole Soul, infinitely beyond all the Pleaſures of Senſuality, and which, like a ſpicy Field, refreſhes it upon every Reflection, and fills it with a joyful *Confidence towards God*.

Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

As to the Body and its Dominion over other Creatures.

THESE are ſome of the *natural* Lines (as we may diſtinguiſh them) which the Finger of God pourtray'd upon the Soul of Man: And (ſo far as a *Spiritual* Being may be reſembled by a *Corporeal) (d)* the Contrivance of Man's bodily Parts was with ſuch Proportion and Exactneſs, as moſt conduc'd to its Comelineſs and Service. His Stature was erect and rais'd, becoming him, who was to be the Lord of this Globe, and the Obſerver of the Heavens. A Divine Beauty and Majeſty was ſhed upon it, ſuch as cou'd neither be eclips'd by Sickneſs, nor extinguiſh'd by Death: *(e)* For *Adam* knew no Diſeaſe, ſo long as he refrain'd from the *forbidden* Tree. Nature was his Phyſician, and Innocence and Abſtinence wou'd have kept him healthful to Immortality. And from this Perfection of Man's Body, eſpecially that *Port* and *Majeſty*, which appear'd in his Looks and Aſpect, there aroſe, in ſome Meaſure, another Lineament of the *Divine Image, viz. (f)* that *Dominion* and Sovereignty, wherewith God inveſted him, over all other Creatures. For there is even ſtill remaining in Man a certain *terrific* Character (as *(g)* one calls it) which, aſſiſted by that Inſtinct of Dread, that he hath equally implanted in their Natures, commands their Homage and Obeiſance; inſomuch, that it muſt be Hunger or Compulſion, or ſome violent Exaſperation or other, that makes them, at any Time, rebel againſt their Maker's *Vicegerent* here below.

THIS is the beſt Copy of the *Divine Image* that we can draw: Only it may

(d) Bates's Harmony of the Divine Attributes. *(e) South*'s Sermons, Vol. I. *(f)* Gen. i. 26.
(g) Cornelius Agrippa, de Occult. Philoſ.

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not be amiſs to add, *(h)* that the *Holineſs* of Man was a Reſemblance of the Divine *Purity*, and his *Happineſs* a Repreſentation of the Divine *Felicity*. And now, to look over it again, and recount the ſeveral Lines of it: What was *ſupernatural* in it, was, a Mind fortify'd to bear the Divine Preſence, qualify'd for the Divine Converſe, fully illuminated by the Divine Spirit; and a Body, that (contrary to the natural Principles of its Compoſition) was indulg'd the Privilege of Immortality. What was *natural* to it, was an univerſal *Harmony* in all its Faculties; an *Underſtanding* fraught with all Manner of Knowledge; a *Will* ſubmitted to the Divine Pleaſure; *Affections* plac'd upon their proper Objects; *Paſſions* calm and eaſy; a *Conſcience* quiet and ſerene; reſplendent *Holineſs*, perfect *Felicity*, and a *Body* adorned with ſuch Comelineſs and Majeſty, as might juſtly challenge the Rule and Juriſdiction of this inferior World.

How far it is loſt or impair'd.

IF it be demanded, how much of this *Image* is defac'd, loſt, or impair'd? the Anſwer is, That *(i)* whatever was *ſupernatural* and adventitious to Man by the Benignity of Almighty God (as it depended upon the Condition of his Obedience to the Divine Command) upon the Breach of that Command, was entirely loſt: What was *perfective* of his Nature, ſuch as the *Excellency* of his Knowledge, the *Subordination* of his Faculties, the *Tranquillity* of his Mind, and full *Dominion* over other Creatures, was ſadly impair'd: But what was eſſential to his Nature, the *Immortality* of his Soul, the *Faculties* of Intellection, and Will, and the natural *Beauty* and Uſefulneſs of his Body, does ſtill remain, notwithſtanding the Concuſſions, they ſuſtain'd in the Fall. Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

How it may be repair'd.

IF it be aſk'd, what we muſt do in order to repair this defac'd Image of God in us? the only Anſwer we can have in this Caſe, is, from the *ſacred Oracles* of Scripture. We muſt *(k) be renewed in the Spirit of our Mind, and put on the new Man, which after God is created in Righteouſneſs and true Holineſs:* We muſt *(l) be Followers of God as dear Children; grow in Grace, (m) be renewed in Knowledge*, and *(n) conformed to the Image of his Son:* We muſt *(o) give all Diligence to add to our Faith Virtue; and to Virtue, Knowledge; and to Knowledge, Temperance; and to Temperance, Patience; and to Patience, Godlineſs; and to Godlineſs, brotherly Kindneſs; and to brotherly Kindneſs, Charity*; that we may *(p) be complete in him, who is the Head of all Principality and Power*; and that, *(q) as we have borne the Image of the Earthly, we may alſo bear the Image of the Heavenly* Adam.

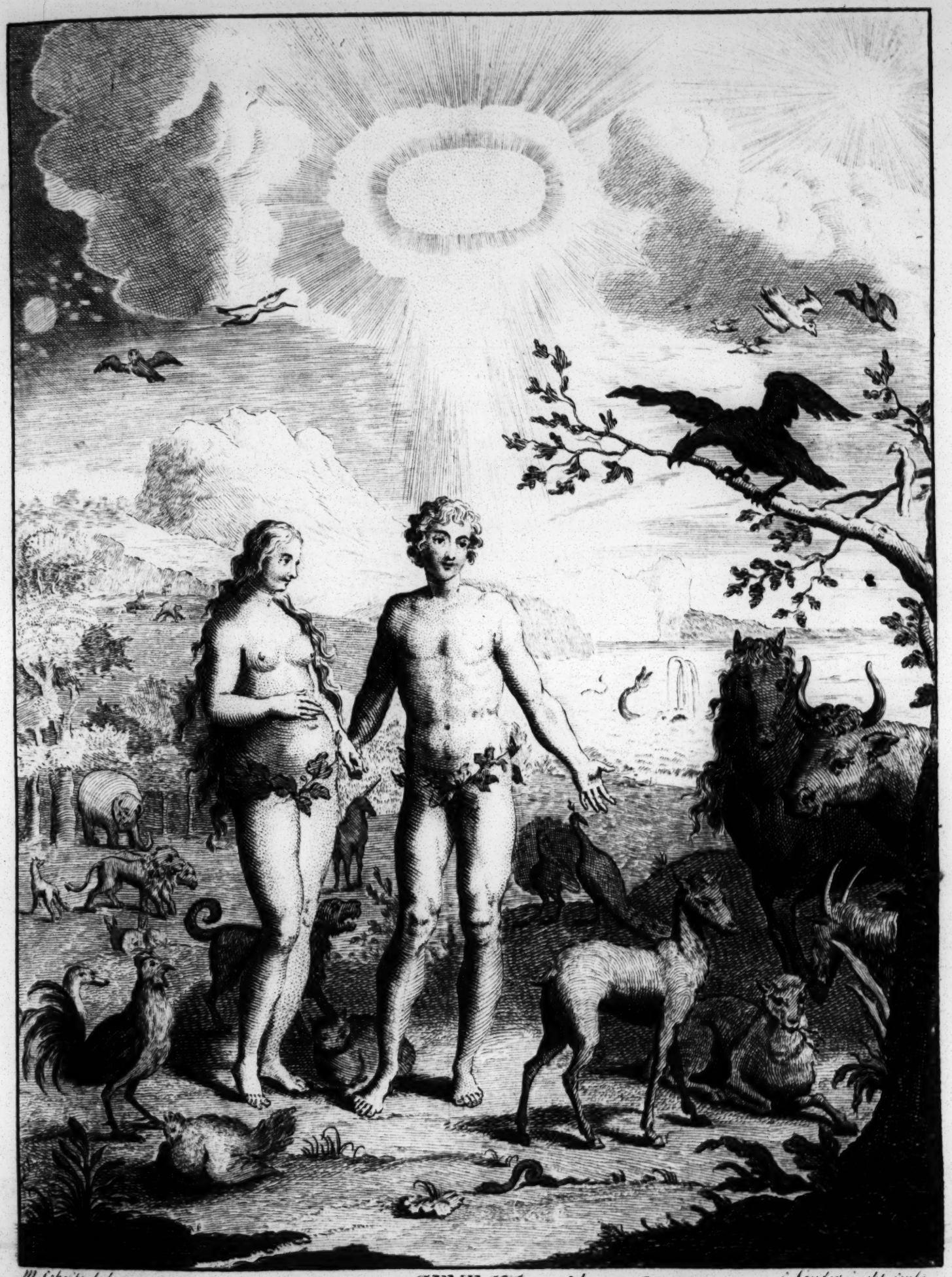
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CHAP. III.

Of the Fall of MAN.

The HISTORY.

THE *ſacred* Hiſtorian indeed gives us no Account of *Satan*, the *Chief* of the fallen Angels, and grand Adverſary of God and Man; but, from ſeveral other Places in Scripture, we may learn, that he at firſt was made, like other *celeſtial* Spirits, perfect in his Kind, and happy in his Condition, but that, thro' Pride or Ambition, as we may ſuppoſe, falling into a Crime, (whoſe Circumſtances to us are unknown)



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So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him: male & female created he them.

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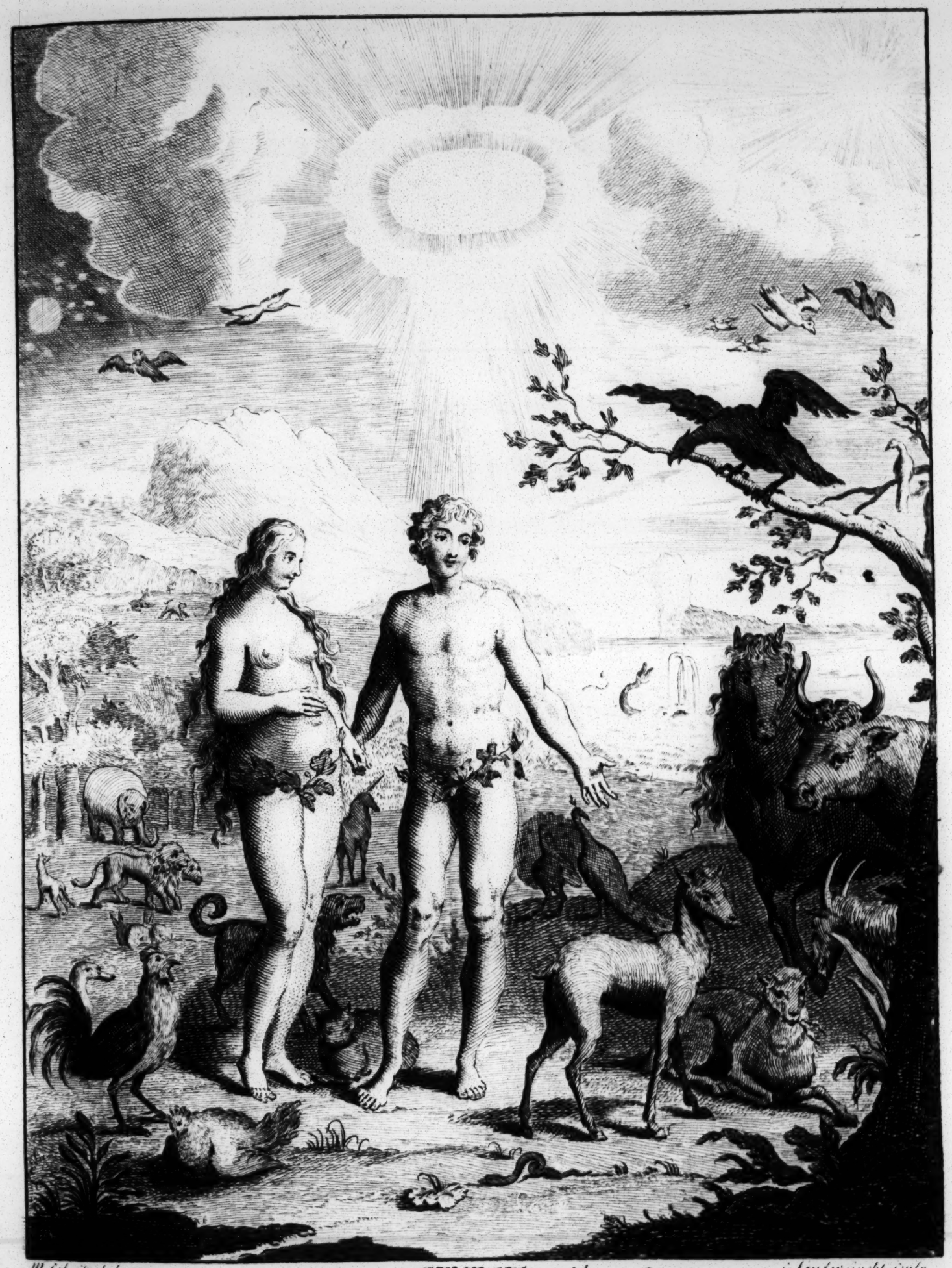
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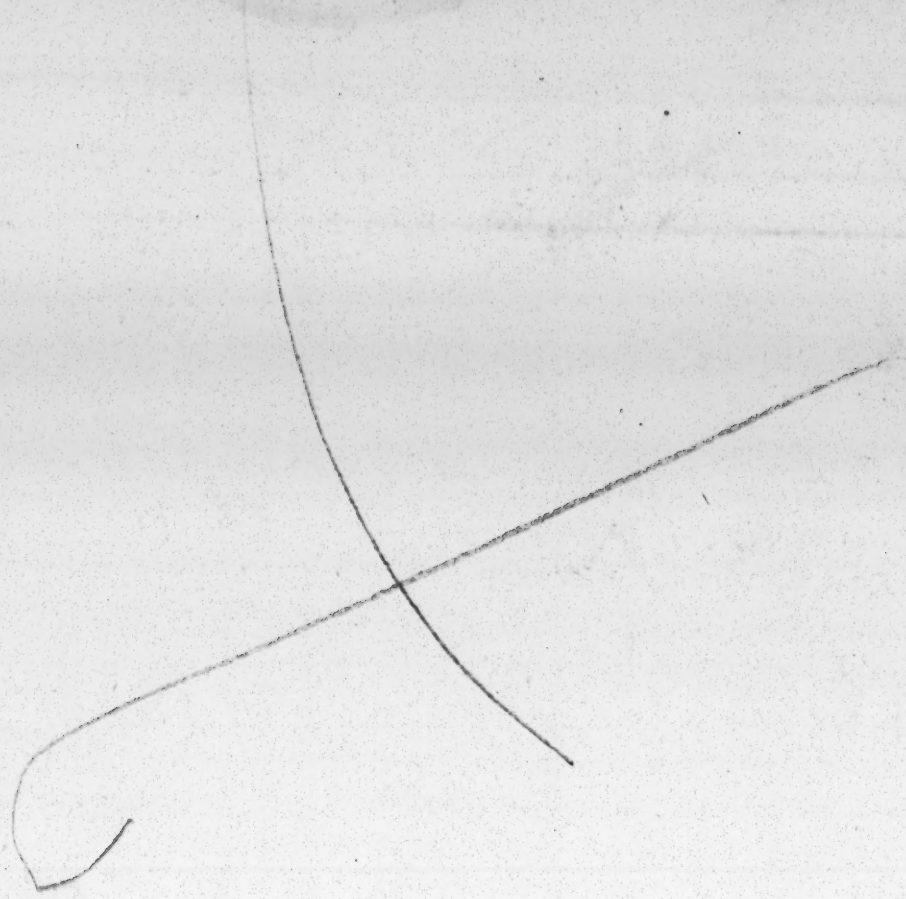


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unknown) he thence fell into Miſery, and, together * with his *Accomplices*, was baniſh'd from the Regions of Bliſs; that, * in his State of Exile, having loſt all Hopes, and deſpairing of a Reconciliation with the *Almighty*, he abandon'd himſelf to all kinds of Wickedneſs, and, upon the Creation of Man, out of pure Envy to the Happineſs, which God had deſign'd for him, reſolv'd upon a Project to draw him into Diſobedience, and thence into Ruin and Perdition; but how to put his *Scheme* in Execution, was the Queſtion. The Woman, he perceiv'd, (as by Nature more ductile and tender) was the properer Subject for his Temptations; but ſome *Form* he was to aſſume, to enable him to enter into Conference with her. *(r)* The Figure of a Man was the fitteſt upon this Occaſion; but then it wou'd have diſcover'd the Impoſture, becauſe *Eve* knew very well, that her Huſband was the only one of that Species upon the Face of the Earth. And therefore conſidering, that the Serpent, which, before the Fall, was a bright and glorious Creature, and (next to Man) † endu'd with the greateſt Talents of Sagacity and Underſtanding, wou'd be no improper Inſtrument for his Purpoſe, he uſurp'd the Organs of one of theſe, and through them he addreſs'd himſelf to the Woman, the firſt Opportunity, when he found her alone. Gen. Ch. iii.

AFTER * ſome previous Compliments (as we may imagine) and Congratulations of her happy State, the Tempter put on an

* That *Profane*, as well as *Sacred* Writers, had the ſame Notion of the Fall of wicked Angels, is manifeſt from a Tradition they had (tho' mixt with Fable) of the *Titans* and *Giants* invading Heaven, fighting againſt *Jupiter*, and attempting to depoſe him from his Throne, for which Reaſon he threw them down headlong into *Hell*, where they are tormented with inceſſant Fire; and therefore *Empedocles*, in the Verſes recited by *Plutarch*, makes mention of the Fate of ſome *Dæmons*, who, for their Rebellion, were, from the Summit of Heaven, plung'd into the Bottom of the great Deep, there to be puniſh'd, as they deſerv'd: To which the Story of *Ate*, who once inhabited the Air, but, being always hurtful to Man, and therefore hateful to God, was caſt down from thence, with a ſolemn Oath and Decree, that ſhe ſhou'd never return again, ſeems not a little to allude. *Huetius, in Alnetan. Quæſt. Lib.* 2.

* Our excellent *Milton* repreſents *Satan*, within Proſpect of *Eden*, and near the Place, where he was to attempt his deſperate Enterprize againſt God and Man, falling into Doubts, and ſundry Paſſions, and then, at laſt, confirming himſelf in his wicked Deſign.

But ſay I cou'd repent, and cou'd obtain,
By Act of Grace, my former State; how ſoon
Wou'd Height recal high Thoughts! how ſoon un-ſay
What feign'd Submiſſion ſwore! Eaſe wou'd recant
Vows made in Pain, as violent and void ———
All Hope excluded thus, behold, inſtead
Of us, outcaſt, exil'd, his new Delight,
Mankind, created; and for him this World.
So farewell, Hope! and, with Hope, farewell, Fear!
Farewell, Remorſe! all Good to me is loſt;
Evil, be thou my Good! by thee at leaſt
Divided Empire with Heav'n's King I hold;
By thee, and more than half perhaps, will reign;
As Man, e're long, and this new World, ſhall know.

BOOK IV.

(r) L'Hiſtoire du Vieux et Nouveau Teſtament, par M. *Martin*.

† *Milton*, who is an excellent Commentator upon the whole Hiſtory of the Fall, brings in the Devil, after a long Search to find out a Beaſt proper for his Purpoſe, concluding at laſt to make uſe of the Serpent.

Him, after long Debate (irreſolute
Of Thought revolv'd) his final Sentence choſe
Fit Veſſel, fitteſt Imp of Fraud, in whom
To enter, and his dark Suggeſtions hide
From ſharpeſt Sight: For in the wily Snake
Whatever Sleights, none wou'd Suſpicions mark,
As from his Wit, and native Subtilty
Proceeding; which, in other Beaſt obſerv'd,
Doubt might beget of *diabolic* Pow'r
Active within, beyond the Senſe of Brute.

BOOK IX.

The Wiſdom and Subtilty of the Serpent are frequently mentioned in Scripture, as Qualities, which diſtinguiſh it from other Animals, and ſeveral are the Inſtances, wherein it is ſaid to diſcover its Cunning. *1ſt*, When it is old, by ſqueezing itſelf between two Rocks, it can ſtrip off its old Skin, and ſo grows young again. *2dly*, As it grows blind, it has a Secret to recover its Sight by the Juice of *Fennel*. *3dly*, When it is aſſaulted, its chief Care is to ſecure its Head, becauſe its Heart lies under its Throat, and very near its Head. And, *4thly*, When it goes to drink at a Fountain, it firſt vomits up all its Poiſon, for fear of poiſoning itſelf, as it is drinking. With ſome other Qualities of the like Nature. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

But a modern Author of our own has given us this further Reaſon, for the Devil's making uſe of the Serpent in this Affair, *viz.*——That, as no infinite Being can actuate any Creature, beyond what the Fitneſs and Capacity of its Organs will admit; ſo the natural Subtilty of the Serpent, and perhaps the Pliableneſs, and Forkineſs of its Tongue (which, we know, enables other Creatures to pronounce *articulate* Sounds) added to the Advantages of its Form, made it the fitteſt Inſtrument of Deluſion, that can be imagin'd. *Revelation Examin'd.*

* *Milton* has very curiouſly deſcrib'd the artful and inſinuating Carriage of the Serpent, upon his firſt Approach to ſpeak to *Eve*:

He

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an Air of great Concern, and ſeem'd to intereſt himſelf not a little in her Behalf, by wondering why God, who had lately been ſo very bountiful to them, ſhou'd deny them the Uſe of a Tree, whoſe Fruit was ſo tempting to the Eye, ſo grateful to the Palate, and of ſuch ſovereign Quality to make them wiſe: And, when *Eve* reply'd, that ſuch was the Divine Prohibition, even under the Penalty of Death itſelf, * he immediately ſubjoins, that ſuch a Penalty was an empty Threat, and what wou'd never be executed upon them; that God wou'd never deſtroy the *Work of his own Hands*, Creatures ſo accompliſh'd, as they were, for ſo ſlight a Tranſgreſſion; and that the ſole Intent of his Prohibition was, to continue them in their preſent State of Dependence and Ignorance, and not admit them to that Extent of Knowledge, and Plenitude of Happineſs, which their Eating of this Fruit wou'd confer upon them: For God himſelf knew, that † the proper Uſe of this Tree was, to illuminate the Underſtanding, and advance all the other Faculties of the Soul to ſuch a Sublimity, that the brighteſt Angels in Heaven ſhou'd not ſurpaſs them; nay, that they ſhou'd approximate the Deity itſelf, in the Extent of their Intellect, and Independence of their Being. In ſhort, he acquainted *Eve*, that the Jealouſy of the Creator was the ſole Motive of his Prohibition; that the Fruit had a Virtue to impart † an univerſal Knowledge to the Perſon, who taſted it; and that therefore God, who wou'd admit of no Competitor, had reſerv'd this Privilege to himſelf. Above all, he engag'd her to fix her Eyes upon the forbidden Fruit; he remark'd to her it's Pleaſantneſs to the Sight, and left her to gueſs at it's Deliciouſneſs. *Eve*, in the very midſt of the Temptation, had a Freedom of Choice; but the fond Conceit of *knowing Good and Evil*, of

Gen. Ch. iii.

He bolder now, uncall'd, before her ſtood,
But as in great Admiring: Oft he bow'd
His turret Creſt, and ſleek enamell'd Neck,
Fawning; and lick'd the Ground, whereon ſhe trod.
His gentle dumb Expreſſions turn'd at length
The Eye of *Eve*, to mark his Play: He, glad
Of her Attention gain'd, with Serpent Tongue
Organic, or Impulſe of vocal Air,
His fraudulent Temptation thus began.

BOOK IX.

* The firſt Words in his Addreſs are, *Yea, hath God ſaid, ye ſhall not eat*, &c. which do not look ſo much like the *Beginning*, as the *Concluſion* of a Diſcourſe, as the *Jews* themſelves have obſerv'd: And therefore it is not improbable, that the Tempter, before he ſpake theſe Words, repreſented himſelf, as one of the heavenly Court, who was come, or rather ſent, to congratulate the Happineſs, which God had beſtow'd on them in Paradiſe; an Happineſs ſo great, that he could not eaſily believe he had deny'd them any of the Fruit of the Garden. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* *Burnet*, in his *Archæologiæ Philoſophicæ*, has given us the whole Dialogue (as he has fram'd it at leaſt) between the Serpent and *Eve*; which, tho' a little too light and ludicrous for ſo ſolemn an Occaſion, yet, becauſe the Book is not in every one's Hands, I have thought fit to ſet down in his own Words. " Serp. *Salve, Pulcherrima, quid rerum agis* " *ſub hac umbrâ?* Ev. *Ego hujus arboris Pulchritudinem contemplor.* Serp. *Jucundum quidem Spectaculum, ſed multo ju-* " *cundiores fructus: Guſtaſtin', mea Domina?* Ev. *Minime vero: Deus nobis interdixit eſu hujus Arboris.* Serp. *Quid* " *audio! Quis iſte Deus, qui ſuis invidet innocuas naturæ Delicias? nihil ſuavius, nihil ſalubrius hoc fructu. Quamobrem* " *interdiceret, niſi per legem ludicram?* Ev. *Quinimo ſub pœnâ mortis interdixit.* Serp. *Rem male capis proculdubio:* " *Nihil habet mortiferi hæc Arbor, ſed potius divini aliquid, & ſupra vires communis naturæ.* Ev. *Ego non habeo quid* " *tibi reſpondeam, ſed adibo virum.* Serp. *Quid virum interpellas de re tantillâ?* Ev. *Utarne? Quid pulchrius hoc pomo?* " *Quam ſuave redolet? Sed forſan male ſapit.* Serp. *Eſt eſca, crede mihi, angelis non indigna. Fac Periculum, &, ſi* " *male ſapit, rejicito, & me inſuper habeto pro mendaciſſimo.* Ev. *Experiar; eſt quidem gratiſſimi ſaporis: Non me fefelliſti.* " *Porrige huc alterum, ut viro afferam.* Serp. *Commodum meminiſti. En tibi alterum: Adi virum. Vale, Beatula.*—— " *Ego interea elabar, illa curet cætera.*" Lib. 2. Cap. 7.

† It is very well worth our Obſervation, how ambiguous and deceitful the Promiſe, which the Tempter makes our firſt Parent, was: For, by *opening the Eyes*, ſhe underſtood a further Degree of Wiſdom, as the ſame Phraſe imports, *Acts* xxvi. 18. and *Eph.* i. 18; but he meant their perceiving their own Miſery, and Confuſion of Conſcience, as fell out immediately: By *being like Gods*, ſhe underſtood the Happineſs of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, as appears by the Words of God himſelf, *ver.* 22. but he meant it of Angels (frequently ſtil'd *Elohim*, i. e. Gods) and of ſuch fallen Angels, as himſelf, who are call'd *Principalities and Powers*, Col. ii. 15. And *by knowing Good and Evil*, ſhe underſtood a Kind of Divine Omniſcience, or knowing *all Manner of Things*, (as the Phraſe frequently ſignifies). But he meant it, that thereby ſhe ſhou'd experience the Difference between *Good and Evil*, between Happineſs and Miſery, which ſhe did, to her Coſt: A Method this of Cunning and Reſerve, which he has practis'd in his *oracular* Reſponſes ever ſince. *Ainſworth*'s Annotations.

† The Words *Good and Evil*, when apply'd to Knowledge, comprehend every Thing, that is poſſible for Man to know; for ſo the Woman of *Tekoa*, in her Addreſs to King *David*, tells him [2 *Sam.* xiv. 17.] *as an Angel of God is my Lord the King, to diſcern Good and Bad*; and that by the Terms *Good and Bad* we are to underſtand *all Things*, the 20th Verſe of that Chapter will inform us, where ſhe continues her Compliment, and ſays, *my Lord is wiſe, according to the Wiſdom of an Angel, to know all Things, that are on the Earth.* Le Clerc's Commentary.

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of becoming like *God*, and of changing her Felicity (great indeed, but ſubordinate) for an independent State of Happineſs, and eſpecially, the deceitful Bait of preſent *ſenſual* Pleaſure, blinded her Reaſon by Degrees; and, as ſhe ſtood gazing on the Tree, fill'd all her Thoughts, and the whole Capacity of her Soul. The Sight of the Fruit provok'd her Deſire; the Suggeſtions of the Tempter urg'd it on; her natural Curioſity rais'd her Longing; and the very Prohibition itſelf did ſomething to enflame it: So that, at all Adventures, ſhe put forth her Hand, and pluck'd, and eat.

Earth felt the Wound, and Nature, from her Seat
Sighing, thro' all her Works gave Signs of Woe,
That all was loſt (s).

She however had no ſuch Senſe of her Condition; but, fancying herſelf already in the Poſſeſſion of that chimerical Happineſs, wherewith the Devil had deluded her, ſhe invited her Huſband (who, not unlikely, came upon her while ſhe was eating) to partake with her. *(t)* The moſt abſurd Arguments appear reaſonable, and the moſt unjuſt Deſires equitable, when the Perſon, who propoſes them, is belov'd: The Devil therefore knew very well what he did, when he made his firſt Application to the Woman. Her Charms and Endearments, which gave her the Aſcendency over her Huſband's Affection, wou'd be of more Efficacy (he knew) than all the ſubtile Motives, which he cou'd ſuggeſt, and therefore he made uſe of her to engage him in the like Defection: And, after ſome ſmall Reluctancy (as we may ſuppoſe) he, *(u)* like an *uxorious* Man, was by her Entreaties prevail'd on (contrary to the Senſe of his Duty, and Convictions of his own Breaſt) to violate the Command, merely becauſe ſhe had done it, and to ſhare whatever Fate God's Indignation for that Tranſgreſſion ſhou'd bring upon her. Thus the Sollicitations of the Woman ruin'd the Man, as the Inchantments of the Tempter ruin'd the Woman. She held forth the fair enticing Fruit to him; and he, rather than ſee her periſh alone, choſe to be involv'd in the ſame common Guilt *(x)*. Gen. Ch. iii.

Earth trembled from her Entrails, as again
In Pangs, and Nature gave a ſecond Groan;
Sky lowr'd, and, murm'ring Thunder, ſome ſad Drops
Wept, at completing of the mortal Sin (y).

For as ſoon as they had eaten of the forbidden Fruit, † *their Eyes were open'd*, but in a Senſe quite different to what the Tempter had promis'd them, *viz.* to ſee their own Folly, and impendent Miſeries, and make ſad Reflections upon what they had done. They had acquir'd *Knowledge*, indeed, but it was a Knowledge, ariſing from ſorrowful Experience, that the *Serpent* had beguiled them both, and drawn them from *the Good* of Happineſs and Innocence, which they knew before, into *the Evil* of Sin and Miſery, which (until that fatal Moment) they had no Conception of. *(z)* They ſaw a living God provok'd; his Grace and Favour forfeited; his Likeneſs and *Image* defac'd; and their Dominion over other Creatures withdrawn from them. They ſaw, very probably, the Heavens grow angry and ſtormy; the Angel of the Lord ſtanding with his Sword, threatening them with Vengeance; and the Devil himſelf, who before had ſeduc'd them, throwing off the Diſguiſe, and now openly inſulting over them. They

(s) *Milton*, Book IX. (t) *Saurin*'s Diſſertations. (u) *Mede*'s Diſcourſes. (x) *Edwards*'s Survey of Religion. (y) *Milton*, Book IX.

† *Le Clerc* obſerves, that it is reputed an Elegancy in the ſacred Writing to make uſe of the Figure, which *Rhetoricians* call *Antanaclaſis*, whereby they continue the ſame Word or Phraſe that went before, tho' in a quite different Senſe; as the learned *Grotius* upon *John* i. 16. and *Hammond* on *Math.* viii. 22. have abundantly ſhewn: And for this Reaſon he ſuppoſes, that *Moſes* repeats *their Eyes were open*, which the Devil had us'd before, tho' he meant it in a Senſe quite different to the former.

(z) *Miller*'s Hiſtory of the Church.

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ſaw that † *they were naked*; were ſtrip'd of all their *intellectual* and *moral* Ornaments; were ſubjected to irregular Appetites, and inordinate Luſts; and bluſh'd to ſee their external Glory ſo much debas'd, that ‡ they took and platted together Fig-Leaves (which in eaſtern Countries are very large) in order to make themſelves ‡‡ ſuch Coverings, as might both protect them from the Injuries of the Weather, and conceal their Shame. Nor was their Guilt attended with Shame only, but with Fear likewiſe, and many diſmal Apprehenſions. † Before they ſinn'd, they no ſooner heard *the Voice of the Lord* coming towards them, but they ran out to meet him, and, with an humble Joy, welcom'd his gracious Viſits; but now * God was become a Terror to them, and they a Terror to themſelves. Their Conſciences ſet their Sin before them in its blackeſt Aſpect; and, as they had then no Hopes of a future Mediator, ſo there *remained nothing for them but a certain fearful Looking-for of Judgment, and fiery Indignation, ready to devour them.* And accordingly, no ſooner did they hear the Sound of God's *majeſtic* Preſence drawing nearer and nearer to the Place, where they were (which happen'd towards the Cool of the Evening) but they immediately betook themſelves to the thickeſt and cloſeſt Places they cou'd find Gen. Ch. iii.

† Thoſe who take the Word *naked* in a *literal* Senſe, ſuppoſe, that, upon the Fall, the Air, and other Elements, immediately became intemperate, and diſorderly; ſo that our firſt Parents ſoon *knew*, or felt, that they were naked, becauſe the Sun ſcorch'd them, the Rain wet them, and the Cold pierc'd them. Vid. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *King* on the Origin of Evil. But others take the Expreſſion rather in a *figurative* Senſe, *viz.* to denote the Commiſſion of ſuch Sins, as a Man in his Senſes may well be aſham'd of: And to this Purpoſe they have obſerv'd, that when *Moſes* return'd from the Mount, and found that the People had made and conſecrated a golden Image, the Expreſſion in Scripture is, *that the People were naked*, i. e. were become vile and reprobate Sinners; (for ſo the Word γυμνὸς ſignifies in the New Teſtament, *Rev.* xvi. 15) *for* Aaron *had made them naked, unto their Shame, among their Enemies*, Exod. xxxii. 25. Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. Now thoſe who take it in this Senſe, have obſerv'd farther, that by the Word *Nakedneſs* (according to the uſual Modeſty of the *Hebrew* Tongue) are meant all the irregular Appetites to *venereal* Pleaſures, which *Adam* and *Eve* were Strangers to in their State of Innocence, but began now firſt to experience, and which the intoxicating Juice of the forbidden Tree might very probably excite. *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I.

As with new Wine intoxicated both,
They ſwim in Mirth, and fancy that they feel
Divinity within them, breeding Wings,
Wherewith to ſcorn the Earth: But that falſe Fruit
Far other Operation firſt diſplay'd
Carnal Deſire inflaming: He on *Eve*
Began to caſt laſcivious Eyes, ſhe him
As wantonly repay'd, in Luſt they burn.
MILTON, BOOK IX.

‡ Our Tranſlation indeed tells us, that our firſt Parents *ſew'd Fig-Leaves together*, which gives Occaſion to the uſual Sneer, *What they cou'd do for Needles and Thread?* But the original Word, *Tapar*, ſignifies no more, than to put together, apply, or fit, as is plain from *Job* xvi. 15, and *Ezek.* xiii. 28; and the Word *Gnoleh*, which we render *Leaves*, ſignifies alſo Branches of Trees, ſuch as were to make Booths, or Bowers, *Neh.* xviii. 15. So that *to adapt or fit Branches* (which is tranſlated *ſewing Leaves together*) is only to twiſt, and plat the flexible Branches of the Fig-Tree round about their Waiſts, in the Manner of a *Roman* Crown, for which Purpoſe, the Fig-Tree, of all others, was the moſt ſerviceable, becauſe, as *Pliny* tells us [L. 16. C. 24.] it had *folium maximum, & umbroſiſſimum.* *Patrick*'s Commentary.

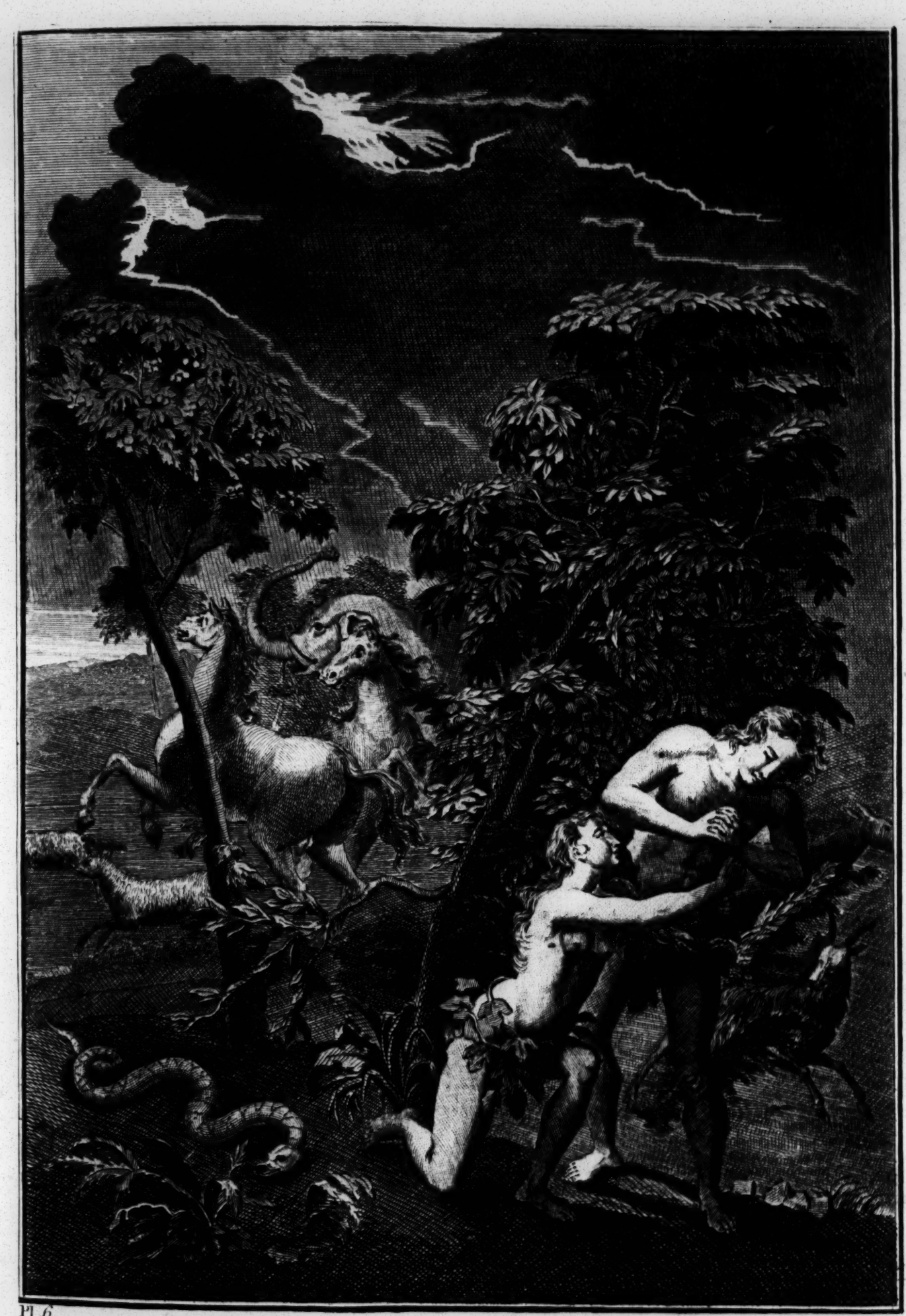
‡ The Word, in the Tranſlation, is *Aprons*: But ſince, in the Original, it may ſignify any Thing, that covers or ſurrounds us, it may every whit as properly here be render'd a *Bower*, or Arbor, cover'd with the Branches of the *Fig-Tree*, wherein the fallen *Pair* thought to have hid themſelves from the Sight of God; to which Interpretation the ſubſequent Verſe ſeems to give ſome Countenance. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. Nor is *Milton*'s Deſcription of the *Fig-Tree* uninclinable to this Senſe:

—— Such as at this Day ſpreads her Arms,
Branching ſo broad and long, that in the Ground
The bended Twigs take root, and Daughters grow
About the Mother-Tree; a pillar'd Shade
High over-arch'd, and echoing Walks between.
There oft the *Indian* Huntſman, ſhunning Heat,
Shelters in cool, and tends his paſt'ring Herds
In Loop-holes, cut thro' thickeſt Shade. BOOK IX.

† The Word *Voice* may be equally render'd *Noiſe*: And, ſince God's uſual Way of notifying his Preſence afterwards was either by a *ſmall ſtill Voice*, or Noiſe, 1 *Kings* xix. 12. or by a Noiſe, like *that of great Waters*, Ezek. i. 24. or like the Ruſtling of Wind in the Trees, 2 *Sam.* v. 24. we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that it was either a ſoft gentle Noiſe, like a Breeze of Wind among the Trees of *Paradiſe*, or a louder one, like the Murmuring of ſome large River, which gave *Adam* Notice of God's Approaching. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

* *Milton* makes *Adam*, upon this Occaſion, expreſs himſelf in this Manner:

——— How ſhall I behold the Face
Henceforth of God or Angel, erſt with Joy
And Raptures oft beheld?——O! might I here
In Solitude live ſavage, in ſome Glade
Obſcur'd, where higheſt Woods (impenetrable
To Star or Sun-light) ſpread their Umbrage broad,
And brown as Evening! Cover me, ye Pines!
Ye Cedars, with innumerable Boughs
Hide me, where I may never ſee them more!
BOOK IX.



Pl.6

And Adam and his Wife hid themselves from the Presence of the Lord God, amongst the Trees of the Garden.
And the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, where art thou?
Gen. 3 C. 9. page 42

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find in the Garden, in order to hide themſelves from his Inſpection; for ſo far were they fallen in their Underſtanding, as never to reflect, that *all* Places and *Things are naked and open to the Eyes of him, with whom they had to do.*

OUT of their dark Retreat however God calls the two *Criminals*, who, after a ſhort Examination, acknowledge their Guilt indeed, but lay the Blame of it, the Man upon the Woman, and the Woman upon the Serpent: Whereupon God proceeds to pronounce Sentence upon them, but firſt of all upon the Devil, as being the *prime* Offender. The Devil had made the Serpent the Inſtrument of his Deception; and therefore † God firſt degrades it, from the noble Creature it was before this Fact, to a foul creeping Animal, which, inſtead of going *erect*, or flying in the Air, was ſentenc'd to creep upon its Belly, and thereupon become incapable of eating any Food, but what was mingled with Duſt. And to the Devil, who lay hid under the Covert of the Serpent, (and there it is not expreſsly nam'd) he declares, that, how much ſoever he might glory in his preſent Conqueſt, a Time ſhou'd come, when a *Child*, deſcended from *the Seed* of that very Sex, he had now defeated, *i. e.* the MESSIAS, ſhou'd ruin all his new-erected Empire of Sin and Death; and, *(a) having ſpoiled Principalities and Powers, ſhou'd make a Shew of them openly, triumphing over them in his Croſs.* This cou'd not fail of being Matter of great Comfort and Conſolation to *Adam* and *Eve*, to hear of the Conqueſt of their malicious Enemy, before their own Sentences were pronounc'd; * which, to the *Woman*, was Sorrow in Conception, Pain in Child-birth, and conſtant Subjection to her Huſband's Will; to the *Man*, * a Life of perpetual Toil and Slavery; and, to them both, as well as all their Poſterity, a temporal Death, at the Time appointed. Gen. Ch. iii.

NOR was it Mankind only, which felt the ſad Effects of the Induction of Sin, but * even the *inanimate* Part of the Creation ſuffer'd by it. The Fertility of the Earth,

† *Joſephus*, in the Beginning of *his Antiquities*, pretends, that, *all Creatures uſing the ſame Language*, and conſequently being endu'd with Reaſon and Underſtanding, the Serpent, excited by Envy, tempted *Eve* to Sin, and, among other Things, receiv'd this ſignal Puniſhment, *viz.* That it ſhou'd be depriv'd of its Feet, and ever after crawl upon the Ground, which *Aben Ezra*, and ſeveral other Rabbins, confirm: But what is certain in the Serpent's Puniſhment is this——that it actually eats the dry and duſty Earth (as *Bochart* and *Pliny* tell us) otherwiſe we can hardly conceive, how it cou'd ſubſiſt in dry and ſandy Deſarts, to which God, in a good Meaſure, has condemn'd it. *Revel. Examin'd.*

(a) Col. ii. 15.

* 'Tis remarkable, that a Woman is the only Creature, we know of, who has any *Sorrow in Conception.* This *Ariſtotle* expreſsly affirms, and only excepts the Inſtance of a *Mare* conceiving by an Aſs, and, in general, where there is any Thing monſtrous in the *Fœtus*. Other Creatures, we find, are in more perfect Health, and Strength, and Vigour, at that Time, than before; but *Ariſtotle* reckons up ten different Maladies, to which the Woman is then naturally ſubject. And, as ſhe is ſubject to Sickneſs in the Time of her Conception, ſo it is farther remarkable, that ſhe brings forth her Offspring with more Pain and Agony, than any other Creature upon Earth, even tho' ſhe has ſome Advantage in her Make above other Creatures, that might promiſe her, in this Caſe, an Alleviation: And therefore we may ſuppoſe, that, upon God's ſaying to the Woman, *In Sorrow thou ſhalt bring forth Children*, a real Effect did immediately accompany the Word ſpoken, and cauſe ſuch a Change in the Woman's Body, as, in the Courſe of Nature, muſt have occaſion'd the extraordinary Pain here ſpoken of: For ſo we find, that in the Sentence, pronounc'd againſt the Serpent, againſt the Earth, and againſt Man, the Word of God was not only *declarative*, but *executive* likewiſe, as producing a real Change by a new Modification of Matter, or Conformation of Parts. *Revelation Examin'd*, and *Bibliotheca Biblica*, Vol. I.

* The Words in the Text are, *in the Sweat of thy Face ſhalt thou eat Bread*, ver. 19. From whence ſome conclude, that the Earth, before the Fall, brought forth ſpontaneouſly, (as ſeveral of the antient Poets have deſcrib'd the *golden Age*) and without any Pains to cultivate it; as indeed there needed none, ſince all Things, at firſt, were, by the Divine Power, created in their full Perfection. What Labour wou'd have been neceſſary in Time, if Man had continu'd innocent, we do not know; only we may obſerve from the Words, that leſs Pains wou'd then have been requir'd, than Men are now forc'd to take for their Suſtenance. The Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and Juſtice of God, however, is very conſpicuous, in decreeing, that Toil and Drudgery ſhou'd be the Conſequence of departing from an eaſy and rational Obedience; in making the Earth leſs deſirable to Man, when his Guilt had reduc'd him to the Neceſſity of leaving it; and in keeping in Order thoſe Paſſions and Appetites, which had now broke looſe from the Reſtraint of Reaſon, by ſubduing their Impetuoſity with hard Labour. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Revelation Examin'd.*

* *Milton* brings in God, ſoon after the Fall, appointing his holy Angels to make an Alteration in the *Courſe* of the *celeſtial* Bodies, and to poſſeſs them with noxious Qualities, in order to deſtroy the *Fertility* of the Earth, and thereby puniſh Man for his Tranſgreſſion.

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Earth, and Serenity of the Air, were chang'd; the Elements began to jar; the Seaſons were intemperate, and the Weather grew uncertain: So that, to defend themſelves againſt the immoderate Heat, or Cold, or Wind, or Rain, which now began to infeſt the Earth, our firſt Parents were inſtructed by God,* how to make themſelves Veſtments of the Skins of thoſe Beaſts, which, very probably, they were appointed to ſacrifice, either in Confirmation of the *Covenant of Grace*, couch'd in the Sentence pronounc'd againſt the Serpent, or as a Repreſentation of that great *expiatory* Sacrifice, which, *in the Fullneſs of Time*, God might inform them, was to be offer'd, as a *Propitiation* for the Sins of all Mankind: And, upon this Account, it very likely was, that *Adam* chang'd his Wife's Name, (who, as ſome think, was call'd *Iſſcha* before) into that of *Eve*, as believing that God would make her *the Mother of all Mankind*, and of the *promis'd Seed* in particular, by whom he hop'd for a Reſtoration both to himſelf and his Poſterity, and to be rais'd from Death to a State of Happineſs, and immortal Life. Gen. Ch. iii.

Conſidering then, † what a ſad *Cataſtrophe* this Tranſgreſſion of theirs had brought upon human Nature, and that ſuch

——————The Sun
Had firſt its Precept ſo to move, ſo ſhine,
As might affect the Earth with Cold and Heat
Scarce tolerable; and from the North to call
Decrepid Winter; from the South to bring
Solſtitial Summer's Heat. To the blank Moon
Her Office they preſcrib'd, to th' *other five*
Their planetary Motions and Aſpects
Of noxious Efficacy, and when to join
In Synod unbenign; and taught the *fix'd*
Their Influence malignant when to ſhow'r:
Which of them, riſing with the Sun, or falling,
Shou'd prove tempeſtuous. To the Winds they ſet
Their Corners, when with Bluſter to confound
Sea, Air, and Shoar: The Thunder then to roll
With Terror thro' the dark aerial Hall——
Theſe Changes in the Heav'ns, tho' ſlow, produce
Like Change on Sea, and Land; ſiderial Blaſt,
Vapour, and Miſt, and Exhalation hot,
Corrupt, and peſtilent. BOOK X.

* It cannot be deny'd, but that the Skins of Beaſts were a very antient Sort of Cloathing. *Diodorus Siculus* [Lib. 1.] where he introduces *Hercules* in a Lion's Skin, tells us no leſs; and the Author to the *Hebrews* makes Mention of this Kind of Habit: But the *Jewiſh* Doctors have carry'd the Matter ſo far, as to maintain, that, as *Adam* was a Prieſt, this Coat of his was his *prieſtly* Garment, which he left to his Poſterity: So that *Abel*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, and the reſt of the Patriarchs, ſacrific'd in it, until the Time that *Aaron* was made High-prieſt, and had peculiar Veſtments appointed him by God. But all this fine Fiction of theirs falls to the Ground, if we can but ſuppoſe with ſome, that, by the Word, which we render *Coats*, we may not improperly underſtand Tents, or Arbors, to defend our firſt Parents from the Violence of the Heat, and ſuch haſty Showers, as were common in the Countries adjacent to Paradiſe, and where the Winter was not ſo cold, as to require Coats made of Skins, which wou'd certainly be too warm. That they cou'd not be the Skins of ſlain Animals, is very manifeſt, becauſe as yet there were no more than two of each Species, Male and Female, nor had they propagated. And therefore others have imagin'd, that, if the original Word muſt mean Coats, they were more probably made of the Bark of Trees, which are called Δέρματα, *the Skins of them*, as well as the Hides of Animals. Vid. *Le Clerc*, and *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I.

† The Words in the Text are theſe, *Behold, the Man is become as one of us, to know Good and Evil, and now, leſt he put forth his Hand, and taſte of the Tree of Life, and live for ever*, Gen. iii. 22. The former of theſe Sentences is held by moſt Interpreters to be an *Irony*, ſpoken in Alluſion to the Devil's Manner of tempting *Eve*, Ver. 5. but, from the latter Part of the Words, this Queſtion ſeems to ariſe; "Whether *Adam* and *Eve*, if they had taſted of the Tree of "Life, after their Tranſgreſſion, ſhou'd have liv'd for ever?" Now it is very manifeſt, that, by the Violation of God's Command, they had juſtly incurr'd the Penalty, *In the Day thou eateſt thereof, thou ſhalt ſurely die*, i. e. ſhalt ſurely become mortal: From whence it follows, that, whether they had, or had not eaten, of the Tree of Life, they were, the moment they fell, ſubject to the Neceſſity of dying, nor cou'd the Virtue of the Tree, be it what it wou'd, preſerve them from the Execution of the Sentence; and therefore theſe latter Words, *and now, leſt he put forth his Hand, and taſte of the Tree of Life, and live for ever*, are, in like Manner, ſpoken ſarcaſtically, and as if God had ſaid, "Leſt "the Man ſhou'd vainly fancy in himſelf, that, by eating of the Tree of Life, he ſhall be enabled to live for ever, "let us remove this Conceit from him, by removing him from this Place, and for ever debarring him from any Hopes "of coming at that Tree again." *Eſtius* in Diff. Loca.

Examples of God's ſpeaking by way of *Sarcaſm*, or Upbraiding, are not uncommon in Scripture: But, conſidering that, in *the Midſt of Judgment, he here thinketh upon Mercy*; that, before the Sentence againſt our firſt Parents, he promiſes them a Reſtoration, and, after Sentence paſt, does nevertheleſs provide them with Cloathing; ſome have thought, that the Words, by taking the original Verb (vid. *Gell*'s Eſſay) to ſignify *the Time paſt* (as it may well enough do) are rather an Expreſſion of Pity, and Compaſſion, and of the ſame Import as if God had ſaid; "The Man *was* "*once*, like one of us, to *know Good*, and to purſue it; to *know Evil*, and to avoid it; (for that is the Perfection of "*moral* Knowledge) but behold how he is now degenerated! And therefore, leſt this Degeneracy ſhou'd continue "upon him, and he become obdurate, the beſt Way will be to ſeclude him from the Tree of Life, by expelling him "from Paradiſe." But this Opinion ſeems to aſcribe too much to the Power of the Tree, and is not ſupported with Authority equal to the former.

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ſuch a *Scene* of complicated Miſery might not be perpetuated, by Means of the *Tree of Life*, God, in his great Mercy, found it convenient to remove them from the Garden of *Paradiſe*, into that Part of the Country lying towards the *Eaſt*, where at firſt he created them; and that he might prevent their meditating a Return, he ſecur'd every Paſſage, leading to it, with a Guard of Angels, (ſome of which, flying to and fro in the Air, in bright refulgent Bodies, ſeem'd to flaſh out Fire on every Side, or to reſemble the † Vibrations of a *flaming Sword)* that thereby he might deter them from any Thoughts of ever attempting a Re-entrance, until he ſhou'd think fit to deſtroy, and utterly lay waſte, the Beauty of the Place. Thus fell our firſt Parents, and, from the happieſt Condition that can be imagin'd, plung'd themſelves, and their Poſterity, into a State of Wretchedneſs and Corruption: For, as from one commot Root, *(b) Sin enter'd into the World, and Death by Sin; ſo Death paſſed upon all Men, foraſmuch as all have ſinn'd*, and been defil'd by this original Pollution.

Gen. Ch. iii.

The OBJECTION.

The Objection againſt Moſes's Account of the Fall.

"BUT, upon Suppoſition, that the "State of Perfection, wherein our "firſt Parents were created, was really as "complete, as is pretended; we cannot "well conceive, how it was poſſible for "them to fall from it at all, or at leaſt in "ſo ſhort a Space, as the Scripture-Ac-"count repreſents it, after their Creation. "Some great and enormous Offence, one "wou'd ſuppoſe, they had committed; "but who cou'd dream, that the bare Eat-"ing of a little forbidden Fruit cou'd be "ſo provoking, as to bring upon them "that wretched Depravity of Nature, "which ever ſince we have been com-"plaining of? The *Counſels of God are a "great Deep*; but what Reaſon can be "given, why he ſhou'd put their Virtue "upon the Trial, when he cou'd not but "foreſee, that they certainly wou'd be "*foil'd* by the *Wiles of the Tempter?* Or, "if a Probation was thought neceſſary, "why was their Abſtinence from the "Fruit of a certain Tree made the Teſt "of their Obedience, when ſo many more "momentous Precepts might have befit-"ted their Condition as well? We may "account the Serpent as *ſubtle* as we pleaſe, "but how he cou'd over-reach Mankind "in the Perfection of their Knowledge; "or, if the Devil lay conceal'd in the "Serpent's Body, what Inducement he "cou'd have to aſſume the Form of ſo "deteſtable a Creature; and what ſhou'd "hinder *Eve* from not being frighten'd "when ſhe heard him begin to ſpeak, and, "inſtead of ſtaying to talk with him, flee "immediately to her Huſband, we cannot "conceive. If the Devil, in this Diſguiſe, "was like to be an Over-match for her, "why did God admit of ſuch an unequal "Conflict? Or, if the Conflict was to be, "why did not he ſend her Succours from "above? When ſo great a Price, as the

† What is meant by the flaming Sword, repreſented to be in the Hands of the *Cherubims*, at the Entrance of the Garden of Paradiſe, is variouſly conjectur'd by learned Men: But, of all Eſſays of this Kind, that of *Tertullian*, who thought it was the *Torrid Zone*, is the moſt unhappy. *Tertul. Apol. Cap.* 47. The Words of *Lactantius* are [*Inſtit. Divin.* L. 2. C. 12.] *Ipſum Paradiſum Igne circumvallavit*, he encompaſs'd Paradiſe with a Wall of Fire: From whence a learned Man of our Nation, pretending that the original Word ſignifies a *dividing Flame*, as well as a flaming Sword, ſuppoſes, that this Flame was an Accenſion of ſome combuſtible Matter, round about the Garden, which excluded all Comers to it, till ſuch Time as the Beauty of the Place was defac'd. *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I. Some *Rabbins* are of Opinion, that this *flaming Sword* was an Angel, founding their Sentiment on that Paſſage in the *Pſalms*, where 'tis ſaid, that *God maketh his Angels Spirits, and his Miniſters a flaming Fire*, Pſal. civ. 4. And hereupon another learned Man of our Nation has imagin'd, that this flaming Sword (which was accounted by the *Jews* a *ſecond* Angel) was of a different Kind to the *Cherubim*, viz. *a Seraph*, or flaming Angel, in the Form of a flying Serpent, whoſe Body vibrated in the Air with Luſtre, and may fitly be deſcrib'd by the Image of ſuch a *Sword*. *Tenniſon* of Idolatry.

(b) Rom. v. 12.

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" Lives of all Mankind, was ſet upon her " Head, why did not he enable her to " overcome the Wiles of the Tempter? " Why did not he order a Guard of An- " gels, or ſome more powerful Influxes of " his holy Spirit, to aſſiſt, and ſecure her " Standing? But if the Thing was ſo, that " God decreed her Fall, 'tis hard Mea- " ſure, one wou'd think, to condemn her, " and her Poſterity for it; and looks as if " he was angry beyond Bounds, when he " curſes the Earth, and the Serpent, which " were both incapable of Sin, and conſe- " quently no ways culpable; when he " drives the unhappy Pair out of Paradiſe, " with ſuch Precipitancy, and leaves them " to ſhift for themſelves in a naked barren " Land; and (what is worſt of all) when " he entails their Sin, and conſequent De- " pravation, upon their innocent Poſteri- " ty, until the End of the World; and " all this for no greater Crime, than eat- " ing an Apple or two, when robbing an " *Orchard*, now a-days, is accounted a " Crime not worth a Whipping: to ſay " nothing of the Oddneſs of that Part of " the Sentence, wherein Serpents were " appointed to *bite Men by the Heel*, and " Men to *bruiſe them on the Head*. This " certainly can never be right in the *Let-* " *ter*, and therefore our ſafeſt Way will " be, to take this whole Account of *Moſes* " in a *figurative* and *allegorical* Senſe; " and to ſuppoſe (with ſeveral, both *Jewiſh* " and *Chriſtian* Writers) that the Hiſtory " of the Fall exhibits the Defection of the " Soul; the Serpent repreſents *Concupiſ-* " *cence*; the Man, to whom he durſt not " apply himſelf, is the Picture of *Reaſon*; " and the Woman, whom he ſo eaſily " ſeduc'd and overcame, the Emblem of " *Senſe*, and ſo on."

How long the State of Man's Innocence *laſted.*

How long our firſt Parents continu'd in their State of *Innocence*, and in the Poſſeſſion of the Garden of *Eden*, it is not ſo well agreed. The Account of their *Fall*, in the Series of Hiſtory, follows immediately their Introduction into their bliſsful Abode; whereupon *(c)* moſt of the *Jewiſh* Doctors, and ſome of the *Chriſtian* Fathers, were of Opinion, that they preſerv'd their Integrity but a very ſhort while; that, in the Cloſe of the ſame Day, wherein they were made, they tranſgreſs'd the Covenant, and were, the very ſame Day, caſt out of Paradiſe. But we are to conſider, that many Circumſtances are omitted in the Scriptures concerning the State of our firſt Parents, and the Manner of their Tranſgreſſion; that *Moſes* makes mention of nothing, but what is conducive to his main Deſign, which is to give a brief Account of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions, that had happen'd from the Beginning of the World, to his Time; and that there are ſundry good Reaſons, which may induce us to believe, that the State of Man's *Innocence* was of a longer Duration, than thoſe, who are for precipitating Matters, are pleas'd to think it. Gen. Ch. iii.

Longer than is uſually imagin'd.

God indeed can do what he pleaſes in an Inſtant; but Man neceſſarily requires a Succeſſion of Time to tranſact his Affairs in; and therefore when we read of *Adam*, in the ſame Day, that he was created (and that was not until God had made every Beaſt of the Field) *(d)* enquiring into the Nature of every living Creature, and impoſing on them proper Names; falling into a *deep Sleep*, and, with ſome *Formality*, (without Doubt) receiving his Wife from the Hand of God; removing into the Garden of *Paradiſe*, and (as we may well ſuppoſe) walking about and taking ſome Survey of it; receiving from God both a Promiſe and Prohibition, and thereupon (as we may ſuppoſe again) *(e)* ratifying the firſt great *Covenant* with him: When we read of all theſe Things, I ſay, we cannot but think, that ſome Time muſt be requir'd for the Doing of them; and therefore to ſuppoſe, after this, *(f)* that, in the Cloſe of the ſame Day, the Woman wander'd from her Huſband, met with the Serpent, enter'd into a *Parley* with him, was overcome by his Inſinuations, did eat of the forbidden Fruit, did prevail with her Huſband to do the ſame,

(c) Edwards's Survey, Vol. I. *(d) Burnet*'s Archæologiæ Philoſophicæ. *(e) Bull*'s State of Man before the Fall. *(f) Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I.

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ſame, and thereupon, perceiving themſelves *naked*, did inſtantly fall to work, and make themſelves *Aprons:* To ſuppoſe that, in the ſame Evening, God comes down, ſummons the *Criminals* before him, hears their Excuſes, decrees their Puniſhments, drives them out of Paradiſe, and places two *Cherubims* to guard all Avenues againſt their Return: This is crouding too long a Series of Buſineſs into too ſhort a Compaſs of Time, and thereby giving an Handle to *Infidelity*, when there is no Manner of Occaſion for it.

WE, who are not ignorant of *Satan*'s *Devices*, and how ready he is to wait for a favourable Occaſion to addreſs his Temptations to every Man's Humour and Complexion, can hardly ſuppoſe, *(g)* that he wou'd have ſet upon the Woman immediately after the Prohibition was given; and not rather have waited, until it was in ſome Meaſure forgot, and the happy Opportunity, of finding her alone, ſhou'd chance to preſent itſelf: But ſuch an Opportunity cou'd not well inſtantly have happen'd, becauſe the Love and Endearments between this Couple, at firſt, we may well imagine, were ſo tender and affecting, as not to admit of the leaſt Abſence or Separation: Nor muſt we forget (what the Hiſtory itſelf tells us) that they were ſo much accuſtom'd to *(h) the Voice of God walking in the Garden in the cool of the Day*, as not to account it any new Thing; and ſo well acquainted with the Nature and Plantation of the Garden, as to run directly to the darkeſt Thickets and Umbrages, in order to hide themſelves from his Sight; which muſt have been the Reſult of more than an Hour or two's Experience. And therefore, (if we may be allow'd to follow others in their Conjectures) *(i)* it was either on the *tenth* Day of the World's Age that our firſt Parents fell, and were expell'd Paradiſe, in Memory of which Calamity, *(k) the great Day of Expiation* (which was the tenth Day of the Year) wherein *all were requir'd to afflict their Souls*, was, in After-ages, inſtituted; or (as others wou'd rather have it) on the *eighth* Day from their Creation; *(l)* that, as the firſt Week in the World ended with the Formation of Man and Woman, the ſecond was probably concluded with their fatal Seduction. Gen. Ch. iii.

How he came to fall.

WHEN Man is ſaid to have been made according to the *Likeneſs* and *Image* of God, it cannot be ſuppos'd, but that he was created in the full Perfection of his Nature; and yet, *(m)* it muſt be remember'd, that * no created Being can, in its own Nature, be incapable of Sin and Default. Its Perfections, be they what they will, are *finite*, and whatever has Bounds ſet to its Perfections is, in this Reſpect, *imperfect*, i. e. it wants thoſe Perfections, which a Being of infinite Perfections only can have; and whatever wants any Perfection is certainly capable of miſcarrying. And, as every *finite* Creature is capable of Default, ſo every *rational* Being muſt neceſſarily have a Liberty of Choice, *i. e.* it muſt have a *Will* to chuſe, as well as an *Underſtanding* to reaſon; becauſe a Faculty of *Underſtanding*, without a *Will* to determine it, if left to itſelf, muſt always think of the ſame Subject, or proceed in a Series, and Connection of Thoughts, without any End or Deſign, which will be a perpetual *Labour in vain*, or a Thoughtfulneſs to no Purpoſe. And, as every rational Being

(g) *Patrick*'s Commentary. *(h)* Gen. iii. 10. *(i)* *Uſher*'s Annals. *(k)* Lev. xvi. 29.
(l) *Edwards*'s Survey, Vol. I. *(m)* *Clarke*'s Enquiry into the Original of Moral Evil.

* God, tho' he be omnipotent, cannot make any created Being *abſolutely perfect*; for whatever is abſolutely perfect muſt neceſſarily be *ſelf-exiſtent:* But it is included in the very Notion of a Creature, as ſuch, not to exiſt of itſelf, but of God. An abſolutely perfect Creature therefore implies a Contradiction; for it wou'd be *of itſelf*, and not of itſelf, at the ſame Time. Abſolute Perfection therefore is peculiar to God; and, ſhould he communicate his own peculiar Perfection to another, *that other* wou'd be God. Imperfection muſt therefore be tolerated in Creatures, notwithſtanding the Divine Omnipotence and Goodneſs; for Contradictions are no Objects of Power. God indeed might have refrain'd from acting, and continu'd alone, ſelf-ſufficient and perfect, to all Eternity; but infinite Goodneſs wou'd by no Means allow of this; and therefore, ſince it oblig'd him to produce external Things, which Things cou'd not poſſibly be perfect, it preferr'd theſe imperfect Things to none at all; from whence it follows, that Imperfection aroſe from the Infinity of Divine Goodneſs. *King*'s Eſſay on the Origin of Evil.

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ing has a Liberty of *Choice*, ſo, to direct that Choice, it muſt of Neceſſity have a preſcrib'd Rule of its Actions.

God indeed, who is infinite in Perfection, is a Rule to himſelf, and acts according to his own *Eſſence*, from whence it is impoſſible for him to vary; but the moſt perfect Creatures muſt act by a Rule, which is not eſſential to them, but preſcrib'd them by God, and is not ſo *intrinſic* in their Natures, but that they may decline from it; for a free Agent may follow, or not follow, the Rule preſcrib'd him, or elſe he wou'd not be *free*.

Now, in order to know how it comes to paſs, that we ſo frequently abuſe our natural Freedom, and tranſgreſs the Rules, which God hath ſet us, we muſt remember, that *(n)* the Soul of Man is ſeated in the midſt, as it were, between thoſe more *excellent* Beings, which live perpetually above, and with whom it partakes in the Sublimity of its Nature and Underſtanding, and thoſe *inferior* terreſtrial Beings, with which it communicates, thro' the vital Union it has with the Body; and that, by Reaſon of its natural Freedom, it is ſometimes aſſimilated to the one, and ſometimes to the other of theſe Extremes. We muſt obſerve farther, that, *(o)* in this compound Nature of ours, there are ſeveral Powers and Faculties, ſeveral Inclinations and Diſpoſitions, ſeveral Paſſions and Affections, differing in their Nature and Tendency, according as they reſult from the Soul and Body; that each of theſe has its proper Object, in a due Application of which it is eaſy and ſatisfy'd; that they are none of them ſinful in themſelves, but may be Inſtruments of much Good, when rightly apply'd, as well as occaſion great Miſchief by a Miſapplication; and therefore a conſiderable Part of Virtue will conſiſt in regulating them, and in keeping our *ſenſitive* Part ſubject to the *rational*. This is the original Conſtitution of our Nature: And ſince our firſt Parents were endu'd with the ſame Powers and Faculties of Mind, and had the ſame Diſpoſitions and Inclinations of Body, it cannot be, but that they muſt have been liable to the ſame Sort of Temptations, and conſequently liable to comply with the Dictates of Senſe and Appetite, contrary to the Direction of Reaſon, or the Precepts of Almighty God. And to this Cauſe the Scripture ſeems to aſcribe the Commiſſion of the firſt Sin, when it tells us, that *the Woman ſaw the Tree, that it was good for Food, and pleaſant to the Eye, and deſirable to make one wiſe*, i. e. it had ſeveral Qualities, which were adapted to her *natural* Appetites; was beautiful to the *Sight*, and delightful to the *Taſte*, and improving to the *Underſtanding*; which both anſwer'd the Deſire of Knowledge implanted in her *ſpiritual*, and the Love of *ſenſual* Pleaſure reſulting from her *animal* Part; and theſe, heighten'd by the Suggeſtions of the *Tempter*, abated the Horror of God's *Prohibition*, and induc'd her to act contrary to his expreſs Command. Gen. Ch. iii.

God's Preſcience no Occaſion of her Sin.

God indeed all along foreknew that ſhe wou'd fall in this inglorious Manner; but his *Foreknowledge* did not *neceſſitate* her Falling, neither did his Wiſdom ever conceive, that a fallen Creature was worſe than none at all *(p)*. The Divine Nature, as it is in itſelf, is incomprehenſible by human Underſtanding; and not only his Nature, but likewiſe his Powers and Faculties, and the Ways and Methods, in which he exerciſes them, are ſo far beyond our Reach, that we are utterly incapable of framing juſt and adequate Notions of them. We attribute to him the Faculties of Wiſdom, Underſtanding, and Foreknowledge; but, at the ſame Time, we cannot but be ſenſible, that they are of a Nature quite different from *ours*, and that we have no direct and proper Conceptions of them. When we indeed foreſee or determine any Thing, wherein there is no poſſible Matter of Obſtruction, we ſuppoſe the Event certain and infallible; and, were the Foreknowledge and Predetermination of God of the ſame Nature with ours, we might

(n) *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. of Predeſtination.

(o) *Clarke* of the Original of Moral Evil.

(p) Biſhop *King*'s Sermon

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might be allow'd to make the ſame Concluſion: But why may not it be of ſuch a Perfection in God, as is conſiſtent both with the *Freedom* of Man's Will, and *Contingency* of Events? *As the Heavens are higher than the Earth, ſo are his Ways far above our Ways:* and therefore, tho' it be certain, that he, who made *Eve*, and conſequently knew all the Springs and Weights, wherewith ſhe was mov'd, could not but foreſee, how every poſſible Object, that preſented itſelf, wou'd determine her *Choice*; yet this he might do, without *himſelf* giving any *Biaſs* or Determination to it at all *(q)*: Juſt as the Man, who ſees the Setting of the *Chimes*, can tell, ſeveral Hours before, what Tune they will play, without any poſitive Influence, either upon their Setting, or their Playing. So that *Eve*, when ſhe was tempted, cou'd not ſay, *I was tempted by God*, for God *tempteth none*; neither had the *Divine* Preſcience any Influence over her Choice; but *(r) by her own Luſt was ſhe drawn away, and entic'd; and, when Luſt had conceiv'd, it brought forth Sin, and Sin, when it was finiſh'd, brought forth Death.*

The Reaſonableneſs of God's giving Man a Law.

THAT ſome Command was proper to be laid upon Man in his State of Innocence, is hardly to be deny'd *(s)*. *Dependence* is included in the very Notion of a Creature: And, as it is Man's greateſt Happineſs to depend on God, whoſe infinite Wiſdom can contrive, and infinite Power can effect, whatever he knows to be moſt expedient for him; ſo was it *Adam*'s Advantage to have a conſtant Senſe of that Dependence kept upon his Mind, and (for that Reaſon) a ſure and permanent *Memorial* of it, placed before his Eyes, in ſuch a Manner, as might make it impoſſible for him to forget it.

AND, as this Dependence on God was *Adam*'s greateſt Happineſs, ſo it ſeems neceſſary on God's Part, and highly comporting with his Character of a *Creator*, that he ſhou'd require of his Creatures, in ſome Acts of Homage and Obedience, (which Homage and Obedience muſt neceſſarily imply ſome Kind of Reſtraint upon their *natural* Liberty) an Acknowledgment and Declaration of it. And, if ſome Reſtraint of natural Liberty was neceſſary in *Adam*'s Caſe, what Reſtraint cou'd be more eaſy, than the Coercion of his Appetite from the Uſe of one *Tree*, amidſt an infinite Variety of others, no leſs delicious; and, at the ſame Time, what Reſtraint more worthy the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God, than the Prohibition of a Fruit, which he knew wou'd be pernicious to his Creature? Gen. Ch. iii.

The Fitneſs of that, which he gave Adam.

THE Prohibition of ſome enormous Sin, or the Injunction of ſome great Rule of moral Virtue, we perhaps may account a properer Teſt of Man's Obedience: But if we conſider the Nature of Things, as they then ſtood, we may find Reaſon perhaps to alter our Sentiments *(t)*. The *Moſaic Tables* are acknowledg'd by all to be a tolerable good *Syſtem*, and to comprize all the general Heads of moral Virtue; and yet, if we run over them, we ſhall find, that they contain nothing ſuitable to Man in the Condition, wherein we are now conſidering him.

HAD God, for Inſtance, forbidden the *Worſhip* of *falſe Gods*, or the Worſhip of *graven Images*; can we ſuppoſe, that *Adam* and *Eve*, juſt come out of the Hand of their Maker, and viſited every Day with the Light of his *glorious Preſence*, cou'd have even been guilty of theſe? Beſides that, the Worſhip of falſe Gods and Images was a Thing, which came into the World ſeveral Hundreds of Years afterwards, either to flatter *living* Princes, or ſupply the Place of *dead* ones, who, the ſilly People fancy'd, were become Gods. Had he prohibited *Perjury* and *vain Swearing*; what poſſible Place cou'd theſe have had in the *infant* and innocent State of Mankind? Perjury was never heard of, till the World was better peopled, when *Commerce* and Trade came in Uſe, when Courts of *Judicature* were ſettled, and Men began to cheat one another, and then deny it, and ſo forſwear it;

(q) Young's Serm. Vol. I. *(r)* James i. 14, &c. *(s)* Revelation Examin'd. *(t) Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I. and *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II.

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And Oaths and Imprecations cou'd never have a Being in a State of Innocence: They borrow their *Original* manifeſtly from the *Sinfulneſs* of human Nature.

THE like may be ſaid of all the reſt. How cou'd *Adam* and *Eve* have *honour'd their Father and their Mother*, when they never had any? What poſſible Temptation cou'd they have to be guilty of *Murther*, when they muſt have acted it upon their own Fleſh? How cou'd they *commit Adultery*, when they were the only two upon the Face of the Earth? How be guilty of *Theft*, when they were the ſole Proprietors of all? How *bear falſe Witneſs* againſt their Neighbour, or *covet* his Goods, when there was never a Neighbour in the World for them to be ſo unjuſt to? And ſo (if we proceed to *Chriſtian* Precepts) how could they *love Enemies*, how could they *forgive Treſpaſſes*, when they had no one in the World to offend againſt them? And the Duties of *Mortification and Self-denial*, &c. How cou'd they poſſibly exerciſe theſe, when they had no Luſt to conquer, no Paſſion to overcome, but were all ſerene and calm within?

SINCE therefore all the moral Precepts, that we are acquainted with, were improper for the Trial of Man's Obedience in his State of Innocence; it remains, that his *Probation* was moſt properly to be effected, by his doing or forbearing ſome indifferent Action, neither Good or Evil in itſelf, but only ſo far Good or Evil, as it was commanded or forbidden. And, if ſuch a Command was to be choſen, what can we imagine ſo natural and agreeable to the State of our firſt Parents, (conſidering they were to live all their Lives in a *Garden)* as the forbidding them to eat of the Fruit of a *certain Tree* in that Garden, a Tree hard at Hand, and might every Moment be eat of, and wou'd therefore every Moment give them an Opportunity of teſtifying their Obedience to God by their forbearing it? A wiſe Appointment this, had not the great Enemy of Mankind come in, and defeated it. Gen. Ch. iii.

WHO this great Enemy of Mankind was, and by what Method of Inſinuation he drew our firſt Parents into their Defection, *Moſes*, who contents himſelf with relating Facts, as they happen'd *outwardly*, without any Comment, or Expoſition of them, or who, by a *Metonymy* in the *Hebrew* Tongue, uſes the *inſtrumental* for the *efficient* Cauſe, tells us expreſsly, that it was *the Serpent*; and for this Reaſon, ſome of the antient *Jews* ran into a fond Conceit, that *(u)* this whole Paſſage is to be underſtood of a real Serpent, which Creature *(x)* they ſuppoſe, before the Fall, to have had the Faculty of Speech and Reaſon both. But this is too groſs a Conception to have many Abettors; and therefore the common, and indeed the only probable Opinion is, that it was the *Devil*; ſome wicked and malicious Spirit (probably one of the *Chief* of that Order) who envy'd the Good of Mankind, the Favours God had beſtow'd on them, and the future Happineſs he had ordain'd for them, and was thereupon reſolv'd to tempt them to Diſobedience, thereby to bring them to the ſame forlorn Condition with himſelf, and his other *apoſtate* Brethren; and that, to effect his Purpoſe, he made uſe of a Serpent's Body, wherein to tranſact his Fraud and Impoſture. *Who the* Serpent *was.*

WHY the Devil choſe to aſſume the Form of a Serpent, rather than that of any other Creature, we may, in ſome Meaſure, learn from the Character, which the Scripture gives us of it, *viz.* that *it was more ſubtle than any Beaſt of the Field, that the Lord God had made:* Where the Word *ſubtle* may not ſo much denote the *Craft* and Inſidiouſneſs, as the gentle, familiar, and inſinuating Nature of this Creature. *(y)* That the Serpent, before the Fall, was mild, and gentle, and more familiar with Man, than any other Animal; that * it did *Why the* Devil *aſſum'd the Form of a Serpent.*

(u) Le Clerc's Commentary and Eſſays. *(x) Joſephus*, and ſeveral others. *(y) Mede*'s Diſcourſes.

* The Beauty of the Serpent, which the Devil made Choice of, is thus deſcrib'd by *Milton:*

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did not creep on the Ground, but went with its Head and Breaſt rear'd up, and advanc'd; that by frequent approaching our firſt Parents, and playing, and ſporting before them, it had gain'd their good Liking and Eſteem, is not only the Sentiment both *(z)* of *Jews* and *(a) Chriſtians*, but what ſeems likewiſe to have ſome Foundation in Scripture: For when God ſays, *that he will put Enmity between the Serpent and the Woman, and between his Seed and her Seed*, the Implication muſt be, that there was ſome Sort of Kindneſs and Intimacy between them before.

THERE is no Abſurdity then in ſuppoſing, that this Creature was belov'd both by *Adam* and *Eve*. She eſpecially might be highly delighted, and us'd to play and divert herſelf with it *(b)*. She laid it perhaps in her Boſom, adorn'd her Neck with its Windings, and made it a Bracelet for her Arms. So that its being thus intimate with the Woman made it the properer Inſtrument for the Devil's Purpoſe, who, ſliding himſelf into it, might wantonly play before her, until he inſenſibly brought her to the *forbidden* Tree: And then, twiſting about its Branches, might take of the Fruit and eat, to ſhew her by Experience, that there was no deadly Quality in it, before he began his Addreſs; and his Speech might be the leſs frightful or ſurprizing to her, who, in the State of her Innocence, not knowing what Fear was, might probably think (as he might poſitively affirm) * that this new-acquir'd Faculty proceeded from the Virtue of the Tree. Gen. Ch. iii.

BUT there is another Conjecture ſtill more probable, if we will but allow, that the Serpent was not of a common ordinary Species, but one very probably ſomething like that flying fiery Sort, which, we are told, are bred in *Arabia* and *Egypt*. *(c)* They are of a ſhining yelloviſh Colour, like Braſs, and, by the Motion of their Wings, and Vibration of their Tails, reverberating the Sun-Beams, make a glorious Appearance. Now, if the Serpent, whoſe Body the Devil abus'd, was of this Kind (tho' perhaps a Species far more glorious) it was a very proper Creature for him to make uſe of. For theſe Serpents we find call'd in Scripture *Seraphs*, or *Seraphim*, which gave the Name to thoſe bright lofty Angels, who were frequently employ'd by God to deliver his Will to Mankind, and, coming upon that Errand, were wont to put on certain *ſplendid* Forms, ſome the Form of *Cherubim*, *i. e.* beautiful flying Oxen, and others the Shape of *Seraphim*, wing'd and ſhining Serpents. Upon this *Hypotheſis*, we may imagine farther, that the Devil, obſerving that good Angels attended the *Divine* Preſence, and ſometimes miniſter'd to *Adam* and *Eve* in this bright Appearance, uſurp'd the Organs of one of theſe ſhining Serpents, which by his Art and Skill in *natural* Cauſes, he might improve into ſuch a wonderful Brightneſs, as to repreſent to *Eve* the uſual *Shechinah*,

So ſpake the Enemy of Mankind, inclos'd
In Serpent, Inmate bad! and toward *Eve*
Addreſs'd his Way: Not with indented Wave,
Prone on the Ground, as ſince, but on his Rear,
Circular Baſe of riſing Folds, that tower'd
Fold above Fold, a ſurging Maze! his Head
Creſted aloft, and Carbuncle his Eyes;
With burniſh'd Neck of verdant Gold, erect
Amidſt his circling Spires, that on the Graſs
Floated redundant: Pleaſing was his Shape,
And lovely.———

BOOK IX.

(z) Joſephus's Antiq. L. 1. *(a) Baſil.* Hom. de Paradiſo. *(b) Mede*'s Diſcourſes.

* *Eve*, upon hearing the Serpent ſpeak, enquires by what Means it was, that it came by that Faculty, and is told, that it was by eating of a certain Tree in the Garden:

I was at firſt, as other Beaſts, that graze
The trodden Herb, of abject Thoughts and low——
Till on a Day, roving the Field, I chanc'd
A goodly Tree far-diſtant to behold,
Laden with Fruit of various Colours mixt,
Ruddy and Gold———
To ſatisfy the ſharp Deſire I had
Of taſting theſe fair Apples, I reſolv'd
Not to defer———
Sated at length, e're long I might perceive
Strange Alteration in me, to Degree
Of Reaſon in my inward Pow'rs; and Speech
Wanted not long, tho' to this Shape retain'd.
Thenceforth to Speculation high or deep
I turn'd my Thoughts, and with capacious Mind
Conſider'd all Things viſible in Heav'n,
Or Earth, or Middle.

BOOK IX.

(c) Tenniſon of Idolatry, *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I.

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Shechinah, or angelical Appearance, ſhe was accuſtom'd to; and, under this Diſguiſe, ſhe might ſee him approach her without Fear, and hear him talk to her without Surprize, and comply with his Seduction with leſs Reluctancy; as ſuppoſing him to be an Angel of God's Retinue, and now diſpatch'd from Heaven to inſtruct her in ſome momentous Point, as ſhe had often perhaps experienc'd before, during her Stay in Paradiſe.

How Eve *came to be deluded.*

A *(d)* learned *Jew* has expounded this Tranſaction in a new and uncommon Way. He ſuppoſes that the Serpent did not ſpeak at all, nor did *Eve* ſay any Thing to it; but that, being a very nimble and active Creature, it got upon the *Tree of Knowledge*, took of the Fruit, and eat it; and that *Eve*, having ſeen it ſeveral Times do ſo, and not die, concluded with herſelf, that the Tree was not of ſuch a deſtructive Quality, as was pretended; that, as it gave Speech and Reaſon to the Serpent, it wou'd much more improve and advance her Nature; and was thereupon embolden'd to eat.

This Opinion is very plauſible, and, in ſome Degree, founded on Scripture: For, tho' the Woman might perceive by her Senſes, that the Fruit was pleaſant *to the Eye*, yet it was impoſſible ſhe could know, either that it was *good for Food*, or *deſirable to make one wiſe*, any other Way, than by the Example and Experiment of the Serpent, which, merely by eating of that Fruit, (as ſhe thought) was chang'd from a *Brute* into a rational and vocal Creature. This, I ſay, is a pretty plauſible Solution; and yet it cannot be deny'd, but that the Text ſeems to expreſs ſomething more, and that there was a real Dialogue between the Woman and the Serpent, wherein the Serpent had the Advantage. And therefore (to perſiſt in our former Expoſition) it is not improbable, that the Tempter, before ever he accoſted *Eve*, transform'd himſelf into the Likeneſs of *an Angel of Light*, and, prefacing his Speech with ſome ſhort Congratulations of her Happineſs, might proceed to enſnare her with ſome ſuch cunning *Harangue*, as this. Gen. Ch. iii.

A Paraphraſe upon the Tempter's Speech.

"And can it poſſibly be, that ſo good "a God, who has ſo lately been ſo boun- "tiful to you, as to give you ſuch an ex- "cellent Being, and inveſt you with Power "and Dominion over all the reſt of his "Creatures, ſhould now envy you any of "the innocent Pleaſures of Nature? Has "he indeed deny'd you the Uſe of the "*Tree of Knowledge?* But, why did he "plant it at all? Why did he adorn it "with ſuch beautiful Fruit? Why did he "place it on an *Eminence* in the Garden, "for you to behold daily, unleſs he is "minded to mock and tantalize you? "The true Deſign both of the Prohibition "and Penalty, which you relate, is to keep "you in Ignorance, and thereby oblige "you to live in perpetual Dependence on "him. He knows full well, that the "Virtue of this Tree is to illuminate the "Underſtanding, and thereby to enable "you to judge for yourſelves, without hav- "ing Recourſe to him upon every Occa- "ſion. *(e)* To judge for himſelf is the "very Privilege that makes him God: "and for that Reaſon he keeps it to him- "ſelf: But eat but of this Tree, and ye "ſhall be like him; your Beings ſhall be "in your own Hands, and your Happi- "neſs vaſt and inconceivable, and inde- "pendent on any other. What Effect it "has had on me, you cannot but ſee and "hear, ſince it has enabled me to reaſon "and diſcourſe in this wiſe; and, inſtead "of Death, has given a new Kind of Life "to my whole Frame. And, if it has "done this to a Brute Animal, what may "not Creatures of your refin'd Make, "and excellent Perfections, expect from "it? Why ſhould you ſhrink back, or be "afraid to do it then? You have here an "Opportunity of making yourſelves for "ever; and the Treſpaſs is nothing. "What Harm in eating an Apple? Why "this *Tree of Knowledge* more ſacred than "all the reſt? Can ſo great a Puniſhment, "as Death, be proportionate to ſo ſmall a "Fault?

(d) Iſaac Aberbenel. *(e)* Biſhop *King*'s Diſcourſe on the Fall, at the End of his Origin of Evil.

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" a Fault? I come to aſſure you, that it " is not; that God has revers'd his De- " cree, and, eat you what you will, *ye* " *ſurely ſhall not die.*"

And the Probability of its Succeſs.

(f) THUS the Serpent ſuggeſted to *Eve*, that God had impos'd upon her, and ſhe was willing to diſcover whether he had or no. *Curioſity*, and a Deſire of Independency, to know more, and to be entire Maſter of herſelf, were the Affections which the Tempter promis'd to gratify; and an Argument like this has ſeldom fail-ed, ever ſince, to corrupt the Generality of Mankind: Inſomuch, that few, very few, have been able to reſiſt the Force of this Temptation, eſpecially when it comes (as it did to *Eve*) cloath'd with all the out-ward Advantage of Allurement. For who-ever knows the Humour of *Youth*, and how he himſelf was affected at that Time, cannot but be ſenſible, that, as the Fair-neſs of the Fruit, it's ſeeming Fitneſs for Food, the Deſire of being independent, and under her own Management and Go-vernment, were Inducements, that pre-vail'd with our firſt Parent to throw off the Conduct of God; ſo this Curioſity of try-ing the Pleaſures of Senſe, this Itch of be-ing our own Maſters, and chuſing for our-ſelves, together with the charming Face of Sin, and our Ignorance and Inexperience of the Conſequences of it, are generally the firſt Means of our being corrupted, againſt the good Maxims and Principles, we receiv'd from our Parents and Teachers.

That Man's Liberty of Choice was natural, *and not to be re-ſtrain'd.*

'TIS in the eſſential Conſtitution of Man (as we ſaid before) that he ſhould be a *free Agent*; and, if we conſider him now as in a State of *Probation*, we ſhall ſoon perceive, that God could not lay any *Re-ſtraint* upon him, nor communicate any *Aſſiſtance* to him, but what was conſiſtent with the *Nature* he had given him, and the *State* he had placed him in. God created Man a *free Agent*, *(g)* that he might make the *Syſtem* of the Univerſe perfect, and ſup-ply that vaſt *Hiatus*, which muſt otherwiſe have happen'd between *Heaven* and *Earth*, had he not interpos'd ſome other Creature, (endu'd with *Rationality*, Maſter of his own Elections, and conſequently capable of ſerving him voluntarily and freely) be-tween Angels and Brutes. In the very Act of creating him, therefore, God intended that he ſhou'd be *rational*, and determin'd, as it were, by a Law, that he ſhou'd be *free*; and, having ingrafted *this* in his Make, it wou'd have been a Violation of his own Laws, and Infraction on his own Work, to have interpos'd and hinder'd the Uſe of that *Faculty*, which, by the Law of Nature, he had eſtabliſh'd. We do not expect, that the Situation of the *Earth*, or the Courſe of the Sun ſhou'd be alter'd on our Account, becauſe theſe ſeem to be Things of great Importance; and we apprehend it unreaſonable that, for our private Advantage, the *Order* and *Harmony* of Things ſhou'd be chang'd, to the Detriment of ſo many other Beings. But, to alter the *Will*, to ſtop the *Election*, is no leſs a Violation of the Laws of Na-ture, than to interrupt the Courſe of the Sun, becauſe a free Agent is a more noble Being, than the Sun. The Laws of its Nature are to be eſteem'd more ſacred, and cannot be chang'd without a great Miracle: There wou'd then be a Kind of *Shock* and Violence done to Nature, if God ſhou'd interfere, and hinder the Actions of *Free-will*, and perhaps it would prove no leſs pernicious to the *intellectual* Syſtem, than the Sun's Standing-ſtill wou'd be to the *natural*.

Gen. Ch. iii.

To apply theſe Reflections to the Mat-ter now before us. Had God, to prevent Man's Sin, taken away the Liberty of his Will, he had thereby deſtroy'd the Foun-dation of all Virtue, and the very Nature of Man himſelf. For Virtue wou'd not have been *ſuch*, had there been no Poſſi-bility of acting contrary, and Man's Na-ture wou'd have been *divine*, had it been made *impeccable*. Had God given our firſt Parents then ſuch powerful *Influences* of his *Holy Spirit*, as to have made it impoſ-ſible for them to ſin, or had he ſent a *Guard* of Angels, to watch and attend

(f) Biſhop *King*'s Sermon on the Fall.

(g) Biſhop *King*'s Eſſay on the Origin of Evil.

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them ſo, as to hinder the Devil from propoſing any Temptation, or them from hearkening to any; had he, I ſay, *ſupernaturally* over-rul'd the Organs of their Bodies, or the inward *Inclinations* of their Minds, upon the leaſt Tendency to Evil; in this Caſe, he had govern'd them not as *free*, but as *neceſſary* Agents, and put it out of his own Power to have made any *Trial* of them at all. All therefore that he cou'd do, and all that, in Reaſon, might be expected from him to do, was, to give them ſuch a ſufficient Meaſure of Power and Aſſiſtance, as might enable them to be a Match for the ſtrongeſt Temptation; and this, there is no Queſtion to be made, but that he did do.

That God gave him ſufficient Abilities *to ſtand.*

(b) We indeed, in this degenerate State of ours, find a great deal of Difficulty to encounter with Temptations. We find a great *Blindneſs* in our *Underſtandings*, and a *Crookedneſs* in our *Wills*. We have *Paſſions*, on ſome Occaſions, ſtrong and ungovernable; and oftentimes experience an *Inclination* to do Evil, even before the Temptation comes: But our firſt Parents, in their *primitive Rectitude*, ſtood poſſeſs'd of every Thing, as advantageous the other Way. They had an *Underſtanding*, large, and capacious, and fully illuminated by the Divine Spirit. Their *Will* was naturally inclin'd to the *ſupreme Good*, and cou'd not, without Violence to its Nature, make Choice of any other. Their Paſſions were ſedate, and ſubordinate to their Reaſon; and, when any Difficulties did ariſe, they had God at all Times to have Recourſe to: By which Means it came to paſs, that it was as *hard* for them to ſin, as it is *difficult* for us to abſtain from ſinning; as *eaſy* for them to elude Temptations then, as it is *natural* for us to be led away by Temptations now. And therefore, if, notwithſtanding all theſe mighty Advantages towards a State of *Impeccancy*, they made it their Option to tranſgreſs, their Perverſeneſs only is to be blam'd, and not any Want of ſufficient Aſſiſtance from their bounteous Creator. Gen. Ch. iii.

And that, upon his Fall, he has provided him with an adequate Remedy.

Great indeed is the Diſorder, which their Tranſgreſſion has brought upon human Nature; but there will be no Reaſon to impeach the Goodneſs of God for it, if we take but in this one Conſideration, —— That what he thought not fit to *prevent* by his Almighty Power, he has, nevertheleſs, thought fit to *repair* by the Covenant of Mercy in his Son *Jeſus Chriſt*. By him he has propounded the ſame Reward, everlaſting Life after Death, which we ſhould have had, without Death, before; and has given us a better Eſtabliſhment for our Virtue now, than we cou'd have had, had we not been Sufferers by this firſt Tranſgreſſion.

For let us ſuppoſe, *(i)* that, notwithſtanding our firſt Parents had ſinn'd, yet God had been willing, that *original* Righteouſneſs ſhould have equally deſcended upon their Poſterity; yet we muſt allow, that any one of their Poſterity might have been *foil'd by the Wiles of the Tempter*, and fallen, as well as they did. Now, had they ſo fallen (the Covenant of Grace being not yet founded) how could they ever have recovered themſelves to any Degree of Acceptance with God? Their Caſe muſt have been the ſame, as deſperate, as forlorn, as that of fallen Angels was before: Whereas, in the preſent State of Things, our Condition is much ſafer. Sin indeed, by Reaſon of our preſent Infirmity, may more eaſily make its *Breaches* upon us, either through *Ignorance* or *Surprize*; but it cannot get Dominion over us, without our own deliberate Option, becauſe it is an expreſs Goſpel-Promiſe againſt the Power of Sin, that *(k)* it *ſhall not have Dominion over* us; againſt the Power of the Devil, that *(l) greater is he, that is in you, than he, that is in the World*; againſt the Power of Temptations, that *(m) God is faithful, who will not ſuffer us to be tempted above what we are able*; againſt Diſcouragement

(b) Nicholls's Conference, Vol. I. *(i) Young's* Sermons. *(k)* Rom. vi. 14. *(l)* 1 John. iv. 4. *(m)* 1 Cor. x. 13.

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ment from the Pretences of our Infirmities, that *(n) we may do all thro' Chriſt, that ſtrengthens us*, and, in Caſe of failing, that *(o) we have an Advocate with the Father, and a Propitiation for our Sins.* Thus plentifully did God provide for Man's *Stability*, in that State of *Integrity*, thus *graciouſly* for his *Reſtoration*, in this State of *Infirmity:* In both Caſes his Goodneſs has been conſpicuous, and has never fail'd!

Why God curſed the Serpent.

IN like Manner, (to abſolve the Divine Nature from any Imputation of Paſſion or Peeviſhneſs, of Injuſtice or hard Uſage, in *curſing the Serpent*, and *the Earth*; in driving our laps'd Parents out of Paradiſe, and in entailing their Guilt and Puniſhment upon the lateſt Poſterity) we ſhou'd do well to remember, that the Serpent, againſt which the firſt Sentence is denounc'd, is to be conſider'd here in a double Capacity; both as an *Animal*, whoſe Organs the Devil employ'd in the Seduction of the Woman; and as the *Devil* himſelf, lying hid and conceal'd under the Figure of the Serpent: For the *Sentence*, we may obſerve, is plainly directed to an *intelligent* Being, and *free Agent*, who had committed a Crime, which a Brute cou'd not be capable of.

NOW, if we conſider what a glorious Creature the Serpent was, before the Fall, we cannot but ſuppoſe, that God intended this Debaſement of it, *(p)* not ſo much to expreſs his Indignation againſt it (for it had no bad Intention, neither was it conſcious of what the Devil did with its Body) as to make it a Monument of Man's Apoſtaſy, a Teſtimony of his Diſpleaſure againſt Sin, and an inſtructive *Emblem*, to deter all future Ages from the Commiſſion of that, which brought ſuch Vengeance along with it. In the *Levitical* Law we find, that, if a Man committed any *Abomination* with a Beaſt, *(q)* the Beaſt was to be ſlain, as well as the Man; and, by Parity of Reaſon, the Serpent is here puniſh'd, if not to humble the Pride, and allay the Triumph of the Devil, by ſeeing the Inſtrument of his Succeſs ſo ſhamefully degraded, at leaſt to remind the *Delinquents* themſelves of the Foulneſs of their Crime, and the Neceſſity of their Repentance, whenever they chanced to behold ſo noble a Creature, as the Serpent was, reduced to ſo vile and abject a Condition, merely for being the Means of their Tranſgreſſion. Gen. Ch. iii.

BUT God might have a farther Deſign in this Degradation of the *Serpent:* He foreſaw, that, in future Ages, *Satan* wou'd take Pride in abuſing this very Creature to the like pernicious Purpoſes, and, under the Semblance of Serpents of all Kinds, wou'd endeavour to eſtabliſh the vileſt Idolatry, even the Idolatry of his own helliſh Worſhip. That therefore the Beauty of the Creature might be no Provocation to ſuch Idolatry, 'twas a kind and beneficent Act in God, to deface the Excellence of the Serpent's Shape, and, at the ſame Time, inſpire Mankind with the ſtrongeſt Horror and Averſion to it. Nor can it be deny'd, but that, *(r)* if we ſuppoſe the Devil poſſeſs'd the Serpent, and was, as it were, *incarnate* in it, the Power of God cou'd *unite* them as cloſely, as our Souls and Bodies are united, and thereby cauſe the Puniſhment inflicted on the *literal* Serpent to affect *Satan* as ſenſibly, as the Injuries done our Bodies do reach our Souls; at leaſt, while that very Serpent was in Being.

The latter Part of the Sentence againſt the Serpent explain'd.

TO conſider *Satan* then under the Form of a Serpent, we ſhall ſee the Propriety of the other Part of the Sentence denounc'd againſt him, and what Comfort and Conſolation our *Criminal* Parents might reaſonably collect from thence. That this Part of the Sentence, *I will put Enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy Seed and her Seed; it ſhall bruiſe thy Head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his Heel*, is not to be underſtood in a *literal* Senſe (becauſe ſuch Senſe is abſurd and ridiculous) every Reader of competent Underſtanding muſt own: And therefore its Meaning muſt be ſuch, as will beſt agree with the Circumſtances of the

(n) Phil. iv. 13. (o) 1 John ii. 1. (p) *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Mede*'s Diſcourſes. (q) Lev. xx. 15. (r) Biſhop *King*'s Sermon on the Fall.

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the Transaction. Now the Transaction was thus:——'*Adam*, tempted by his Wife, and she by the Serpent, had fallen from their Obedience, and were now in the Presence of God expecting Judgment. *(s)* They knew full well, at that Juncture, that their Fall was the Victory of the Serpent, whom, by Experience, they found to be an Enemy to God and Man: To Man, whom he had ruin'd by seducing him to Sin; and to God, the noble Work of whose Creation he had defac'd. It cou'd not therefore but be some Comfort to them, to hear the Serpent *first* condemn'd, and to see that, however he had prevail'd against them, he had gain'd no Victory over their Maker, who was able to assert his own Honour, and to punish this great Author of Iniquity. Nor was it less a Consolation to them, to hear, from the Mouth of God likewise, that the Serpent's Victory was not a complete Victory over *even themselves*; that they, and their Posterity, shou'd be able to contest his Empire; and, tho' they were to suffer much in the Struggle, yet finally they shou'd prevail, *bruise the Serpent's Head*, and deliver themselves from his Power and Dominion over them.

This certainly is the lowest Sense, wherein our first Parents could have understood this Part of the Sentence, denounc'd against the Serpent; and yet this very Sense was enough to revive in them comfortable Hopes of a speedy Restoration. For, when *Adam* heard, that the *Seed of the Woman* was to destroy the evil Spirit, he undoubtedly understood *Eve* to be *that Woman*, and some Issue of his by her to be *that Seed*; and, accordingly, we may observe, that, when *Eve* was deliver'd of *Cain*, the Form of her Exultation is, *(t) I have gotten a Man from the Lord*, i. e. I have gotten a Man thro' the signal Favour and Mercy of God. *(u)* Now this extraordinary Exultation cannot be suppos'd to arise from the bare Privilege of bearing Issue, for that Privilege (as she cou'd not but know before this Time) she had in common with the meanest Brutes; and therefore her Transport must arise from the Prospect of some extraordinary Advantage from this Issue, and that cou'd be no other, than the Destruction of her Enemy. Gen. Ch. iii.

Cain indeed prov'd a wicked Man: But, when she had conceiv'd better Expectations from *Abel*, and *Cain* had slain him, she, nevertheless, recover'd her Hopes upon the Birth of *Seth*; because *(x) God*, saith she, *hath appointed me another Seed*, or one, who will destroy the Power of *Satan*, *instead of* Abel, *whom* Cain *slew*. Thus we see, that the *Obscurity*, in which it pleas'd God to foretel the Destruction of the evil Spirit, gave Rise to a Succession of happy Hopes in the *Breast* of *Adam* and *Eve*; who (if they had known that this Happiness was to be postpon'd for four thousand Years) would, in all Probability, have inevitably fallen into an Extremity of Despair.

Why God turn'd our First Parents out of Paradise.

But how necessary soever God might think it, to give our First Parents some general Hopes and Expectations of a Restoration; yet, being now fallen into a State of Sin and Corruption, which must of Course infect their latest Posterity, he found it expedient to deprive them of that Privilege of *Immortality*, wherewith he had invested them, and (as an Act of Justice and Mercy both) to turn them out of *Paradise*, and debar them from *the Tree of Life:* Of *Justice*, in that they had forfeited their Right to Immortality, by transgressing a Command, which nothing, but a vain criminal Curiosity, could make them disobey; and of *Mercy*, in that, when Sin had entail'd all Kinds of Calamity upon human Nature, in such Circumstances, to have perpetuated Life, wou'd have been to perpetuate Misery.

And curs'd the Ground.

This, I think, can hardly be accounted the Effect of Passion or Peevishness: And, in like manner, God's *cursing the Ground*, or (what is all one) his depriving it of its original Fruitfulness, by a different Turn given to the Air, Elements, and Seasons,

(s) Bishop *Sherlock*'s Use and Intent of Prophecy. *(t)* Gen. iv. 1. *(u)* Revelation Examin'd, Vol. I. *(x)* Gen. iv. 25.

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was not the Effect of Anger, or any haſty Paſſion (which God is not capable of) but of calm and equitable Juſtice; ſince it was Man (who had done enough to incur the Divine Diſpleaſure) that was to ſuffer by the Curſe, and not the Ground itſelf: For the Ground felt no Harm by *bringing forth Thorns and Thiſtles*, but *Adam*, who, for ſome Time, had experienc'd the *ſpontaneous* Fertility of *Paradiſe*, was a ſufficient Sufferer by the Change, when he found himſelf reduced to hard Labour, and forc'd *to eat his Bread by the Sweat of his Brows.*

The Nature of the Divine Prohibition.

IT muſt be acknowledg'd therefore, *(y)* that there was good Reaſon, why the Penalty of the firſt Tranſgreſſion ſhould be greater, than any ſubſequent one; becauſe it was deſign'd to deter Poſterity, and to let them ſee, by this Example, that whatever Commination God denounces againſt Guilt, will moſt infallibly be executed. We miſtake, however, the Nature of God's Laws, and do in Effect renounce his *Authority*, when we ſuppoſe, that *Good* and *Evil* are in the Nature of Things only, and not in the *Commandments*, and *Prohibitions* of God. *(z)* Whatever God is pleas'd to command or forbid, how *indifferent* ſoever it be in itſelf, is, for that very Reaſon, ſo far as it is commanded or forbidden by him, as truly Good or Evil, as if it were *abſolutely* and *morally* ſo, being enacted by the ſame Divine Authority, which makes all *moral* Precepts obligatory. God, in ſhort, is our *Lawgiver*, and whatever he commands (whether it be a *moral* Precept, or *poſitive* Injunction) ſo far as he enacts it, is of the ſame neceſſary and indiſpenſable Obligation. Upon this it follows, that all Sin is a *Tranſgreſſion of the Law*, and a Contempt of God's Authority: But then the Aggravations of a Sin do ariſe from the Meaſure of its Guilt, and the Parties Advantages to have avoided it; under which Conſideration, nothing can be more heinous, than the Sin of our Firſt Parents. It was not only a bare *Diſobedience* to God's Command, by a perfect *Infidelity* to his Promiſes and Threats. It was a Sort of *Idolatry* in believing the Devil, and putting a greater Truſt in him, than in God. It was an horrible *Pride* in them to deſire to be like God, and ſuch a *diabolical* Pride, as made the evil Angels fall from Heaven. *Covetouſneſs*, and a greedy *Theft* it was, to deſire, and purloin what was none of their own; and one of the moſt cruel and unparallell'd *Murthers*, that ever was committed, to kill and deſtroy ſo many thouſands of their *Offspring*. *(a)* Add to this, that it was a *Diſobedience* againſt God, an infinite Being, and of infinite Dignity; a God, who had given them Exiſtence, and that ſo very lately, that the Impreſſes of it could not be worn out of their Memory; that had beſtow'd ſo much Happineſs upon them, more than on all the Creation beſides; that had made them *Lords* over all, and reſtrain'd nothing from them, but only the Fruit of this one Tree. Add again, that they committed this Sin againſt the cleareſt Conviction of Conſcience, with Minds fully illuminated by the Divine Spirit, with all poſſible Aſſiſtance of Grace to keep them from it, and no untoward Bent of Nature, or unruly Paſſion, to provoke them to it: And, putting all this together, it will appear, that this was a Sin of the deepeſt Dye, and that no Man, now-a-days, can poſſibly commit a Crime of ſuch a complicated Nature, and attended with ſuch horrid Aggravations.

Gen. Ch. iii. *The Heinouſneſs of tranſgreſſing it.*

And the Juſtice of imputing it to Adam's Poſterity.

IT is the Opinion of ſome, *(b)* that the Fruit of the *Forbidden Tree* might be impregnated with ſome *fermenting Juice*, which put the Blood and Spirits into a great Diſorder, and thereby diveſted the Soul of that Power and Dominion, it had before over the Body; which, by its Operation, clouded the *Intellect*, and deprav'd the *Will*, and reduced every Faculty of the Mind to a miſerable Depravity, which, along with human Nature, has been propagated

(y) Revelation Examin'd. *(z)* *Jenkins's* Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II. *(a)* *Nicholls's* Conference, Vol. I.
(b) *Jenkins's* Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II.

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pagated down to Poſterity: *(c)* As ſome Poiſons (we know) will ſtrangely affect the Nerves and Spirits, without cauſing immediate Death; and *(d)* as the *Indians* (we are told) are acquainted with a *Juice*, which will immediately turn the Perſon who drinks it, into an *Idiot*, and yet leave him, at the ſame Time, the Enjoyment of his Health, and all the Powers and Faculties of his Body. But, whatever the Effect of the Fruit might be, and whether the Corruption of our Nature, and Death, (with all the Train of Evils, which have deſcended to us) lay in *the Tree*, or in the *Will of God*, there is no Queſtion to be made, but that our wiſe Creator might very juſtly decree, that human Nature in general ſhould be affected with it, and our Happineſs or Unhappineſs depend upon the Obedience or Diſobedience of our Firſt Parents. We daily ſee, that Children, very often, inherit the Diſeaſes of their Parents, and that a vicious and extravagant Father leaves commonly his Son Heir to nothing elſe, but the Name and Shadow of a great Family, with an infirm and ſickly Conſtitution. And, if Men generally now partake of the bad Habits and Diſpoſitions of their immediate Parents, why might not the *Corruption* of human Nature, in *the firſt*, have equally deſcended upon all the reſt of Mankind? *(e)* The *Rebellion* of a Parent, in all *civil* Governments, reduces his Children to Poverty and Diſgrace, who had a Title before to Riches and Honours: And, for the ſame Reaſon, why might not *Adam* forfeit for himſelf, and all his Deſcendants, the Gift of *Immortality*, and the Promiſe of eternal Life? God might certainly beſtow his own Favours upon his own Terms: And therefore, ſince the Condition was Obedience, he might juſtly inflict Death, *i. e.* with-hold Immortality from us; and he might juſtly deny us Heaven (for the Promiſe of Heaven was an Act of his free Bounty) upon the Tranſgreſſion, and Diſobedience of our Firſt Parents. We were *in their Loins*, and from thence our Infection came: They were our *Repreſentatives*, and in them we fell: But then, amidſt all this Scene of Calamity, we have one comfortable, one ſaving Proſpect to revive us, *viz. that (f)* Adam *was the Figure of him, that was to come; and therefore, as, by the Offence of One, Judgment came upon all Mankind to Condemnation, even ſo, by the Righteouſneſs of One, the free Gift came upon all Men unto Juſtification of Life.* Gen. Ch. iii.

This is the Account we have of the *Fall:* And tho' we pretend not to deny, that, in ſome Places, there are *figurative* Expreſſions in it, as beſt comporting with the Nature of antient Prophecy, and the *oriental* Manner of Writing; yet this can be no Argument, why we ſhould immediately run to an *allegorical* Interpretation of the Whole.

Moſes *no allegorical Writer.*

That not only the *Poets*, but ſome of the greateſt *Philoſophers* likewiſe, had a ſtrange Affection for ſuch *figurative* Documents, in order to conceal their true Notions from the Vulgar, and to keep their Learning within the Bounds of their own *Schools*, we pretend not to deny: And yet, ſince it is apparent, that *Moſes* could have no ſuch Deſign; *(g)* ſince he had no Reaſon to fear any other Philoſopher's ſetting up againſt him, or running away with his Notions; ſince he affects no other Character, but that of a plain *Hiſtorian*, and pretends to relate Matters juſt as they happen'd, without any Diſguiſe or Embelliſhment of Art; ſince he orders his Books (which he endeavours to ſuit to the Vulgar Capacity) to be *read in the Ears of all the People*, and commands *Parents to teach them to their Children*; it cannot be ſuppoſed, but that the Hiſtory of the *Fall*, as well as the reſt of the Book of *Geneſis*, is to be taken in a *literal* Senſe. All the reſt of the Book is allow'd to be *literal*, and why ſhould this Part of it only be a Piece of *Egyptian* Hieroglyphic? *Fable* and *Allegory*, we know, are

(c) Jenkins's Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II. *(d)* Revelation examin'd, Vol. I. *(e) Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II. *(f)* Rom. v. 14, 18. *(g) Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I.

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are directly oppoſite to *Hiſtory:* The one pretends to deliver Truth undiſguiſed; the other to deliver Truth indeed, but under the Veil and Cover of *Fiction:* So that, if this Book of *Moſes* be allow'd to be *hiſtorical*, we may as well ſay, that what *Thucydides* relates of the Plague of *Athens*, or *Livy* of the Battle of *Cannæ*, is to be underſtood *allegorically*, as that what *Moſes* tells us of the Prohibition of the Fruit of the *Tree of Knowledge*, or of *Adam* and *Eve*'s Expulſion from the Garden of *Paradiſe* for breaking it, is to be interpreted in a *myſtical* Senſe.

NAY, we'll put the Caſe, that it were conſiſtent with the Character of *Moſes* to have amuſed the People with Fables and *Allegories*; *(h)* yet we can hardly believe, but that the People retain'd ſome *Tradition* among them, concerning the Formation of our Firſt Parents, and the Manner of their Defection. This they might eaſily have had from their illuſtrious Anceſtor *Abraham*, who might have deduced it from *Noah*, and thence, in a few Succeſſions, from *Adam* himſelf: And if there was any ſuch Tradition preſerved among them, *Moſes* muſt neceſſarily have loſt all his Credit and Authority, had he pretended to foiſt in a Tale of his own Invention, inſtead of a true Narration. For the ſhort Queſtion is,—— *(i)* Did the Children of *Iſrael* know the hiſtorical Truth of the *Fall*, or did they not? If they did know it, why ſhould *Moſes* diſguiſe it under an *Allegory*, rather than any of the reſt of the Book of *Geneſis?* If they did not know it, how came it to be forgotten in ſo few Generations of Men, ſuppoſing it had ever been known to *Adam*'s Poſterity? If *Adam*'s Poſterity never rightly knew it, but had the Relation thereof always convey'd down in *Metaphor* and *Allegory*, then muſt *Adam*, in the firſt Place, impoſe upon his Sons, and they upon ſucceeding Generations; but for what Reaſon we cannot conceive, unleſs that the moſt remarkable Event, that ever befel Mankind (except the Redemption of the World by *Chriſt*) ſo came to paſs, that it was impoſſible to tell it to Poſterity any other Way, than in *Allegory*.

Gen. Ch. iii.

The Hiſtory of the Fall prov'd to be literal from the Scripture.

IT can ſcarce be imagin'd, but that ſome of the antient Writers of the *Jewiſh* Church, as well as the inſpir'd Writers of the *New Teſtament*, had as true a Knowledge of theſe diſtant *Traditions*, as any modern Eſpouſer of *Allegories* can pretend to; and therefore, *(k)* when we read in the *Book of Wiſdom*, that *(l) God created Man to be immortal, and made him to be the Image of his own Eternity; but that, through the Envy of the Devil, Death came into the World:* When the Son of *Sirach* tells us, that *(m) God*, at the firſt, *filled Man with the Knowledge of Underſtanding, and ſhew'd him Good and Evil*, but *(n)* that *Error and Darkneſs had their Beginning with Sinners*; that *(o) Death is the Sentence of the Lord over all Fleſh*; *(p)* that *the Covenant, from the Beginning, was, Thou ſhalt die the Death*; and that *(q) of Woman came the Beginning of Sin, and through her we all die:* When we read, and compare all theſe Paſſages together, I ſay, can there be any reaſonable Foundation to doubt in what Senſe the antient *Jewiſh* Church underſtood the Hiſtory of the Fall?

NAY more: When not only we find the Wicked, and the Enemies of God, repreſented under the Image *(r)* of a Serpent, of a *Dragon*, of a *Leviathan*, *the crooked Serpent*, &c. and the Prophet telling us expreſsly, that *(s) Duſt ſhall be the Serpent's Meat*; but our bleſſed *Saviour* likewiſe declaring, that *(t) the Devil was a Murtherer from the Beginning, a Lyar, and a Father of Lyes*; St. *Paul* aſſerting, that *(u)* the *Woman, being deceiv'd, was firſt in the Tranſgreſſion*, and that *(x)* the *Serpent beguiled her through his Subtilty*; and St. *John*, in his *Revelation*, *(y)* calling that wicked and malicious Spirit, *the Devil*, or

(b) *Moſes* Vindicatus. (i) *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II. (k) *Vid.* Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Diſſert. II. annext to his *Uſe and Intent of Prophecy.* (l) Wiſd. ii. 23, 24. (m) Ecclus. xvii. 7. (n) Ibid. xi. 16. (o) Ibid. xli. 3. (p) Ibid. xiv. 17. (q) Ibid. xxv. 24. (r) Iſa. xiv. 29.—xxvii. 1. Micah vii. 17. (s) Iſa. lxv. 25. (t) John viii. 44. (u) 1 Tim. ii. 14. (x) 2 Cor. xi. 3. (y) Rev. xii. 9.—xx. 2.

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or the *Dragon*, *Satan*, or the *old Serpent*, indifferently; we cannot but perceive, that theſe Paſſages are not only plain References to the firſt Deception of Mankind under the Form of that Creature, but that they virtually comprize the Sum and Subſtance of the *Moſaic* Account. *(z)* So that, if we have any Regard either to the *Tradition* of the *Jewiſh* Church, or the *Teſtimony* of *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, we cannot but believe, that the Hiſtory of Man's *Fall*, and the Conſequences thereupon, were really ſuch, as *Moſes* has repreſented them.

Confirm'd by Foreign Teſtimonies.

And, to confirm us in this Belief, we may obſerve farther, that the Tradition of almoſt every Nation is conformable to his Relation of Things: *(a)* That not only the State of Man's Innocence, in all Probability, gave riſe to the Poet's Fiction of the *Golden Age*; but that the Story of *Adam* and *Eve*, of the Tree, and of the Serpent, was extant among the *Indians* long ago, and (as Travellers tell us) is ſtill preſerv'd among the *Brachmans*, and the Inhabitants of *Peru*: *(b)* That, in the old *Greek* Myſteries, the People us'd to carry about a Serpent, and were inſtructed to cry Εὖα, whereby the Devil ſeem'd to exult, as it were, over the unhappy Fall of our firſt Mother; and that *(c)* in his Worſhip, in idolatrous Nations, even now, * there are frequent Inſtances of his diſplaying this his Conqueſt under the Figure of a Serpent: Strong Evidences of the Truth of the *Moſaic* Account! to ſay nothing of the *Rationale*, which it gives us of our innate *Pudor circa Res venereas*, of the Pains of Child-birth, of the preſent Sterility of the Earth, of the Slowneſs of Children's Education, of their Imbecillity above all other Creatures, of the Woman's Subjection to her Huſband, of our natural Antipathy to viperous Animals, and (what has puzzled the wiſeſt of the Heathen Sages to diſcover) of the Depravation of our Wills, and our ſtrong Propenſity to what is Evil. Gen. Ch. iii.

And is the moſt ſatisfactory of any.

This Origin of Evil is a Queſtion, which none of them could reſolve. They ſaw the Effect, but were ignorant of the Cauſe; and therefore their Conjectures were abſurd. *(d)* Some of them laid the whole Blame on *Matter*, as if its Union with the Mind gave it a pernicious Tincture. Others imagin'd a *pre-exiſtent State*, and that the bad Inclinations, which exerted themſelves in this World, were firſt of all contracted in another. *(e)* Several eſtabliſh'd *two Principles*, the one the Author of all the Good, and the other the Author of all the Evil, (whether *natural* or *moral)* that is found in human Nature: And, in Prejudice to this Abſurdity, many betook themſelves to *Atheiſm*, and deny'd any firſt Principle at all; accounting it better to have no God in the World, than ſuch an unaccountable Mixture of Good and Evil. But now, had but theſe wiſe Men had the Advantage of reading the *Moſaic* Account, they would never have taken up with ſuch wild *Hypotheſes*, but immediately concluded with our Saviour's Argument, that *(f) a corrupt Tree cannot bring forth good Fruit*; becauſe the Explication of the Riſe of Sin, by an *Original Lapſe*, is not only freed from theſe *Abſurdities*, wherewith other Explications abound, but, according to the Senſe, which the Author of the *Book of Wiſdom* has of it, ſets the Goodneſs of God, in the Creation of the World, in its proper Light; *viz.* *(g)* that *God made not Death, neither hath he Pleaſure in the Deſtruction of the Living.*

(z) *Moſes* Vindicatus. *(a)* *Grotius* de Veritate. *(b)* *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I. *(c)* Vid. *Heideggeri* Hiſtoria Patriarchartum, Vol. I.

* *Philip Melanchton* tells a Story, to this Purpoſe, of ſome Prieſts (ſomewhere in *Aſia*) who carry about a Serpent, in a brazen Veſſel, and, as they attend it with a great deal of Muſick and Charms in Verſe, the Serpent lifts up itſelf, opens its Mouth, and thruſts out the Head of a beautiful Virgin; the Devil, in this Manner, glorying in this Miſcarriage of *Eve* among theſe poor Idolaters. And an Account much of the like Nature is given us in Books of Travels into the *Weſt-Indies*. *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I.

(d) *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I. *(e)* Biſhop *King* on the Origin of Evil. *(f)* Matth. vii. 18. *(g)* Wiſ. i. 13, &c.

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Living. He created all Things, that they might have their Being, and the Generations of the World were healthful. There was no Poiſon of Deſtruction in them, nor the Kingdom of Death upon the Earth, until that ungodly Men call'd it to them; (h) and ſo Error and Darkneſs had their Beginning together with Sinners. Gen. Ch. iii.

DISSERTATION III.

Of ORIGINAL SIN.

ORIGINAL SIN indeed is a Phraſe, which does not occur in the whole Compaſs of the Bible; but the Nature of the Thing itſelf, and in what Manner it came to be committed, are ſufficiently related: So that thoſe, who admit of the Authority of the Scriptures, make no queſtion of the Fact. The great Matter in Diſpute is, what the Effect of this Tranſgreſſion was; what Guilt is contained; what Puniſhment is merited; and in what Degree its Guilt and Puniſhment both may be ſaid to affect us.

Different Opinions concerning it.

SOME have not ſtuck to affirm, *(i)* that in the Beginning of the World there was no ſuch Thing, as any expreſs Covenant between God and Man; that the Prohibition of the *Tree of Knowledge* was given to our firſt Parents only, and they alone conſequently were culpable by its Tranſgreſſion; that *Adam*, in ſhort, was mortal, like one of us; he, no Repreſentative for his Poſterity; his Sin purely *perſonal*; and that the Imputation of Guilt, down to this Time, for an Offence, ſo many thouſand Years ago, committed, is a ſad Reflection upon the Goodneſs and Juſtice of God.

IN Oppoſition to this, others think proper to affirm, that, at the firſt Creation of Things, there was a Covenant made with all Mankind in *Adam*, their common Head, and Proxy, who ſtipulated for them all; that, by a Tranſgreſſion of this Covenant, our firſt Parents fell from their *original* Righteouſneſs, and thence became *dead in Sin*, and actually defiled in all their Faculties of Soul and Body; and that this Corruption is not only the Parent of all *actual* Tranſgreſſions, but (even in its own Nature) brings Guilt upon every one, that is born into the World, whereby he is bound over to the Wrath of God, and the Curſe of the Law, and ſo made ſubject to Death, with all the Miſeries that attend it, *Spiritual, Temporal, and Eternal.*

THERE is another Opinion, which concerns itſelf not with the Imputation of the Guilt, but only with the Puniſhment of this Tranſgreſſion, and thereupon ſuppoſes, that, tho' *Adam*, as to the Compoſition of his Body, was naturally mortal, yet, by the ſupernatural Gift of God, (whereof the *Tree of Life* was a *Symbol* or Sacrament) he was to be preſerved immortal: From whence it is inferred, *(k)* that the Denunciation of the Sentence, *in the Day thou eateſt thereof, thou ſhalt ſurely die*, is to be underſtood *literally* indeed, but then extended no farther than *natural Death*; which, conſidering the Fears, and Terrors, and ſundry Kinds of Miſery, which it occaſions, may be reputed Puniſhment ſevere enough, though fairly conſiſtent with our Notions of God's Goodneſs and Juſtice, becauſe it is but a *temporal* Puniſhment, and abundantly recompenc'd by that eternal Redemption, which all Mankind ſhall have in Chriſt Jeſus.

OTHERS again do ſo far approve of this, as to think it in Part the Puniſhment of *Original Sin*; but then they ſuppoſe, that, beſides this *natural Mortality*, there is a certain Weakneſs and Corruption ſpread thro' the whole Race of Mankind, which diſcovers itſelf in their Inclination to Evil, and Inſufficiency to what is Good. This,

(h) Eccluſ. xi. 16. *(i) Burnet* on the Articles, and *Taylor*'s Polemical Diſcourſes. *(k) Lock*'es Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity; and *Tractatus de Imputatione divinâ peccati* Adami, *per* Dan. Whitby.

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ſay they, † the very Heathens complain of; this † the Scriptures every where teſtify; and therefore they conclude, that, ſince Man was not *originally* made in this Condition (for God created him *after his own Image*) he muſt have contracted all this from his Fall, and that therefore the threatening of Death had an higher Signification than the Diſſolution of the Soul and Body, *viz.* the Loſs of the Divine Favour, of all ſupernatural Gifts and Graces, and a total Defection of the Mind from God, which immediately enſu'd upon the Tranſgreſſion.

A proper State of the Queſtion.

THESE are ſome of the principal Opinions, (for the little *Singularities* are innumerable) and, in the midſt of ſo many Intricacies, to find out a proper Path for us to purſue, we may reſolve the whole Controverſy into this one Queſtion:—— "Whether human Nature be ſo far corrupted, and the Guilt of our firſt Parents Tranſgreſſion ſo far imputed to their Poſterity, that every Perſon, from the Mother's Womb, muſt neceſſarily go aſtray, and muſt certainly fall into everlaſting Perdition, without the Means appointed in the *new Covenant* for his Preſervation?" And, in ſearching into this, the Sentiments of the *Fathers*, much more the Altercations of the *Schoolmen*, will help us very little. † The former are ſo *divided* in their Opinions, and the latter ſo *abſtruſe* in their Arguments upon this Subject, that an honeſt Enquirer will find himſelf *bewilder'd*, rather than *inſtructed*; and therefore our ſafeſt Recourſe will be to the *Declarations* of God's Will, explain'd in a Manner comporting with his Attributes. Gen. Ch. iii.

And the moſt probable Explication of it.

THAT God, who is the Fountain of our Being, is infinitely pure and holy, and can therefore be neither the Author, nor Promoter of any Sin in us, is obvious to our firſt Conceptions of him; and therefore, if the Corruption of our Nature be ſuppoſed to be ſuch, as *neceſſarily* and *unavoidably* determines us to Wickedneſs, without the leaſt Tendency to Good, to give it a Counterpoiſe, thoſe, who maintain the *Negative* of the Queſtion, are in the Right ſo far, as they ſtand in Defence of God's immaculate Purity, and are known to be Aſſerters of the Freedom of human *Choice*, without which, the common Diſtinctions of Virtue and Vice, and the certain Proſpects of Rewards and Puniſhments, are entirely loſt. But when they carry the Point ſo far, as to deny any *Alteration* in human Nature *now*, from what it was at its firſt Creation; as to deny, that *Adam*, in his State of Uprightneſs, had

† St. *Auſtin*, in his Fourth Book againſt *Julian*, brings in *Cicero* [de Repub. l. 3.] complaining, *Non à matre, ſed à Novercâ Naturâ editum eſſe Hominem in vitam; corpore nudo, fragili, & infirmo, animo anxio ad moleſtias, humili ad timores, molli ad labores; in quo tamen velut obrutus ineſt ignis quidam Divinus Mentis.* Whereupon the holy Father makes this Remark, Rem vidit Author iſte, Cauſam neſcivit: Latebat enim eum, cur eſſet grave jugum ſuper filios *Adam*, quia, ſacris literis non eruditus, ignorabat *Originale* peccatum.

† The Scripture ſtates the Corruption of human Nature in ſuch Terms, as theſe, *viz.* that *by one Man Sin entered into the World*, by whoſe *Diſobedience many were made Sinners*, Rom. v. 19. that *by Nature* therefore *we are the Children of Wrath*, Eph. ii. 3. and *unable to receive the Things of the Spirit, or to know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned*, 1 Cor. ii. 14. for *what is born of Fleſh is Fleſh*, John iii. 6. and *who can bring a clean Thing out of an unclean?* Job xiv. 4. The Royal Pſalmiſt therefore makes, in his own Perſon, this Confeſſion of our natural Depravity; *Behold, I was ſhapen in Wickedneſs, and in Sin has my Mother conceived me*, Pſal. li. 5. and St. *Paul*, this publick Declaration of our Inability to do Good; *I know that in me* (i. e. *in my Fleſh*) *dwelleth no good Thing; for to will is preſent with me, but to perform that which is good, I find not; for, tho' I delight in the Law of God after the inward Man, yet I ſee another Law in my Members, warring againſt the Law in my Mind, and bringing me into Captivity to the Law of Sin, which is in my Members. O wretched Man that I am! who ſhall deliver me from the Body of this Death?* Rom. vii. 18, &c.

† *Voſſius*, in his Hiſtory of *Pelagianiſm*, aſſures us, that the whole *Catholick* Church was always of Opinion, that *the Guilt of* Adam's *Sin was imputed to his Poſterity to their Condemnation; ſo that Children, dying therein, were conſigned to everlaſting Puniſhment, at leaſt, to an everlaſting Separation from God:* And, to confirm this Aſſertion, he quotes a Multitude of Paſſages out of almoſt all the Doctors of the *Greek* Church. *Taylor*, and *Whitby*, and ſome other Writers upon this Argument, produce the Teſtimony of the ſame Fathers to evince the very contrary Poſition; ſo that there is no depending upon any Thing, where Authors are ſo inconſiſtent with themſelves, and ſo repugnant to one another. The Truth is, before *Pelagius* appear'd in the World, moſt of the antient Writers of the Church were very inaccurate, both in what they thought, and wrote, concerning *Original Sin*, and *Free Will*; and it ſeems, as if the Providence of God permitted that *Heretick* to ariſe, that thereby he might engage the Maintainers of *Orthodoxy* to ſtudy thoſe Points more maturely. *Whitaker* de Peccato Orig. l. 2.

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had any Gifts and Graces *ſupernatural*, any Clearneſs in his *Underſtanding*, any Strength in his *Will*, any Regularity in his *Affections*, more than every Man of Maturity, and competent Faculties, has at this Day; when they adventure to affirm, that there is no Neceſſity of *Grace* in our preſent Condition, to *aſſiſt* our hereditary Weakneſs, to *enlighten* our Minds, and *incline* our Wills, and *conduct* our Affections to the Purpoſes of Holineſs, but that every Man may do what is good and acceptable to God by the Power of his own natural Abilities; they then run counter to the common Experience of human Infirmity; they overlook the Declarations of God's Word, concerning his gracious Aſſiſtance; and ſeem to deſpiſe the kind Overture of that bleſſed Agent, whereby we are *renewed, and ſanctify'd in the Spirit of our Minds*.

IN like Manner, when the Maintainers of *abſolute Depravation* contend, that Man, in his preſent Condition, is far departed from *original* Righteouſneſs, and, of his own Accord, very much inclined to Evil; that the Order of his Faculties is deſtroyed, and thoſe *Graces*, which conſtituted the *Image of God*, departed from him; that, in this State, he is *now* unable to raiſe himſelf from the Level of common Impotence, but requires the Intervention of ſome ſuperior Principle, to aid and aſſiſt him in his Progreſs towards Heaven; They ſay no more, than what Experience teaches us, and what the ſacred Records, which acquaint us with the Diſpenſation of Grace, are known to authorize. But, when they carry their Poſitions to a greater Extent, than they will juſtly bear; when they affirm, that, ever ſince the firſt Defection, the Mind of Man is not only much impair'd, but grievouſly vitiated in all its Faculties, having a ſtrong Averſion to every Thing that is good, and an invincible Propenſity to what is evil; not one Thought, Word, or Wiſh, that tends towards God, but the Seeds and Principles of every Vice, that bears the Image and Lineaments of the Devil, inherent in it: When they advance ſuch Doctrines as theſe, I ſay, they debaſe human Nature too low, and ſeem to impute ſuch Iniquity to its Maker, as can hardly be wip'd off, if every human Soul be naturally inclin'd to all Kinds of Wickedneſs, when it comes from the Hand of his creating Power.

Gen. Ch. iii.

THERE is certainly therefore another Way of accounting for theſe Difficulties, without any Prejudice to the Divine Attributes, and that is this: —— Not by aſcribing any *poſitive Malignity* to human Nature, but only *the Loſs* of the Image of God; becauſe a mere Privation of *Rectitude*, in an *active* Subject, will ſufficiently anſwer all the Purpoſes, for which a *poſitive* Corruption is pleaded. *(l)* The Soul of Man, we know, is a buſy Creature: By the Force of its own Nature it muſt be in Action; but then, without *Grace*, and the *Image of God*, aſſiſting and adorning it, it cannot act regularly and well. So that the Difference between *Adam* and us is, not that we have violent Inclinations to all Manner of Wickedneſs implanted in our Nature, any more than he, in his Innocence, had in his; but that we, in our preſent Condition, want ſundry Advantages, which he, in the Height of his Perfection, was not without. He had the free Power of Obedience; he had the perfect Image of his Maker, in all the Divine Qualities of *Knowledge* and *Holineſs*, which we have not; and therefore, when we ſay, that he communicated to his Poſterity a *corrupted Nature*, it muſt not be underſtood, as if that Nature, which we receive, was infected with any vicious Inclinations, or Habits to ſway, and determine our Will to what is evil; but the Meaning is, that he communicated to us a Nature, which has indeed a Power to incline, and act *variouſly*, but that he did not, withal, communicate to us the *Image of God*, nor that Fullneſs of Knowledge, and Power of Obedience, which were requiſite to make all its

(l) Hopkins on the Two Covenants.

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its Actions and Inclinations holy and regular: And our Nature is therefore ſaid to be *corrupted*, becauſe it is *comparatively* bad; becauſe it is reduced to its mere natural State, which, at the beſt, is a State of Imperfection, and depriv'd of that *Grace*, which ſhould have reſtrain'd it from Sin, and of thoſe other high Endowments, wherewith *at firſt* it was inveſted.

THIS is a fair Account of our original Corruption: It ſtands clear of the Difficulties, that attend the other Opinions, and is not inconſiſtent with the Notions we have of the Divine Attributes. For barely to *withdraw* thoſe extraordinary Gifts, which were not eſſential to Man's Nature, but ſuch as God *additionally* had beſtow'd upon him, and he, by his Tranſgreſſion, unworthily forfeited, is what agrees very well with the Wiſdom, and Juſtice, and Holineſs of God to do; tho' to infuſe a *poſitive Malignity*, or ſuch a ſtrong Inclination to Wickedneſs in us, as induces a *Neceſſity* of ſinning, moſt certainly does not.

THAT *the Judge of all the World cannot but do right*, and he, *who keepeth Mercy from Generation to Generation*, can have no Hand in any cruel Action, is a certain Truth, and what our firſt Reflections on the Divine Nature teach us. Thoſe therefore, who maintain, that *Adam*'s Sin is not imputed to us to our Damnation, or that Children *unbaptiz'd* are not the Objects of Divine Vengeance, nor ſhall be condemn'd to Hell, or an eternal Expulſion from God's Preſence, for what was done many thouſand Years before they were born, are ſo far in the right, as they oppoſe an Opinion, which clouds the amiable Attributes of God, and repreſents him in a Dreſs of Horror, and engaged in Acts of extreme Severity at leaſt, if not unrelenting Cruelty. *Hell* certainly is not ſo eaſy a Pain, nor are the *Souls* of Children of ſo cheap and ſo contemptible a Price, as that God ſhould ſnatch them from their Mother's Womb, and throw them into Perdition without any Manner of Concern; and therefore, when Men argue againſt ſuch *Poſitions*, as theſe, they are certainly to be commended, becauſe therein they vindicate the ſacred Attributes of God: But, when they carry their Oppoſition to a greater Length, than it will juſtly go, ſo as to affirm —— that there was no ſuch Thing as a *Covenant* between *God* and *Adam*, or, if there was, that *Adam* contracted for himſelf only; that his Guilt conſequently was *perſonal*, and cannot, in Juſtice, be imputed to us; that, ſince we had no Share in the Tranſgreſſion, there is no Reaſon why we ſhould bear any Part in the Puniſhment; that we are all born, in ſhort, in the ſame State of Innocence, and are under the ſame Favour and Acceptance with Almighty God, that *Adam*, before the firſt Tranſgreſſion, was: When they advance ſuch Poſitions as theſe, in Maintenance of their Oppoſition, they ſadly forget, that, while they would ſeem Advocates for the Mercy and Goodneſs of God, they are taking away the Foundation of the *ſecond Covenant*; deſtroying the Neceſſity of a Divine *Mediator*; and overlooking thoſe Declarations in Scripture, which affirm, that *(m) all the World is become guilty before God*; that *all Men, both* Jews *and* Gentiles, *are under Sin*; *have come ſhort of the Glory of God, (n) and are by Nature the Children of Wrath.* Gen. Ch. iii.

To make an Agreement then between the Word of God and his Attributes in this Particular, we may fairly allow, that there really was a Covenant between *God* and *Adam* at the firſt Creation; that, in making that Covenant, *Adam*, as their Head and common Repreſentative, ſtipulated for all Mankind, as well as for himſelf; and that, in his Tranſgreſſion of it, the Guilt and the Puniſhment, due thereupon, was imputed to all his Poſterity. This we may allow was the State and Condition, wherein *Adam* left us: But then we muſt remember, that *(o)* the whole Scheme of Man's Salvation was laid in the Divine Counſel and Decree from

(m) Rom. iii. 9, 19, 23. *(n)* Eph. ii. 3. *(o)* *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II.

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from all Eternity; that God, foreſeeing Man would fall, determined to ſend his Son to redeem him, and determined to do this, long before the Tranſgreſſion happened: So that the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God had effectually provided before-hand againſt all the ill Conſequences of the *Fall*, and made it impoſſible, that *Adam*'s Poſterity ſhould become eternally miſerable, and be condemned to the Flames and Pains of *Hell*, any other Way, than through their own *perſonal* Guilt and Tranſgreſſions. The Redemption of the World was decreed, I ſay, from Eternity, and was actually promiſed before any Child of *Adam* was born, even before the Sentence was pronounced upon our firſt Parents; and, as ſoon as it was pronounced, its Benefits, without all Controverſy, did commence. So that, upon this *Hypotheſis*, every *Infant*, that comes into the World, as it brings along with it the Guilt of *Adam*'s Sin, brings along with it likewiſe the Benefits of *Chriſt*'s meritorious Death, *which God hath ſet forth, as a* ſtanding *Propitiation for the Sins of the whole World.* Nor can the Want of *Baptiſm* be any Obſtruction to this Remedy, ſince the Remedy was exhibited long before the *Rite* was inſtituted; and ſince that Rite, when inſtituted (according to the Senſe of ſome learned Fathers) was more a Pledge of *good Things to come*, * a Type of our future Reſurrection, a Form of Adoption into the heavenly Family, and of Admiſſion to thoſe *rich Promiſes of God, which are hid in Jeſus Chriſt*, than any Ordinance appointed for the *myſtical Waſhing away of Sin.* Gen. Ch. iii.

The Whole ſumm'd up.

In ſhort, as long as St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles are read, the original Compact between God and Man, the Depravation of human Nature, and the Imputation of *Adam*'s Guilt, muſt be received as ſtanding Doctrines of the Church of Chriſt; but then we are to take great Care, in our Manner of explaining them, to preſerve the Divine Attributes ſacred and inviolate: And this may happily be effected, if we will but ſuppoſe, that our hereditary Corruption is occaſion'd, not by the *Infuſion* of any poſitive Malignity into us, but by the *Subduction* of ſupernatural Gifts from us; that the Covenant of *Grace* commenced immediately after the Covenant of *Works* was broken, and has included all Mankind ever ſince; that the Blood of Chriſt ſhields his Children from the Wrath of God; and that the Imputation of *Adam*'s Guilt and Obnoxiouſneſs to Puniſhment is effectually taken away, by the meritorious Oblation of that *Lamb of God, which was ſlain from the Foundation of the World.*

* Baptizantur Infantes (juxta *Chryſoſtomum* & *Theodoretum*) ut Baptiſmus ipſis *ſit arca futurorum bonorum, typus futuræ reſurrectionis, Dominicæ paſſionis communicatio, atque ut ſupernè regenerati, ſanctificati, in adoptionis jus adducti, & unigeniti, cohæredes, per ſacrorum myſteriorum participationem, ſint.* *Whitby* de Imputatione Peccati *Adami*.

A M. 128. Ant. Chriſ. 3876.

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Murther of Abel, *and the Baniſhment of* Cain.

The History.

Cain *and* Abel's *Birth.*

OUR firſt Parents, we may ſuppoſe, * after a Courſe of Penance and Humiliation for their Tranſgreſſion, obtained the Pardon and Forgiveneſs of God; and yet the Corruption, which their Sin introduced, remain'd upon human Nature, and began to diſcover itſelf in that impious Fact, which *Cain* committed upon his Brother *Abel*. *Cain* was the firſt Child, that was ever born into the World; and his Mother *Eve* was ſo fully perſwaded, that *the promiſ'd Seed* would immediately deſcend from her, that ſhe ſuppoſed him to be the Perſon, who was to ſubdue the Power of the great Enemy of Mankind; and therefore, upon her Delivery, ſhe cried out, in a Tranſport of Joy, † *I have gotten a Man from the Lord*, and accordingly gave him the Name of *Cain*, which ſignifies *Poſſeſſion*, or *Acquiſition*; never ſuſpecting, that, as ſoon as he grew up, he wou'd occaſion her no ſmall Sorrow and Diſconſolation.

The next Son, that ſhe bore, (which was the Year following) was called † *Abel*, denoting *Sorrow* and *Mourning*; but very probably he might not receive that Name, until his *tragical* End, which cauſed great Grief to his Parents, verifying the Meaning of it. Other Children, we may preſume, were all along born to our firſt Parents; but theſe are the two, who, for ſome Time, made the principal Figure; and, as they had the whole World before them, there was ſmall Reaſon (one wou'd think) for thoſe Feuds and Contentions, which, in after Ages, embroil'd Mankind. But the Misfortune was, they were Perſons of quite different Tempers, and accordingly, when they grew up, betook themſelves to different

* The *Oriental* Writers are very full of *Adam*'s Sorrows and Lamentations upon this Occaſion. They have recorded the ſeveral Forms of Prayer, wherein he addreſſed God for Pardon and Forgiveneſs; and ſome of the *Jewiſh* Doctors are of Opinion, that the thirty-ſecond Pſalm, wherein we meet with theſe Expreſſions, *I acknowledge my Sin unto thee, and mine Iniquity have I not hid; I ſaid, I will confeſs my Tranſgreſſions unto the Lord, and thou forgaveſt the Iniquity of my Sin*, was of his compoſing.

Our excellent *Milton*, to the ſame Purpoſe, introduces *Adam*, after a melancholy Soliloquy with himſelf, and ſome haſty Altercations with *Eve*, propoſing at length this wholeſome Advice to her:

What better can we do, than, to the Place
Repairing, where he judg'd us, proſtrate fall
Before him reverent; and there confeſs
Humbly our Faults, and Pardon beg; with Tears
Wat'ring the Ground, and with our Sighs the Air
Frequenting, ſent from Hearts contrite, in Sign
Of Sorrow unfeign'd, and Humiliation meek?
Undoubtedly he will relent, and turn
From his Diſpleaſure: In whoſe Looks ſerene,
When angry moſt he ſeem'd, and moſt ſevere,
What elſe, but Favour, Grace, and Mercy, ſhone?

BOOK X.

† *Iſh eth Jehovah*, which our Tranſlation makes, *a Man from the Lord*, ſhould rather be render'd *the Man, the Lord*. *Helvicus* has ſhewn, in ſo many Inſtances in Scripture, that *eth* is an Article of the *Accuſative Caſe*, that it ſeems indeed to be the *Hebrew* Idiom; beſides, that it is a *demonſtrative*, or *emphatic* Particle, which points at ſome Thing or Perſon, in a particular Manner; and therefore ſeveral, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Doctors, have taken the Words in this Senſe:——That our Grandmother *Eve*, when delivered of *Cain*, thought ſhe had brought forth the *Meſſias*, the *God-man*, who was to *bruiſe the Serpent's Head*, or deſtroy *Satan*'s Power and Dominion, according to the Promiſe, which God had made her. *Edwards*'s Survey of Religion, Vol. I.

† Others derive the Name from a Word, which ſignifies *Vanity*, and are of Opinion, that *Eve* intended thereby, either to declare the little Eſteem ſhe had of him, in Compariſon of her Firſt-born; or to ſhew the Vanity of her Hopes, in taking *Cain* for the *Meſſiah*; or to denote that all Things in the World, into which he was now come, were mere *Vanity and Vexation of Spirit*. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Saurin*'s Diſſertation.



Pl. 7

And it came to pass when they were in the Field, that Cain rose up against Abel his Brother, and slew him.

Gen 4 ver: 8.

G. Mort del.

H. l'Bas Gaucht. Sc.



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different Employments; *Cain*, who was of a ſurly, ſordid, and avaritious Temper, to the Tilling of the Ground; and *Abel*, who was more gentle and ingenuous in his Diſpoſition, to the Keeping of Sheep.

Their Oblations.

IT was a cuſtomary Thing, even in the Infancy of the World, to make Acknowledgments to God, by way of Oblation, for the bountiful Supply of all his Creatures; and accordingly ‖ theſe two Brothers were wont to bring Offerings, ſuitable to their reſpective Callings: *Cain*, as an Huſbandman, the *Fruits of the Ground*; and *Abel*, as a Shepherd, the *Firſtlings*, or (as ſome will have it) the ‡ Milk *of his Flock*. Upon ſome ſet and ſolemn Occaſion then, *(p)* (and not improbably at the End of Harveſt) as they were preſenting their reſpective Offerings, God, who eſtimates the Sincerity of the Heart, more than the Value of the Oblation, † gave a viſible Token of his Acceptance of *Abel*'s Sacrifice, preferable to that of *Cain*, which ſo enraged, and tranſported him with Envy againſt his Brother, that he could not help ſhewing it in his Countenance. Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

God's Expoſtulation with Cain.

GOD however, in great Kindneſs, condeſcended to expoſtulate the Matter with him, telling him, "*(q)* That his Reſpect "to true Goodneſs was impartial, where-"ever he found it, and that ‡ therefore "it was purely his own Fault, that his "Offering was not equally accepted; that "Piety was the proper Diſpoſition for a "Sacrificer; and that, if herein he "would emulate his Brother, the ſame "Tokens of Divine Approbation ſhould "attend his Oblations; *(r)* that it was "Folly

‖ In the laſt Verſe of this Chapter we read, that it was in the Days of *Enos*, when *Men firſt began to call on the Name of the Lord*; and yet, in the third and fourth Verſes thereof, we find that *Cain* and *Abel* brought their reſpective Offerings to the Place (as we may ſuppoſe) of Divine Worſhip. Now, if the Beginning of Divine Worſhip was in the Days of *Enos*, what Worſhip was this in the Days of *Cain* and *Abel*? To have two Beginnings for the ſame Worſhip, is a Thing incongruous, unleſs we can ſuppoſe, that the two Brothers, when they came with their Oblations, did not worſhip at all; neither opening their Lips in the Divine Benefactor's Praiſe, nor invocating a Bleſſing upon what his Bounty had ſent them, which is highly inconſiſtent with the Character of Worſhippers. But, in Anſwer to this, we muſt obſerve, that the Worſhip of God is of two Kinds, *publick* and *private*; that the Worſhip, wherein theſe Brothers were concern'd, was of the *latter* Sort, for *Cain* is mentioned by himſelf, and *Abel* by himſelf. They came to the Place of Worſhip ſeverally; their Sacrifices were not the ſame; neither were the Offerers of the ſame Mind. But the Worſhip, which was inſtituted in the Time of *Enos*, was of a *publick* Nature, when ſeveral Families, under their reſpective Heads, met together in the ſame Place, and joined in one common Service, whether of Prayers, Praiſes, or Sacrifices. Tho' the Phraſe of *Mens beginning to call upon the Name of the Lord*, may poſſibly bear another Conſtruction, as we ſhall ſhew, when we come to examine the Place itſelf. *Streat*'s Dividing of the Hoof.

‡ It is a pretty common Opinion, that the *Eating of Fleſh* was not permitted before the Flood; and 'tis the Poſition of *Grotius*, that no *carnal* Sacrifices were, at that Time, offered, becauſe nothing, but what was of Uſe to Man, was to be conſecrated to God. The Scarcity of Cattle might very well excuſe their being ſlain in the Worſhip of God; and therefore, ſince the ſame Word in *Hebrew* [*Hhalab*, or *Hheleb*] according to its different Punctuation, ſignifies both *Fat* and *Milk*, and accordingly is render'd both Ways by the LXX, many learned Men ſeem rather to favour the latter, as finding it a Cuſtom, among the antient *Egyptians*, to ſacrifice Milk to their Deities, as a Token and Acknowledgment of the Fecundity of their Cattle. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Saurin*'s Diſſertation. But the learned *Heidegger* is of an Opinion quite the contrary. *Vid. Exercit.* 15. *de Cibo Antediluviano.*

(p) Heidegger's Hiſtoria Patriarcharum.

† The *Jews* are generally of Opinion, that this *viſible Token* of God's accepting *Abel*'s Sacrifice was a Fire, or Lightening, which came from Heaven, and conſum'd it. The Footſteps of this we meet with in a ſhort Time after, *Gen.* xv. 17. and the Examples of it were many in future Ages, *viz.* when *Moſes* offered the firſt Burnt-Offering according to the Law, *Lev.* ix. 24. when *Gideon* offered upon the Rock, *Jud.* vi. 21. when *David* ſtayed the Plague, 1 *Chron.* xxi. 26. when *Solomon* conſecrated the Temple, 2 *Chron.* vii. 1. and when *Elijah* contended with the *Baalites*, 1 *Kings* xviii. 38, &c. And, accordingly, we find the *Iſraelites* (when they wiſh all Proſperity to their King) praying, that God would be pleaſed *to accept* (in the *Hebrew*, *turn into Aſhes*) *his burnt Sacrifice*, Pſal. xx. 3. *Patrick* and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

(q) Patrick's Commentary.

‡ The Words in our Tranſlation are, *If thou doeſt well, ſhalt thou not be accepted?* ver. 7. which ſome render, *ſhalt thou not receive?* viz. a Reward; others, *ſhalt thou not be pardon'd?* and others again, *thou ſhalt be elevated to Dignity*, But, if we conſider, what God ſays to *Cain* in the two foregoing Verſes, *that his Countenance was fallen*, we cannot but perceive, that in *this* he promiſes him, that, if he did well, he ſhould have his Face *lifted up*, and that he ſhould have no more Reaſon to be ſad; for ſo the Scripture frequently expreſſes a fearleſs and chearful State. *If Iniquity be in thine Hand*, ſays one of *Job*'s Friends, *put it away from thee, and let not Wickedneſs dwell in thy Tabernacles; for then thou ſhalt lift up thy Face without Spot*, Job. xi. 15. Eſſay for a new Tranſlation.

(r) Poole's Annotations.

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" Folly and Madneſs in him to harbour " any revengeful Thoughts againſt his Bro- " ther; becauſe, if he proceeded to put " them in Execution, ‡ a dreadful Puniſh- " ment would immediately overtake him; " and that leaſt of all had he Reaſon to " be angry with him, whoſe Preference " was only a Token of his ſuperior Vir- " tue, and not intended to ſupplant him of " his Birthright, *(s)* which ſhould al- " ways be inviolate, and his Brother be " obliged to † pay him the Reſpect and " Homage, that was due to his *Primogeni-* " *ture*; which if he was minded to pre- " ſerve, his wiſeſt Way would be to be " quiet, and not proceed one Step farther " in any wicked Deſign."

THIS was a kind Admonition from God: But ſo little Effect had it upon *Cain*, that, inſtead of being ſenſible of his Fault, and endeavouring to amend, he grew more and more incens'd againſt his Brother; inſomuch, that at laſt he took a Reſolution to kill him; but diſſembled his Deſign, until he ſhould find a proper Opportunity. Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

AND, to this Purpoſe, coming to his Brother one Day, and pretending great Kindneſs to him, he aſked him very friendly to take a Walk with him in the Fields, where, having got him alone, * upon ſome Pretence or other, he pick'd a Quarrel with him, and ſo fell upon him, and ſlew him, and afterwards *(t)* bury'd him in the Ground, to prevent all Diſcovery: But it was not long, before he was called to an Account for this horrid Fact. God appeared to him, and, having queſtion'd him about his Brother, and receiv'd ſome ſullen and evaſive Anſwers from him, directly charged him with his Murther; and then repreſenting it in its proper Aggravations, as a Crime unpardonable, and what

‡ The Words in our Tranſlation are, *Sin lieth at thy Door*: Where, by *Sin*, the Generality of Interpreters mean the *Puniſhment* of Sin, which is hard at Hand, and ready to overtake the Wicked. But our learned *Lightfoot* obſerves, that God does not here preſent himſelf to *Cain*, in order to threaten, but to encourage him, as the firſt Words of his Speech to him do import; and that therefore the bare Deſcription of *lying at the Door* does plainly enough inſinuate, that the Text does not ſpeak either of *Errors* or *Puniſhment*, but of a *Sacrifice for Sin*, which the Scripture often calls by the *Hebrew* Word here, and which was commonly plac'd before the Door of the *Sanctuary*, as may be ſeen in ſeveral Paſſages in Scripture. So that, according to this Senſe, God is here comforting *Cain*, even tho' he did amiſs in maligning his Brother, and referring him to the *Propitiation* of Chriſt, which, even then, was of ſtanding Force for the Remiſſion of Sin. *Eſſay for a new Tranſlation.* But this Senſe of the Words ſeems a little too far fetch'd.

(s) Le Clerc's Commentary.

† The Words in the Text are, *unto thee ſhall be his Deſire*, Gen. iii. 16. which (however ſome Expoſitors have clouded them) will appear to be plain and eaſy enough, if we do but conſider, that there are two Expreſſions, in the *Hebrew* Tongue, to ſignify the Readineſs of one Perſon to ſerve and reſpect another. The one is [*aine el yad*] or *our Eyes are to his Hand*; the other [*Teſhukah el*] or *our Deſire is to him*. The former expreſſes our *outward* Attendance, and the latter the *inward* Temper and Readineſs of our Mind to pay Reſpect. Of the former we have an Inſtance in *Pſal.* cxxxiii. *The Eyes of Servants are to the Hand of their Maſters, and the Eyes of a Maiden are to the Hand of her Miſtreſs*, i. e. they ſtand ready with a vigilant Obſervance to execute their Orders. We meet the other Expreſſion in the Place before us, and it imports an *inward* Temper and Diſpoſition of Mind to pay Reſpect and Honour. *His Deſire will be unto thee*, i. e. he will be heartily devoted (as we ſay in *Engliſh*) to honour and reſpect you. And *thou ſhalt* [or mayeſt] *rule over him*, i. e. you may have any Service from him, you can deſire. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I.

* According to the *Engliſh* Tranſlation, *Moſes* tells us, *ver.* 8. that *Cain talked with Abel his Brother.* The Words ſtrictly ſignify, *Cain ſaid unto Abel his Brother*; after which there is a *blank Space* left in the *Hebrew* Copies, as if ſomething was wanting. The *Samaritan* Pentateuch, and the LXX Verſion ſupply this, by adding the Words, —— *Let us go into the Fields*; but the *Jeruſalem Targum*, and that of *Jonathan*, have ſupply'd us with their whole Converſation.— As they went along, " I know, ſays *Cain*, that the World was created by the Mercy of God, but it is not govern'd " according to the Fruit of our good Works, and there is Reſpect of Perſons in Judgment. Why was thy Obla- " tion favourably accepted, when mine was rejected? Abel *anſwer'd, and ſaid unto* Cain, the World was created in " Mercy, and is govern'd according to the Fruits of our good Works. There is no Reſpect of Perſons in Judgment; " for my Oblation was more favourably receiv'd, becauſe the Fruit of my Works was better, and more precious, than " thine. *Hereupon* Cain *in a Fury breaks out*, There is no Judgment, nor Judge, nor any other World; neither ſhall " good Men receive any Reward, nor wicked Men be puniſh'd. *To which* Abel *reply'd*, There is a Judgment, and " a Judge, and another World, in which good Men ſhall receive a Reward, and wicked Men be puniſh'd." Upon which there enſu'd a Quarrel, which ended in *Abel*'s Death. So that, according to this Account, *Abel* ſuffer'd for the Vindication of the Truth, and was, in Reality, the firſt *Martyr*. *Eſthius* in Difficiliora Loca.

(t) Joſephus's Antiq. l. 1. c. 3.

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what cried aloud to Heaven for Vengeance, he proceeded immediately to paſs Sentence upon him.

And Sentence againſt him.

Cain's chief *(u)* Deſign and Ambition was, to make himſelf great and powerful, in Favour with God, and in Credit with Men, without any one to ſtand in Competition with him; but in every Thing he intended, he found himſelf diſappointed, for attempting to accompliſh his Ends in ſo wicked a Manner. Inſtead of growing great and opulent, the Ground was ſentenced *not to yield him her Strength*, i. e. he was to be unproſperous in his Huſbandry and Tillage: Inſtead of enjoying God's Favour without a Rival, he was baniſhed *from his Preſence*, and for ever excluded from that happy Converſe with the Deity, which, in theſe firſt Ages of the World, 'twas cuſtomary for good Men to enjoy: And, inſtead of being a Man of Renown among his Family, he became a *Fugitive and Vagabond*; was baniſhed from his native Country, and compelled to withdraw into ſome *diſtant* and *deſolate* Part of the Earth, as an abominable Perſon, not worthy to live, nor fit to be endur'd in any *civil* Community.

THE ſame Principle, which leads wicked Men to the Commiſſion of Crimes, in Hopes of Impunity, throws them into Deſpair, upon the Denunciation of Puniſhment. This Sentence of *Cain*, though infinitely ſhort of the Heinouſneſs of his Guilt, made him believe, † that he was to undergo much greater Evils, than it really imported; and that, not only the Miſeries of Baniſhment, but the Danger likewiſe of being ſlain by every one, that came near him, was enſuant upon it. But, to ſatisfy him in this Reſpect, God was pleaſed to declare, that his Providence ſhould protect him from all outward Violence; and, to remove the uneaſy Apprehenſion from his Mind, vouchſafed to give him a Sign (very *(x)* probably by ſome ſenſible Miracle) that no Creature whatever ſhould be permitted to take away his Life, but that whoever attempted it ſhould incur a very ſevere Puniſhment; becauſe God *(y)* was minded to prolong his Days, in this wretched Eſtate, as a Monument of his Vengeance, to deter future Ages from committing the like Murther.

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

THUS, by the Force of the Divine Sentence, *Cain* left his Parents and Relations, and went into a ſtrange Country. He was baniſhed from that ſacred Place, where God vouchſafed † frequent Manifeſtations of his *glorious Preſence*; and tho', by the Divine Decree, no Perſon was permitted to hurt him, yet, being conſcious of his own Guilt, he was fearful of every Thing he ſaw or heard: Till, having wander'd about a long while, in many different Countries, he ſettled, at length,

Cain's Baniſhment.

(u) Shuckford's Introduction, Vol. I.

† The Words in our Tranſlation are, *My Puniſhment is greater than I can bear*; but as the *Hebrew* Word [*Aven*] ſignifies *Iniquity*, rather than Puniſhment, and the Verb [*Naſha*] ſignifies *to be forgiven*, as well as to *bear*, it ſeems to agree better with the Context, if the Verſe be render'd either *poſitively*, *My Iniquity is too great to be forgiven*, or (as the *Hebrew Expoſitors* take it) by way of Interrogation, *Is my Iniquity too great to be forgiven?* which ſeems to be the better of the two. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. A learned Annotator has obſerv'd, that, as *there are ſeven Abominations in* the Heart of him, that loveth not his Brother, *Prov.* xxvi. 25. there were the like Number of Tranſgreſſions in *Cain*'s whole Conduct; for, 1*ſt*, he ſacrificed without Faith; 2*dly*, was diſpleas'd that God reſpected him not; 3*dly*, hearken'd not to God's Admonition; 4*thly*, ſpake diſſemblingly to his Brother; 5*thly*, killed him in the Field; 6*thly*, deny'd that he knew where he was; and, 7*thly*, neither aſk'd, nor hop'd for Mercy from God, but deſpair'd, and ſo *fell into the Condemnation of the Devil*. *Ainſworth*'s Annotations.

(x) Univerſal Hiſtory, Numb. 2. *(y) Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Both *Lightfoot*, *Heidegger*, and *Le Clerc*, ſeem to be of Opinion, that what we render the *Preſence of the Lord*, was the proper Name of that particular Place, where *Adam*, after his Expulſion from Paradiſe, dwelt; and accordingly we find that Part of the Country, which lies contiguous to the ſuppoſed Situation of Paradiſe, called by *Strabo*, [lib. 16.] πρόσωπον Θεοῦ. However this be, 'tis agreed by all Interpreters, that there was *a Divine Glory*, called by the *Jews* SHECHINAH, which appear'd from the Beginning, (as we ſaid before, Page 23, in the Notes) and from which *Cain* being now baniſh'd, never enjoy'd the Sight of it again. If, after this, *Cain* turned a downright Idolater (as many think) 'tis very probable, that he introduced the Worſhip of the Sun [which was the moſt ancient Idolatry] as the beſt Reſemblance, he could find, of the *Glory of the Lord*, which was wont to appear in a flaming Light. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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with his Wife and Family in the Land of *Nod*; where, in ſome Tract of Time, and after his Deſcendants where ſufficiently multiply'd, he built a City, that they might live together, and be united, the better to defend themſelves againſt Incurſions, and * to ſecure their unjuſt Poſſeſſions; and this Place he called after the Name of his Son *Enoch*, which, in the *Hebrew* Tongue, ſignifies a *Dedication*.

His Deſcendants.

This *Enoch* begat *Jarad*; *Jarad* begat *Mehujael*; *Mehujael* begat *Methuſael*; and *Methuſael* begat *Lamech*, who was † the firſt Introducer of *Polygamy*. For he married two Wives, *Adah* and *Zillah*, by the *former* of which he had two Children; *Jabal*, † who made great Improvements in the Management of Cattle, and found out the Uſe of Tents, *(z)* or moveable Houſes, to be carried about to Places of freſh Paſturage; and *Jubal*, who was the firſt Inventor of all *muſical* Inſtruments, and himſelf a great *Maſter* and Performer. By *the latter*, he had *Tubal-Cain*, the firſt, who diſcovered *(a)* the Art of forging and poliſhing Metals, and thereupon deviſed the making all Sorts of Armour, both *defenſive* and *offenſive*; and whoſe Siſter *Naamah* (a Name denoting *fair* and *beautiful)* is ſuppoſed to have firſt found out the Art of *Spinning* and *Weaving*. Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

(b) This is the Regiſter of *Cain*'s Poſterity for ſeven Generations: And *Moſes*, perhaps, might the rather enumerate them, to ſhew who were the real Authors and Inventors of certain Arts and Handycrafts, *(c)* which the *Egyptians* too vainly aſſumed to themſelves: But then he barely enumerates them, without ever remarking how long any of them lived (a Practice, contrary to what he obſerves in the *Genealogy* of the *Sethites)* as if he eſteemed them a Generation ſo reprobate, as *(d)* not to deſerve a Place in *the Book of the Living*.

Lamech's Diſcourſe to his Wife.

The Murther of *Abel* had, for a long Time, occaſion'd a great Animoſity between the Family of *Seth*, and the Deſcendants of *Cain*, who, though at ſome Diſtance, lived in perpetual Apprehenſions, that the other Family might come upon them unawares, and revenge *Abel*'s untimely Death: But *Lamech*, when he came to be Head of a People, endeavour'd to reaſon

* The Words of *Joſephus* are theſe: "So far was *Cain* from mending his Life, after his Afflictions, that he rather grew worſe and worſe, abandoning himſelf to his Luſts, and all Manner of Outrage, without any Regard to common Juſtice. He enrich'd himſelf by Rapine and Violence, and made Choice of the moſt profligate of Monſters for his Companions, inſtructing them in the very Myſtery of their own Profeſſion. He corrupted the Simplicity, and plain Dealing of former Times, with a *novel* Invention of Weights and Meaſures, and exchanged the Innocency of that primitive Generoſity, and Candour, for the new Tricks of Policy and Craft. He was the firſt, who invaded the common Rights of Mankind by Bounds and Incloſures, and the firſt, who built a City, fortified and peopled it." *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 3. and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† *Le Clerc*, ſuppoſing that the Increaſe of *Females*, at the Beginning of the World, was much greater, than that of *Males*, is of Opinion, that there might poſſibly want a Man to eſpouſe one of the Women, which *Lamech* marry'd; nor can he think that *Moſes* intended to blame him, for what was the conſtant Practice of ſome of the moſt eminent of the poſt-diluvian Patriarchs. Biſhop *Patrick* likewiſe makes this *Apology* for him: "His earneſt Deſire of ſeeing that bleſſed Seed, *ſays he*, which was promiſed to *Eve*, might perhaps induce him to take more Wives than one, hoping that, by multiplying his Poſterity, ſome or other of them might prove ſo happy, as to produce that *Seed*. And this he might poſſibly perſuade himſelf to be more likely, becauſe the Right, which was in *Cain*, the *Firſt-born*, he might now conclude was reviv'd in himſelf; and that the Curſe laid upon *Cain* was, by this Time, expired, and his Poſterity reſtored to the Right of fulfilling the Promiſe." Both *Selden* and *Grotius* plead for the Lawfulneſs of *Polygamy* before the *Levitical* Diſpenſation; but the learned *Heidegger* (who has a whole *Diſſertation* upon the Subject) has ſufficiently anſwered them, and proved at large, that this Cuſtom of multiplying Wives is contrary both to the Law of God, and the Law of Nature. *Hiſtoria Patriar. Exercit.* 7.

† The Words in the Text are,——*He was the Father of ſuch as dwell in Tents*; for the *Hebrews* call him *the Father* of any Thing, who was the firſt Inventor of it, or a moſt excellent Maſter of that Art: And from the Affinity of their Names, as well as the Similitude of their Inventions, learned Men have ſuppoſed, that *Jabal* was the *Pales*; *Jubal*, the *Apollo*; *Tubal-Cain* (which in the *Arabic* Tongue ſtill ſignifies a *Plate of Iron* or *Braſs)* the *Vulcan*; and his Siſter *Naamah*, the *Venus*, or (as ſome would have it) the *Minerva* of the *Gentiles*. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. and *Stilling fleet*'s Origines, l. 3. c. 5.

(z) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. *(a)* *Heidegger*'s Hiſtoria Patriar. *(b)* *Howell*'s Hiſtory of the Bible.
(c) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. *(d)* *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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reaſon them out of this Fear. For, *(e)* calling his Family together, † he argued with them to this Purpoſe. "Why ſhould "we make our Lives uneaſy with theſe "groundleſs Suſpicions? What have we "done, that we ſhould be afraid? We "have not killed any Man, nor offered "any Violence to *our Brethren* of the o-"ther Family; and ſurely Reaſon muſt "teach them, that they can have no Right "to hurt, or invade us. *Cain*, indeed, "our Anceſtor, killed *Abel*; but God "was pleaſed ſo far to forgive his Sin, as "to threaten to take the ſevereſt Ven-"geance on any one, that ſhould kill "him: And if ſo, ſurely they muſt expect "a much greater Puniſhment, who ſhall preſume to kill any of us. For, *if Cain "ſhall be avenged ſeven-fold, ſurely La-"mech*, or any of his innocent Family, "*ſeventy-ſeven-fold.*" And 'tis not improbable, that, by frequent Diſcourſes of this Kind, as well as by his own Example, he overcame the Fears and Shyneſs of the People, and (as we ſhall find it hereafter) encouraged them to commence an Acquaintance with their Brethren, the Children of *Seth*. This is the Sum of what the Scripture teaches us of the Deeds of *Cain*, and his wicked Offspring, who were all ſwept away in the general Deluge.

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

The OBJECTION.

That there were other Men before Adam.

"BUT how little ſoever the Scrip-"ture teaches us of *Cain* and his "Adventures, yet it certainly teaches us "too much, ever to believe that *Adam* "and *Eve* were the *primogenial* Parents of "Mankind. *(f)* According to the *Mo-"ſaic* Account, *Cain* and *Abel* were, at "this Time, the only two Perſons (ex-"cepting their Parents) upon the Face of "the Earth; and yet, when we read "that *Abel* was *a Keeper of Sheep*, we "cannot but ſuppoſe, that he kept them "for this Reaſon, — that none of his "Neighbours might come, and ſteal them "away; and that *Cain* was *a Tiller of "Ground*, we cannot but infer, that "there were, at that Time, all ſuch Ar-"tificers, as were requiſite to carry on ſuch "an

(e) Shuckford's Connection, Vol. I.

† This Speech of *Lamech*, as it ſtands inconnected with any Thing before it, is ſuppoſed by many to be a Fragment of ſome old Record, which *Moſes* was willing to preſerve; and, becauſe it ſeems to fall into a Kind of *Metre*, ſome have thought it a ſhort Sketch of *Lamech*'s *Poetry*, which he was deſirous to add to his Son's Invention of *Muſick*, and other Arts. Many ſuppoſe, that *Lamech*, being plagued with the daily Contentions of his two Wives, here bluſters, and boaſts of what he had done, and what he would do, if they gave him any farther Moleſtation. Others imagine, that, as the Uſe of Weapons was found out by one of his Sons, and now become common, his Wives were fearful, leſt ſomebody or other might make uſe of them to ſlay him; but that, in this Regard, he deſires them to be eaſy, becauſe, as he was not guilty of ſlaying any Body himſelf, there was no Reaſon to fear that any Body would hurt him. The *Targum* of *Onkelos*, which reads the Words *interrogatively*, favours this Interpretation much; *Have I ſlain a Man to my Wounding, or a young Man to my Hurt?* i. e. I have done no Violence or Offence to any one, either great or ſmall, and have therefore no Cauſe to be apprehenſive of any to myſelf. But the *Rabbin* tells us a *traditional* Story, which, if true, would explain the Paſſage at once. The Tradition is,—"That *Lamech*, when he was blind, "took his Son *Tubal-Cain* to hunt with him in the Woods, where they happened on *Cain*, who, being afraid of the "Society and Converſe of Men, was wont to lie lurking up and down in the Woods; that the Lad miſtook him "for ſome Beaſt ſtirring in the Buſhes, and directed his Father, how, with a Dart, or an Arrow, he might kill him; "and this (they ſay) was the *Man*, whom *he killed by his wounding him*; and that afterwards, when he came to per-"ceive what he had done, he beat *Tubal-Cain* to Death, for miſinforming him; and this was *the young Man whom he "killed by hurting*, or beating, *him*." But, beſides the Incongruity of a blind Man's going a Hunting, this Story is directly contrary to the Promiſe of God, which aſſured *Cain*, that no Perſon ſhould kill him, and ſeems indeed to be deviſed for no other Purpoſe, but merely to ſolve the Difficulty of the Paſſage. Among the many Interpretations, which have been made of it, that, which I have offered, ſeems to be the moſt natural and eaſy, and is not a little countenanced by the Authority of *Joſephus*. *As for* Lamech, ſays he, *who ſaw, as far as any Man, into the Courſe and Methods of Divine Juſtice, he could not but find himſelf concerned in the Proſpect of that dreadful Judgment, which threatened his whole Family, for the Murther of* Abel, *and, under this Apprehenſion, he brake the Matter to his two Wives*, Antiq. lib. 1. c. 3.

(f) Vid. *La Peirere*'s Syſteme Theolog. P. 1. L. 3. and *Blunt*'s Oracles of Reaſon.

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" an Occupation, Smiths and Carpenters, " Millers and Bakers, *&c.*

" WHEN *Cain* intended to murther " his Brother, he entic'd him to go with " him into the *Field:* Now the Field, " we know, is usually oppos'd to a *Town*, " and therefore he decoy'd him thither, " that he might avoid the Eyes of his " *Fellow-Citizens*, who would otherwise " have seen him, and immediately drag- " ged him away to Punishment. With " some Weapon or other *Cain* must have " kill'd his Brother, because we read of " *(g)* a large Effusion of Blood; and yet " who was the Cutler, that made him " the Sword? Or, from what Band of " Robbers was it, that he had it?

" AFTER Sentence was denounced a- " gainst him, *every one that findeth me*, " *shall slay me*, says he: But, if his Father " and Mother were the only Persons, " besides himself, what Reason had he for " such an Apprehension? Or for what " Purpose should God set a *Mark* upon " this *Murderer*, for fear that any one " should *slay him*, if there were not Mul- " titudes of Men in the World, that, ei- " ther *designedly*, or *accidentally*, might do " it?

" BUT allowing that *Adam* and *Eve* " had some few Children besides in the " Province of *Eden*; yet how came *Cain*, " when banish'd from his native Country, " to find the Land of *Nod* (a Land which, " by the Bye, no one can tell where it " lies) so well peopled, in those early " Days, as there to meet with Women " enough, out of whom to chuse a *Wife*, " and Men in Abundance, *to build him a* " *City*; which, to distinguish it from o- " ther Cities (as then there might be ma- " ny) he called by the Name of his Son " *Enoch?* These Things are inconsistent, " and can never be reconcil'd; unless we " suppose, that there was really a Race " of Mankind before *Adam*, and that " *Moses* never intended to write of the " *primitive* Parents of all the World (since, " within the Compass of a few Lines, he " lets fall so many Expressions denoting " the contrary) but only to give us an Ac- " count of the *Origin* of the *Jewish* Na- " tion, which we fondly imagine to be the " History of the *universal* Creation."

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

NOW, though it cannot be deny'd, but that *Moses* might principally design to give us a History of the *Jewish* Nation; yet, in the Beginning of his Account, and till they came to be distinguish'd from other Nations in the Patriarch *Abraham*, he cou'd not have *that* under his peculiar Consideration. He acquaints us, we find, with the Origination of the *first* of other Animals, whence they arose, and in what Manner they were perfected; and, when he came to treat of the Formation of human Creatures, 'tis but reasonable to imagine, that he intended likewise to be understood of the *first* of their Kind. Now, that *Adam* and *Eve* were the first of their Kind, the Words of our Saviour, *(h) from the Beginning of the Creation God made them Male and Female*, are a full Confirmation; because he produces the very same Precept, that was apply'd to *Adam* and *Eve* at their Creation, *therefore shall a Man leave his Father and his Mother, and cleave to his Wife:* And that there cou'd be none before them, the Reason why *(i) Adam call'd his Wife's Name* Eve, *because she was the Mother of all Living*, i. e. the Person, who was to be the *Root*, and Source of all Mankind, that were to be upon the Earth, is a plain Demonstration: For, if she was *the Mother of all Living*, there certainly was no Race of Men or Women before her.

Answer'd, by shewing that Moses *intended to treat of the* first Man.

St. *PAUL*, while he was at *Athens*, endeavour'd to convince the People of the Vanity of that *Idolatry*, into which he perceiv'd them fallen, by this Argument, among others— that *(k) God had made of one Blood all Nations of Men, for to dwell on all the Face of the Earth.* *(l)* Some *Greek* Copies read it ἐξ ἑνός, *of one Man*, leaving out αἵματος, wherein they are follow'd

(g) Ver. 10, 11. *(h)* Mark x. 6. *(i)* Gen. iii. 20. *(k)* Acts xvii. 26. *(l)* *Stillingfleet's* Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 4.

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follow'd by the *vulgar Latin:* But allowing the common Reading to be juſt, yet ſtill the Word αἷμα, or *Blood*, muſt be taken in the † Senſe, wherein it occurs in the beſt *Greek* Authors, namely, for the *Stock* or *Root*, out of which Mankind came; and ſo the Apoſtle's Reaſoning will be—— "That, however Men are now "diſpers'd in their Habitations, and differ "ſo much in Language and Cuſtoms from "each other, yet they all were originally "of the ſame Stock, and deriv'd their "Succeſſion from the firſt Man that God "created." Neither can it be conceiv'd, on what Account *(m) Adam* is call'd in Scripture *the firſt Man*, and that *he was made a living Soul of the Earth earthly*, unleſs it were to denote, that he was abſolutely the firſt of his Kind, and ſo was to be the Standard and Meaſure of all that follow'd.

How Cain *might* till *his Ground, and why* Abel *might* keep *his* Cattle.

THE Deſign of *Moſes* is, not to give us a particular Account of the whole Race of Mankind, deſcended from *Adam*, *(n)* but only of thoſe Perſons, who were moſt remarkable, and whoſe Story was neceſſary to be known, for the Underſtanding of the Succeſſion down to his Time. Beſides thoſe, that are particularly mention'd in Scripture, we are told in general, that *Adam (o) begat Sons and Daughters*; and, if we will give Credit to an antient eaſtern Tradition, he had, in all, thirty-three Sons and twenty-ſeven Daughters, which, conſidering the primitive *Fecundity*, wou'd, in a ſhort Time, be ſufficient to ſtock that Part of the World at leaſt, where *Adam* dwelt; and produce a Race of *Mechanicks*, able enough to ſupply others with ſuch Inſtruments of Huſbandry, as might *then* be requiſite for the Cultivation of the Ground. *(p)* For, in the Infancy of the World, the Art of Tillage was not come to ſuch a Perfection, but that *Cain* might make uſe of wooden Ploughs and Spades, and, inſtead of Knives and Hatchets, form his Tools with ſharp Flints or Shells, which were certainly the firſt Inſtruments of cuting. And though, in thoſe early Days, there was no great Danger of *Abel*'s loſing his Cattle by Theft; yet, to provide them with cool Shades in hot Climates, to remove them from Place to Place as their Paſture decay'd, to take Care of their Young, and guard them from the Incurſions of Beaſts of Prey (with many more incidental Offices) was *then* the Shepherd's Province, as well as now.

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

That there might be vaſt Numbers of People then in the World.

ACCORDING to the Computation of moſt *Chronologers*, it was in the hundred and twenty-ninth Year of *Adam*'s Age, that *Abel* was ſlain; for the Scripture ſays expreſsly, that *Seth (q)* (who was given in the Lieu of *Abel)* was *born in the hundred and thirtieth Year* (very likely the Year after the Murther was committed) to be a *Comfort* to his diſconſolate Parents. So that *Cain* muſt be an hundred and twenty-nine Years old, when he *abdicated* his own Country; at which Time, there might be a ſufficient Quantity of Mankind upon the Face of the Earth, to the Number, it may be, of an hundred thouſand Souls. For if the Children of *Iſrael*, from ſeventy Perſons, in the ſpace of a hundred and ten Years, became ſix hundred thouſand fighting Men (though great Numbers of them were dead, during this Increaſe) we may very well ſuppoſe, that the Children of *Adam*, whoſe Lives were ſo very long, might amount, at leaſt, to an hundred thouſand, in an hundred and thirty Years, which are almoſt five Generations.

† *Homer* employs it in this Acceptation:

Ἐξ ἑτέου γ' ἐμὸς ἐσὶ, καὶ αἵματος ἠμελίηται.

Thence thoſe, that are near Relations, are called, by *Sophocles*, οἱ πρὸς αἵματος: And accordingly *Virgil* uſes *Sanguis* in the ſame Senſe:

Trojano à ſanguine duci. Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 4.

(m) 1 Cor. xv. 45. *(n)* *Patrick*'s Commentary. *(o)* Gen. v. 4. *(p)* *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I. *(q)* Gen. v. 3.

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What the Wife, the City,

Upon this Suppoſition, it will be no hard Matter to find *Cain* a Wife in another Country; † though it is much more probable that he was married before his Baniſhment, becauſe we may well think, that all the World wou'd abhor the Thoughts of Marriage with ſuch an impious *Vagabond* and *Murtherer*. Upon this Suppoſition, we may likewiſe find him Men enough to build, and inhabit a City; eſpecially *(r)* conſidering that the Word [*Hir*] which we render City, may denote no more than a certain Number of Cottages, with ſome little Hedge, or Ditch about them: And this Cluſter of Cottages (as was afterwards cuſtomary) he might call by his Son's Name, rather than his own, which he was conſcious was now become odious every where. Upon this Suppoſition, laſtly, we may account for *Cain*'s Fear, leſt every one, that lighted on him, wou'd *kill him*; for, by this Time, Mankind was greatly multiply'd, and, *(s)* tho' no Mention is made of *Abel*'s Marriage, (as, in ſo ſhort a Compendium, many Things muſt neceſſarily be omitted) yet he perhaps might have Sons, who were ready to purſue the *Fugitive*, in order to revenge their Father's Death, or ſome of his own Siſters, enrag'd againſt him for the Loſs of their Brother, might poſſibly come upon him unawares, or when they found him aſleep, and ſo diſpatch him.

Various are the Conjectures of learned Men ‡, concerning the *Mark*, which God ſet upon *Cain*, to prevent his being kill'd. Some think, that God ſtigmatiz'd him on his Forehead with a Letter of his own Name, or rather ſet ſuch a Brand upon him, as ſignify'd him to be *accurs'd*. Others fanſy that God made him a peculiar *Garment*, to diſtinguiſh him from the reſt of Mankind, who were cloath'd with Skins. Some imagine, that his Head continually ſhak'd; others, that his Face was blaſted with Lightening; others, that his Body trembled all over; and others again, that the Ground ſhook under him, and made every one flee from him: Whereas the plain Senſe of the Word is nothing more, than that God gave *Cain* a Sign, or wrought a Miracle before his Face, thereby to convince him, that, tho' he was baniſh'd into a ſtrange Land, yet no one ſhou'd be permitted to hurt him: And, to find out the Land, into which he was baniſh'd, is not ſo hard a Matter as ſome may imagine.

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

And Mark ſet upon Cain.

The Land of Nod, where, *or* what it was.

The Deſcription which *Moſes* gives us of it is this. —— *(t) And* Cain *went out from the Preſence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of* Nod, *on the Eaſt of* Eden; *and there he built a City, and call'd the Name of it, after the Name of his Son*, Enoch. Hereupon *(u)* the learned *Huetius* obſerves, that *Ptolemy*, in his Deſcription

† There is an oriental Tradition, that *Eve*, at her two firſt Births, brought *Twins*, a Son and a Daughter; *Cain*, with his Siſter *Azron*, and *Abel*, with his Siſter *Awin*; that, when they came to Years of Maturity, *Adam* propos'd to *Eve*, that *Cain* ſhou'd marry *Abel*'s Twin-Siſter, and *Abel Cain*'s, becauſe that was ſome ſmall Remove from the neareſt Degree of Conſanguinity, which, even in thoſe Days, was not eſteem'd entirely lawful; that *Cain* refus'd to agree to this, inſiſting to have his own Siſter, who was the handſomer of the two; whereupon *Adam* order'd them both to make their Offerings, before they took their Wives, and ſo referr'd the Diſpute to the Determination of God; that, while they went up to the Mountain for that Purpoſe, the Devil put it into *Cain*'s Head to murther his Brother, for which wicked Intent, his Sacrifice was not accepted; and that they were no ſooner come down from the Mountain, than he fell upon *Abel*, and kill'd him with a Stone. *Patrick*'s Comment. and Univerſal Hiſtory, No. 2.

(r) Le Clerc's Commentary. *(s) Patrick*'s Commentary.

‡ Almoſt all the Verſions have committed a Miſtake, in tranſlating Ver. 15. that *God had put a Mark upon* Cain, *leſt any finding him, ſhould kill him.* The Original ſays no ſuch Thing, and the LXX have very well render'd it thus —— *God ſet a Sign before* Cain, *to perſuade him, that whoever ſhou'd find him, ſhou'd not kill him.* This is almoſt the ſame with what is ſaid in *Exod.* x. 1. that *God did Signs before the* Egyptians; and *Iſa.* lxvi. 19. that *he wou'd ſet a Sign before the Heathen*; where it is evident, that God did not mean any particular *Mark*, which ſhou'd be ſet on their Bodies, but only thoſe Signs and Wonders, which he wrought in *Egypt*, to oblige *Pharaoh* to let his People go; and the miraculous Manner, wherein he deliver'd them from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity. This Expoſition is natural, and agreeable to the Methods of Divine Providence, which is wont to convince *the Incredulous* by Signs and Wonders; nor cou'd any Thing elſe aſſure *Cain*, in the Fear he was under, *that the firſt, who met him, ſhou'd not kill him*, after what God had ſaid to him, in Exprobration of his Crime. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Saurin*'s Diſſertation.

(t) Gen. iv. 16, 17. *(u)* De la Situ. de Paradis.

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Deſcription of *Suſiana*, places there a City call'd *Anuchtha*; and that the Syllable *tha*, which ends the Word, is, in the *Chaldee* Language, a Termination pretty common to Nouns *Feminine*, and conſequently no Part of the Name itſelf: From whence he infers, that this *Anuchtha*, mention'd by *Ptolemy*, is the ſame with the City *Enoch* mention'd by *Moſes*; eſpecially ſince *Ptolemy* places it on the *Eaſt Side* of *Eden*, which agrees very well with what *Moſes* ſays of the Land of *Nod*. *(x)* But tho it be allow'd, that *Anuchtha* and *Enoch* be the ſame Name, yet it will not therefore follow, that there was no other City ſo call'd, but that which was built by *Cain*. 'Tis certain, that there was another *Enoch*, the Son of *Jared*, and Father of *Methuſelah*, a Perſon of remarkable Piety, in the *Ante-diluvian* Age; and why might not the City, mention'd by *Ptolemy*, be call'd after him, in reſpect to his illuſtrious Character, and miraculous Exemption from Death? Or rather, why might it not take its Name from ſome other *Enoch*, different from both the former, and living ſome Generations after the Flood? For it is ſcarce imaginable, how the City of *Enoch*, built before the *Flood*, ſhould either *ſtand*, or *retain* its ancient *Name*, after ſo violent a Concuſſion, and total Alteration of the Face of Nature.

NOR ſhou'd it be forgot, that the Province of *Suſiana*, where *Huetius* places the Land of *Nod*, is one of the moſt fruitful and pleaſant Countries in the World: Whereas, conſidering that *Cain*'s Baniſhment was intended by God to be Part of his Puniſhment, it ſeems more reaſonable to think, that he ſhou'd, upon this Account, be ſent into ſome barren and deſolate Country, remote from the Place of his Nativity, and ſeparated by Mountains, and other natural Obſtructions, from the Commerce of his Relations. For which Reaſon, the learned *Grotius* is clearly of Opinion, that the Country, into which *Cain* was ſentenc'd to withdraw, was *Arabia Deſerta*; to the Barrenneſs of which, the Curſe, that God pronounces againſt him, ſeems not improperly to belong. *(y) And now thou art curs'd from the Earth; and, when thou tilleſt the Ground, it ſhall not, henceforth, yield unto thee her Strength.* But, after all, their Opinion is not to be found fault with, who ſuppoſe, that the Word *Nod*, which ſignifies an *Exile*, or *Fugitive*, is not a *proper*, but only an *appellative* Name; and that therefore, where-ever the Country was, where *Cain* took up his Abode, that, in After-Ages, was call'd the *Land of Nod*, or the Land of *the baniſh'd Man*.

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

A Recapitulation of the Anſwer.

THUS the Account, which *Moſes* gives us of the Murther of *Abel*, ſtands clear of the Imputation of all Abſurdity, or Contradiction, wherewith the Lovers of *Infidelity* would gladly charge it. *The Time*, when his Brother murther'd him, was in the 129th Year of the World's Creation, when, † according to a moderate Computation, *their*, and their Parents Deſcendants cou'd not but be very numerous. *The Manner*, in which he murther'd him, might not be with a Sword or Spear, (which perhaps then were not in Uſe) * ſince a Club, or Stone, or any rural

(x) Wells's Geography. *(y)* Gen. iv. 11.

† Though we ſhou'd ſuppoſe, that *Adam* and *Eve* had no other Children than *Cain* and *Abel* in the Year of the World 128, which (as the beſt Chronologers agree) was the Time of *Abel*'s Murther; yet, as it muſt be allow'd, that they had Daughters, married with theſe two Sons, we require no more, than the Deſcendants of theſe two Children, to make a conſiderable Number of Men upon the Earth in the ſaid Year 128. For, ſuppoſing them to have been married in the 19th Year of the World, they might eaſily have had each of them eight Children, ſome Males, ſome Females, in the 25th Year. In the 50th Year there might proceed from them, in a direct Line, 64 Perſons; in the 74th Year, there wou'd be 572; in the 98th, 4096; and in the 122d Year, they wou'd amount to 32768. If to theſe we add the other Children, deſcended from *Cain* and *Abel*, their Children, and the Children of their Children, we ſhall have, in the aforeſaid 122d Year, 421 164 Men, capable of Generation, without ever reckoning the Women, both old and young, or ſuch Children, as are under the Age of 17 Years. *Vid.* Diſſert. Chronol. Geogr. Critique ſur la Bible, Diſſert. 1. in the Journal of *Paris*, *Jan.* 1712. Vol. LI. p. 6.

* There is an *oriental* Tradition, that, when *Cain* was confirm'd in the Deſign of deſtroying his Brother, and knew not how to go about it, the Devil appeared to him in the Shape of a Man, holding a Bird in his Hand; and that, placing

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rural Inſtrument, in the Hand of *Rage* and *Revenge*, was ſufficient to do the Work. *The Place*, where he murther'd him, is ſaid to be *in the Field*, *(z)* not in Contradiſtinction to any large and populous *City* then in Being, but rather to the Tents, or Cottages, where their Parents and Offſpring might then live. *The Cauſe* of his murthering him was *(a)* a Spirit of Emulation, which, not duly manag'd, and made a Spur to Virtue, took an unhappy Turn, and degenerated into Malice: And the true Reaſon of all (as the Apoſtle has ſtated it) was that *(b) Cain was of that wicked one, and ſlew his Brother, becauſe his own Works were wicked, and his Brother's righteous.* Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

DISSERTATION IV.

Of the Inſtitution of Sacrifices.

Sacrifices, when they firſt began.

THE firſt plain Account, that we meet with, of Sacrifices, is here in the Examples of *Cain* and *Abel*. Mention is made indeed of the *Skins* of ſome Beaſts, wherewith God directed our firſt Parents to be cloathed; but Expoſitors are not agreed, whether what we render *Skins* might not denote ſome other Sort of Covering, or Shelter from the Weather; or, if they were the real Skins of Beaſts, whether theſe Beaſts were offer'd unto God in Sacrifice or no; whereas, in the Scripture before us, we have Oblations of both Kinds, *bloody* and *unbloody Sacrifices* (as they are commonly diſtinguiſh'd); the *Fruits of the Field*, offer'd by *Cain*; and the *Firſtlings of the Flock*, by *Abel*. So that from hence we may very properly take an Occaſion, to enquire a little into the Original of Sacrifices; for what Ends and Purpoſes they were at firſt appointed; and by what Means they became an *acceptable* Service unto God.

Of Divine Inſtitution at firſt.

THE Scriptures indeed make no Mention of the firſt Inſtitution of Sacrifices; and, from their Silence in this Reſpect, ſome have imagin'd, that they proceeded *originally* from a Dictate of Nature, or a grateful Inclination to return unto God ſome of his own Bleſſings. But in ſo ſhort an Account of ſo large a Compaſs of Time (as we have ſaid before) it may well be expected, that ſeveral Things ſhou'd be omitted. To this Purpoſe therefore others have obſerv'd, that *Moſes* ſays nothing *(c)* of *Enoch*'s Prophecy; nothing *(d)* of *Noah*'s Preaching; nothing *(e)* of the *Peopling of the World*; tho' theſe be referr'd to in other Parts of Scripture: *(f)* Nor does he here introduce the Sacrifices of *Cain* and *Abel*, with an Intent to inform us of the Origin of that *Rite*, but merely to let us know what was the unhappy Occaſion of the firſt Murther, that was ever committed in the World.

THE *(g) Jews* indeed, to whom he *primarily* wrote, knew very well, that their own Sacrifices were of Divine Inſtitution, and that God had manifeſted his Acceptance of them, at the very firſt ſolemn Oblation after that Inſtitution, by a miraculous Fire from *the Divine Preſence*; nor had they any Reaſon to doubt, but that they were ſo *inſtituted*, and ſo *accepted* from the Beginning: And therefore there was leſs Reaſon for *Moſes* to expatiate upon a Matter, which had doubtleſs deſcended to them in a clear and uninterrupted *Tradition*.

A GRATE-

placing the Bird upon a Rock, he took up a Stone, and with it ſqueez'd its Head in Pieces. *Cain*, inſtructed by this Example, reſolv'd to ſerve his Brother in the ſame Way; and therefore, waiting till *Abel* was aſleep, he lifted up a large Stone, and let it fall, with all its Weight, upon his Head, and ſo kill'd him; whereupon God cauſed him to hear a Voice from Heaven, to this Purpoſe, *The reſt of thy Days ſhalt thou paſs in perpetual Fear*. Calmet's Dictionary on the Word *Abel*.

(z) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (a) *Shuckford*'s Connection. (b) 1 John iii. 12. (c) Jude 14. (d) 2 Pet. ii. 5. (e) *Vid.* Gen. iv. (f) *Outram* de Sacrificiis. (g) Revelation Examin'd.

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A GRATEFUL Senſe of God's Bleſſings will, at any Time, engage us to offer him the *Calves of our Lips* (as the Scripture terms them) or the warmeſt Expreſſions of our Praiſe and Thankſgiving; but what Dictate of Nature, or Deduction of Reaſon, cou'd ever have taught us, that, to deſtroy the beſt of our Fruits, or the beſt of our Cattle, wou'd have been a Service acceptable to God? Goodneſs, and Mercy, and Lenity, and Compaſſion, are the Ideas we have of that *infinite Being*; and who wou'd then have thought, that putting an innocent and inoffenſive Creature to Torture, ſpilling its Blood upon the Earth, and burning its Fleſh upon an Altar, wou'd have been either a grateful Sight, or *an Offering of a ſweet-ſmelling Savour* to the Moſt High?

NO *(b)* Being, we know, can have a Right to the Lives of other Creatures, but their Creator only, and thoſe, on whom he ſhall think proper to confer it: But it is evident, that God, at this Time, had not given Man a Right to the Creatures, even for neceſſary Food, much leſs for unneceſſary Cruelty; and therefore to have taken away their Lives, without God's poſitive Injunction, wou'd have been an abominable Act, and enough to diſſecrate all their Oblations. When therefore we read, that his *Acceptance* of Sacrifices of old was uſually teſtify'd by Way of *Inflammation*, or ſetting them on Fire, by a *Ray* of Light, which iſſu'd from his *glorious Preſence*; we muſt allow, that this was a Proof of his previous Inſtitution of them; otherwiſe we cannot poſſibly think, why he ſhou'd ſo far concern himſelf about them, as even to be at the Expence of a Miracle, to denote his Approbation of them. *(i) Who hath known the Mind of the Lord* (is the Apoſtle's Way of arguing) *or who hath been his Counſellor?* And, in like Manner, without a divine Revelation, it wou'd have been the Height of Vanity and Preſumption, to have pretended to determine the Way of Reconciliation with him, and (without his Order and Appointment) to have enter'd upon a *Form of Worſhip*, entirely new, and ſtrange, by killing of Beaſts, and burning their Fat. *(k) No Man* (ſays another Apoſtle) *taketh this Honour to himſelf, but he that is called of God, as was* Aaron; nor can any one lay hold on the Promiſe of Forgiveneſs of Sins (which is the great Deſign of all ſacrificing) any other Way, than by *Symbols* of God's own Inſtitution.

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

IN *(l)* moſt Nations indeed the Cuſtom of Sacrificing did prevail: But that it did not ariſe from any Principle of Nature or Reaſon, is manifeſt from hence——*(m)* that the graveſt and wiſeſt of the Heathen Philoſophers always * condemn'd *bloody* Sacrifices, as impious, and unacceptable to their Gods; but this they wou'd not have done, had they look'd upon them as any Branch of natural Religion, which none were more warm in extolling than they. It is no improbable Conjecture therefore, that other Nations might take the Rite of ſacrificing from the *Jews*, to *(n)* which the Devil, in *heathen* Countries, might inſtigate his Votaries, purely to *ape* God, and imitate his Ordinances: Or, if this Commencement of ſacrificing among them is thought to be too late, why may

(b) Revelation Examin'd. *(i)* Rom. xi. 34. *(k)* Heb. v. 4. *(l) Heidegger*'s Hiſtor. Patriar. Exercit. 1. *(m) Edwards*'s Survey of Religion, Vol. I.

* It is the Opinion of *Tertullian* [Apol. Ch. 46.] that none of the antient Philoſophers ever compell'd the People to ſacrifice living Creatures. *Theophraſtus* is quoted by *Porphyry* in *Euſebius* [Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 9.] as aſſerting, that the firſt Men offer'd Handfuls of Graſs; that, in Time, they came to ſacrifice the Fruits of the Trees, and in After-Ages, to kill and offer Cattle upon Altars. Many other Authors are cited for this Opinion. *Pauſanias* [de Cerere Phrygialenſi] ſeems to intimate, that the antient Sacrifice was only Fruits of Trees (of the Vine eſpecially) and of Honey-Combs and Wool. *Empedocles* [de Antiquiſſimis Temporibus] affirms, that the firſt Altars were not ſtained with the Blood of Creatures; and *Plato* [de Legibus l. 6.] was of Opinion, that living Creatures were not antiently offer'd in Sacrifice, but Cakes of Bread, and Fruits, and Honey pour'd upon them; for

Non Bove mactato cæleſtia Numina gaudent,

was an old Poſition of more Writers than *Ovid.* Vide *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. l. 2.

(n) Heidegger's Hiſtor. Patriar. Exercit. 8.

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not we ſuppoſe, that they receiv'd it by Tradition from their Fore-fathers, who had it originally from *Adam*, as he had it from God by a particular Revelation? Now, that there was ſome Warrant and Precept of God for it, ſeems to be intimated by the Author to the *Hebrews*, when he tells us, that *(o) by Faith* Abel *offered unto God a more acceptable Sacrifice, than* Cain: For, *(p)* if *Faith cometh by Hearing, and Hearing by the Word of God*, Faith is founded on ſome *Word*, and relieth on a divine Command or Promiſe; and therefore, when *Abel* offer'd the beſt of his Flock in Sacrifice, he did what was enjoined him by God, and his Practice was founded upon a divine Command, which was given to *Adam*, and his Sons, tho' *Moſes*, in his ſhort Account of Things, makes no Mention of it.

IN fine, if it appears from Hiſtory, that Sacrifices have been us'd all over the World, have ſpread as far, as *univerſally* among Men, as the very Notions of a *Deity*; if we find them almoſt as early in the World, as Mankind upon the Earth, and, at the ſame Time, cannot perceive that Mankind ever cou'd, by the Light of Reaſon, invent ſuch Notions of a Deity, as might induce them to think, that this Way of Worſhip wou'd be an acceptable Service to him; if Mankind indeed cou'd have no Right to the Lives of the Brute-Creation, without the Conceſſion of God; and yet it is evident that they exercis'd ſuch Right, and God approv'd of their Proceeding, by viſible Inclinations of his accepting the Sacrifices; then muſt we neceſſarily ſuppoſe, that Sacrifices were of his own Inſtitution at firſt; and that they were inſtituted for Purpoſes, well becoming his infinite Wiſdom, and Goodneſs.

The Ends *and* Deſigns *of God's inſtituting them.*

FOR we muſt remember, that *Adam* and *Eve* were, at this Time, become Sinners, and, tho' received into Mercy, in conſtant Danger of relapſing; that, by their Tranſgreſſion, they had forfeited their Lives, but as yet cou'd have no adequate Senſe either of the Nature of the Puniſhment, or the Heinouſneſs of the Sin, which procur'd it; and that now they were to beget Children, who were ſure to inherit their Parents Corruption and Infirmity. Since Man, therefore, had forfeited his Life by his Tranſgreſſions, and God, notwithſtanding, decreed to receive him into Mercy; nothing certainly cou'd better become the divine Wiſdom and Goodneſs, than the Eſtabliſhment of ſome *Inſtitution*, which might at once be a Monition both of the Mercy of God, and the Puniſhment due to Sin. And, becauſe God foreſaw that Man wou'd often ſin, and ſhou'd often receive Mercy, it was neceſſary, that the Inſtitution ſhou'd be ſuch, as might frequently be repeated, and, in ſuch Repetition, frequently remind Man of his own endleſs Demerit, and of God's infinite Goodneſs to him; to which Purpoſe the Inſtitution of Sacrifices for Sin was of excellent Uſe and Service.

Gen. Ch. iii. to Ver. 25.

BOTH from the Commandment, which at firſt was given to *Adam*, and the Sentence, which was afterwards denounc'd againſt him, we learn, that Death was the Penalty of his Diſobedience; and, ſince it was ſo, certainly it was highly proper, that he ſhou'd know what he was to ſuffer, and, conſequently, that he ſhou'd ſee Death in all its Horror and Deformity, in order to judge rightly of the Evil of Diſobedience. And what cou'd exhibit this *Evil* more ſtrongly, than the Groans and Struggles of innocent Creatures, bleeding to Death for his Guilt, before his Eyes, and by his own Hands? Sights of this Kind are ſhocking to human Nature, even yet, tho' Cuſtom hath long made them familiar: With what Horror then may we imagine that they pierced the Hearts of our firſt Parents, and how was that Horror aggravated, when they conſider'd themſelves as the guilty Authors of ſo much Cruelty to the Creatures, which were about them? Nay, when the Groans of theſe dying Animals were over, what a ſad, a ghaſtly Spectacle muſt their cold Carcaſſes yield? and, even after their

(o) Heb. xi. 4. *(p)* Rom. x. 17.

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their Oblation, how diſmal a Meditation muſt it be, to conſider the Beauty and Excellency of theſe animate Beings reduc'd to an Handful of Duſt? eſpecially when they could not ſee them in that Condition, but under ſad Conviction, that they themſelves muſt follow the ſame odious Steps to Deſtruction.

WE can hardly conceive, how God cou'd ſtrike the human Soul with a deeper Senſe of Miſery from Guilt, or with more Abhorrence of the ſad Cauſe of that Miſery, than by this Method of appointing Sacrifices; nor can we imagine, how our firſt Parents cou'd have ever ſuſtain'd themſelves under ſuch afflicting Thoughts, had not God, in his infinite Goodneſs, cauſed ſome *Ray* of Hope to ſhine thro' this *Scene* of Mortality and Miſery, and made Sacrifices (at the ſame time that they were ſuch lively *Emblems* of the Horror of Guilt) the *Means* of its Expiation, and the *Seals* of his Covenant of Grace.

(q) THAT God enter'd into a *Covenant* of Mercy with Man, immediately after the *Fall*, is evident from the Sentence paſs'd upon the *Serpent*, wherein that Covenant is compriz'd: And therefore, as we find that, in After-ages, his uſual Way of ratifying Covenants of this Kind was by Sacrifices; ſo we cannot imagine, that he fail'd to do ſo at this Time, when ſuch Mercy was more wanted, than ever it was ſince the Foundation of the World. Sacrifices indeed have no *natural* Aptitude to expiate Guilt; in which Senſe, the Apoſtle affirms it *(r) to be impoſſible for the Blood of Bulls, and of Goats, to take away Sins.* The Death of a Beaſt is far from being equivalent to the Death of a Man, but infinitely ſhort of that *eternal* Death, to which the Man's Sinfulneſs does conſign him: But ſtill, as Sacrifices are *federal* Rites, and one of thoſe external *Means*, which God had inſtituted, under the *antediluvian* Diſpenſation, for Man's Recovery from Sin; we cannot ſuppoſe, but that, when piouſly and devoutly offer'd, they were accepted by him, for the Expiation of Tranſgreſſions; tho' it muſt be own'd, that they did not, *of themſelves*, or by their own Worthineſs, atone for any Thing, but only in Virtue of the *Expiatory* Sacrifice of the *Meſſias* to come, whereof they were no more than *Types* and *Shadows*. To ſpeak ſtrictly and properly therefore, theſe Sacrifices did not *really* and *formally*, but *typically* and *myſtically*, expiate, *i. e.* they did not pacify God's Anger, and ſatisfy his Juſtice, and take away Sin, by their own Force and Efficacy, but as they were *Figures* and Repreſentations of that *univerſal* Sacrifice, which (in the divine Intention) *was ſlain from the Foundation of the World*, and, *in the Fulneſs of Time*, was to come down from Heaven, in order to fulfil the great Undertaking of *making Atonement for the Sins of all Mankind.*

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

The Means *of making them* acceptable *to God.*

THUS to repreſent the horrid Nature of Sin, and to ſeal the eternal Covenant of Mercy; to be Types of the great expiatory Sacrifice of *Chriſt's* Death, and a ſtanding Means of obtaining Pardon and Reconciliation with God, ſeem to be ſome of the principal Ends of God's inſtituting Sacrifices at firſt: And, what was of Uſe to gain them a favourable Acceptance in his Sight, we may, in ſome Meaſure, learn from the Reaſons, that are uſually alledg'd, for his Rejection of *Cain*'s, and Approbation of *Abel*'s Sacrifice.

MOST of the *Jewiſh* Interpreters have plac'd the different Events of theſe two Sacrifices in the external *Quantity* or *Quality* of them. They tell us, that *Cain brought of the Fruits of the Ground* indeed, but not of the *firſt Fruits* (as he ſhou'd have done) nor the fulleſt Ears of Corn (which he kept for himſelf) but the lankeſt and lateſt; and, even what he brought, 'twas with a niggardly Hand and grudging Mind; ſo that he rais'd God's Averſion *(s) by offering to him of that, which coſt him nothing:* Whereas *Abel* found a kind Acceptance, becauſe *(t) he honour'd the Lord with his Subſtance:* He brought of the *Firſtlings* of his Flock, and the very beſt and

(q) Revelation Examin'd. *(r)* Heb. x. 4. *(s)* 2 Sam. xxiv. 24 *(t)* Prov. iii. 9.

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and fatteſt of them, as thinking nothing too good to be offer'd in Devotion and Gratitude to him, from whom he receiv'd all.

(u) Allowing the Maxim of the *Jewiſh* Church, *viz. that without Blood there is no Remiſſion*, to have been good, from the firſt Inſtitution of Sacrifice; a very learned Writer ſuppoſes, that *Abel* came, as a Petitioner for Grace and Pardon, and brought the Atonement appointed for Sin; but *Cain* appear'd before God as *a Juſt Perſon wanting no Repentance*, and brought an Offering in Acknowledgment of God's Goodneſs and Bounty, but no Atonement in Acknowledgment of his own Wretchedneſs; and that upon this Account his Oblation was rejected, as God's Expoſtulation with him ſeems to imply: *If thou doſt well, ſhalt thou not be accepted? And if thou doſt not well, Sin lieth at thy Door*, i. e. if thou art righteous, thy Righteouſneſs ſhall ſave thee; but if thou art not, by what Expiation is thy Sin purg'd? it *lieth ſtill at thy Door*.

The Author to the *(x) Hebrews*, has given us, I think, a Key to this Difficulty, when he tells us, that *by Faith* Abel *offer'd unto God a more excellent Sacrifice, than* Cain. *(y)* The *Faith* (of which the Apoſtle gives us ſeveral Inſtances in this Chapter) is the Belief of ſomething declar'd, and, in Conſequence of ſuch Belief, the Performance of ſome Action enjoin'd by God: *By Faith* Noah, *being warn'd by God, prepar'd an Ark*, i. e. he believ'd the Warning, which God gave him, and obediently made the Ark, which he had appointed him to make: *By Faith* Abraham, *when call'd* to go into a ſtrange Land, *which God promis'd to give him for an Inheritance, obey'd*, i. e. he believ'd that God wou'd give him what he had promis'd, and, in Conſequence of ſuch Belief, did what God commanded him: And thus it was, that *Abel, by Faith, offer'd a better Sacrifice than* Cain, becauſe he believ'd what God had promiſed, that *the Seed of the Woman ſhould bruiſe the Serpent's Head*, and, in Conſequence of ſuch Belief, offered ſuch a Sacrifice for his Sins, as God had appointed to be offered, *until the Seed ſhould come.* Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

(z) In order *to offer a Sacrifice by Faith then*, there are three Things requiſite. 1ſt, That the Perſon, who offers, ſhou'd do it upon the previous Appointment, and Direction of God; 2dly, That he ſhou'd conſider it, as a *Sign* and *Token* of the Promiſe of God made in *Chriſt*, and of Remiſſion of Sins thro' his Blood; and 3dly, That, while he is offering, he ſhou'd be mindful withal (in the Phraſe of St. *Paul*) *to preſent himſelf, a living Sacrifice, holy, and acceptable unto God.* In the firſt of theſe Qualifications *Cain* was right enough, becauſe he had learn'd from his Father, that, as God had appointed Sacrifices, it was his Duty to offer them: But herein was his great Defect, that, while he was offering, he gave no Attention to what he was about; not once reflected on the Promiſe of God, made in Paradiſe, nor plac'd any Confidence in the Merits of a Saviour, to recommend his Services; but, vainly imagining that his bare Oblation was all, that was required to his Juſtification, he took no Care to preſerve his Soul pure and unpolluted, or to conſtitute his Members as *Inſtruments of Righteouſneſs unto God.* In ſhort, his Oblation was the Service of an Hypocrite, lying unto God, and uſing the external Symbols of Grace *for a Cloak of Maliciouſneſs*; whereas *Abel*'s Sacrifice was attended with awful Meditations on *that Seed of the Woman*, which was to become the World's Redeemer, with warm Applications to him for Mercy and Forgiveneſs, and with holy Reſolutions of better Obedience, of abandoning all Sin, and *always abounding in the Work of the Lord*; and therefore there is no Wonder, that their Services met with ſo different a Reception. For, however Sacrificing was an external Rite, yet the *Opus Operatum* wou'd by no means do. Unleſs the Attention of the Mind, and the Integrity of

(u) Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe of Prophecy, Diſ. 3. *(x)* Chap. xi. Ver. 4. *(y) Shuckford*'s Connect. Vol. I. l. 2. *(z) Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Exercit. 5.

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of the Heart went along with it, *(a) he that killed an Ox, was, as if he ſlew a Man; and he, that ſacrificed a Lamb, as if he cut off a Dog's Neck:* So deteſtable in the Sight of God was * the richeſt Oblation, when the Sacrificer was not a good Man; nay, ſo ready was he to paſs by all Obſervances of this Kind, if the Worſhipper came but, in other Reſpects, qualified: *(b) For he that keepeth the Law, bringeth Offerings enough; he, that taketh heed to the Law, offereth a Peace-offering; he, that requiteth a good Turn, offereth fine Flour; and he, that giveth Alms, ſacrificeth Praiſe. To depart from Wickedneſs is a Thing pleaſing to the Lord; and to forſake Unrighteouſneſs is a Propitiation.*

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

(a) Iſa. lxvi. 3.

* That it is not the *Quality* of the *Sacrifice*, but the *Mind* and Diſpoſition of the *Sacrificer*, which God regards, was the general Sentiment of the wiſeſt Heathens, as appears by that excellent Paſſage in *Perſius:*

Compoſitum Jus, Faſque Animo, ſanctoſque Receſſus Mentis, & incoctum generoſo Pectus honeſto;
Hæc cedo, ut admoveam Templis, & Farre litabo. SAT. II.

And that other in *Seneca:*

Non in Victimis, licet optimæ ſint, auroque præfulgent, Deorum eſt honos, ſed piâ & rectâ Voluntate venerandum, *De Benef. l.* 1. *c.* 6.

(b) Eccluſ. xxxv. 1, &c.

CHAP. V.

Of the general Corruption of Mankind.

The HISTORY.

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The Birth of Seth.

GREAT * was the Grief, no doubt, which our firſt Parents felt, upon the Loſs of the *righteous Abel*, and the Expulſion of their wicked Son *Cain*; but, to alleviate, in ſome Meaſure, this heavy Load of Sorrow, God was pleaſed to promiſe them another Son, whoſe Fate ſhould be different, and himſelf a laſting Comfort and Conſolation to them: And therefore, as ſoon as *Eve* was delivered of the Child, ſhe called his Name *Seth*, which ſignifies *Subſtitute*, becauſe God had been ſo good, as to ſend him in the Room of his Brother *Abel, whom Cain ſlew. Adam*, when he had *Seth*, was 130 Years old: He lived after that 800 Years, and begat ſeveral other Children (tho' *Moſes* makes no Mention of them). So that ‖ the whole of his Life was 930 Years.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

A Catalogue of Adam's *Poſterity in the Line of* Seth.

* The *Jewiſh*, and ſome *Chriſtian*, Doctors, ſay, that *Adam* and *Eve* mourn'd for *Abel* one hundred Years, during which Time, they lived ſeparate, *Adam* particularly, in a Valley near *Hebron*, thence named the *Valley of Tears*. And the Inhabitants of *Ceylon* pretend, that the *Salt Lake*, on the Mountain of *Columbo*, was formed by the Tears, which *Eve* ſhed on this Occaſion. All Fiction. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

‖ If it be aſk'd, how it came to paſs, that *Adam*, who was immediately created by God, and, conſequently, more perfect than any of his Kind, did not out-live *Methuſelah*, who was the *eighth* from him? The Anſwer, which ſome have given, *viz.* That his Grief and Affliction of Mind for the Loſs of Paradiſe, and the Miſery, which, by his Tranſgreſſion, he had entail'd upon his Offspring, might affect his Conſtitution, and, by Degrees, impair his Strength, is not much amiſs: But there is another Reaſon, which ſeems to me better founded, *viz.* That, whereas *Adam* was created in the full Perfection of his Nature, and all his Deſcendants, being born Infants, did gradually proceed to Maturity, ſubducting the Time from their Infancy to their Manhood, we ſhall find, that *Adam* out-liv'd them all: For we muſt not compute, as we do now (when the Extent of Man's Life is uſually no more than 70) that his compleat Manhood was at 30, or thereabouts. In the very *Catalogue*, now before us, we read of none (except *Enoch*, and two others)

A. M. 130. Ant. Chris. 3874. A. M. 235. SETH, when he was 105 Years old, had a Son named *Enos:* After which Time he lived 807 Years; so that the Whole of his Life was 912.

A. M. 325. ENOS, when 90, had a Son named *Cainan:* After which he lived 815 Years; in the Whole 905.

A. M. 395. CAINAN, when 70, had a Son named *Mahalaleel:* After which he lived 840 Years; in all 910.

A. M. 460. MAHALALEEL, when 65, had a Son named *Jared:* After which he lived 800 Years; in all 865.

A. M. 622. JARED, when 162, had a Son named *Enoch:* After which he lived 800 Years; in all 962.

A. M. 687. ENOCH, when 65, had a Son named *Methuselah:* After which he lived 300; in all 365.

A. M. 874. METHUSELAH, when 187, had a Son named *Lamech:* After which he lived 782; in all 969.

LAMECH, when 182, had a Son named *Noah:* After which he lived 595; in all 777. And Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13. A. M. 1056.

NOAH, when he was 500 Years old, A. M. 1556. had three Sons *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, † from whom the World, after the Deluge, was repleniſhed.

† THIS is the *Genealogy*, which *Moſes* gives us of the Poſterity of *Adam*, in the Line of *Seth*, until the Time of the Deluge; but we muſt obſerve, that theſe are far from being all his Progeny. In the Caſe of our great Progenitor *Adam*, he informs us, that, after the Birth of *Seth*, *(a) he had* ſeveral *Sons and Daughters*, tho' he does not ſo much as record their Names; and the like we may ſuppoſe of the reſt of the *Antediluvian* Patriarchs. For it is incongruous to think, that *Lamech* was 181, and *Methuſelah* 187, before they ever had a Child, when it ſo plainly appears, that his Father *Enoch* had one *But far from being all.*

others) who begat Children, before they were 90 or upwards; and therefore, ſubtracting thoſe Years (which we may ſuppoſe interſer'd between his Birth and his Manhood) from the Age of *Methuſelah*, we may perceive, that *Adam* ſurpaſſed him to the Number of almoſt ſixty. *Eſthius* in Diffic. Loca.

† Of theſe three Sons, the eldeſt was *Japhet*, as appears from *Gen.* x. 21; the ſecond was *Shem*, from *Gen.* x. 21. and the youngeſt *Ham*, from *Gen.* ix. 24. Nevertheleſs, both here, and a little lower, *Shem* is named firſt; whether it was, that the Rights of *Primogeniture* were transferred to him (tho' the ſacred Hiſtorian ſays nothing of it); or God was minded, thus early to ſhew, that he would not be confined to the Order of Nature, in the Diſpoſal of his Favours, which he frequently beſtowed upon the younger Children; or (what I think the moſt likely) becauſe the Nation of the *Jews* were to deſcend from him, and he, and his Poſterity, were to be the principal Subject of this whole Hiſtory. *Patrick* and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

† From this *Catalogue* we may further obſerve, that the Cuſtom in thoſe Times was, to give Children their Names, according to the Occurrences in Life, or Expectations of their Parents. Thus, *Seth*, being a good Man, was grieved to ſee the great Degeneracy in other Parts, though he endeavour'd to preſerve his own Family from the Contagion; and therefore called his Son *Enos*, which ſignifies *ſorrowful*. *Enos*, perceiving the Poſterity of *Cain* to grow every Day worſe and worſe, was concerned for their Iniquity, and began to dread the Conſequences of it; and therefore called his Son *Cainan*, which denotes *Lamentation*. Though *Cainan* had his Name from the Wickedneſs of *Cain*'s Family, yet he himſelf was reſolved to maintain the true Worſhip of God in his own; and therefore called his Son *Mahalaleel*, i. e. *a Praiſer and Worſhipper of God*. In the Days of *Mahalaleel* (as the Tradition tells us) a Defection happened among the Sons of *Seth*, who went down from the Mountains, where they inhabited, and adjoined themſelves to the Daughters of *Cain*; and therefore he called his Son's Name *Jared*, which ſignifies *deſcending*. *Jared*, to guard againſt the general Corruption, devoted himſelf, and his Deſcendants, more zealouſly to the Service of God; and, accordingly, called his Son *Enoch*, which means a *Dedication*. *Enoch*, by the Spirit of Prophecy, foreſeeing the Deſtruction, which would come upon the Earth, immediately after the Death of his Son, called his Name *Methuſelah*, which imports as much; for the firſt Part of the Word [*Methu*] ſignifies *he dies*, and [*Selah*] the *ſending forth of Water*. *Methuſelah*, perceiving the Wickedneſs of the World, in the Family of *Seth*, as well as that of *Cain*, to grow every Day worſe and worſe, called his Son *Lamech*, which intimates *a poor Man*, *humbled*, and *afflicted* with Grief, for the preſent Corruption, and Fear of future Puniſhment: And *Lamech*, conceiving better Hopes of his Son (as ſome imagine) that he ſhould be the *promiſed Seed*, the Reſtorer of Mankind after the Deluge, or a notable Improver of the Art of Agriculture, call'd his Name *Noah*, which denotes a *Comforter*. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology. We may obſerve from this Catalogue however, that the Patriarchs, in thoſe Days, were not ſo ſuperſtitious, as to think any Thing *ominous* in Names; and therefore we find, that *Jared* feared not to call his Son *Enoch*, by the very Name of *Cain*'s eldeſt Son, *Gen.* iv. 17. even as *Methuſelah* called his Son *Lamech*, by the Name of one of *Cain*'s Grand-Children, *Ch.* iv ver. 18. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

(a) Gen. v. 4.





Pl. 8

And Enoch walked with God, & he was not: for God took him. page 83 Gen. 5. 24.
Enoch Pleased the Lord and was translated, being an Example of
Repentance to all Generations. *Eccles: 44. C. 16.*

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one at 65. The true Reaſon then of this Omiſſion is —— that the Hiſtorian never intended to give us a Catalogue of the *Collateral* Branches (which doubtleſs were many) but only of the principal Perſons, by whom, in a right Line, the Succeſſion was continued down to *Noah*, and thence to *Abraham*, the Founder of the *Jewiſh* Nation.

The Diviſion of the World into the Families of Cain *and* Seth.

NOT long after the Departure of *Cain*, the whole World was divided into two Families, or oppoſite Nations: The Family of *Seth*, which adher'd to the Service of God, † became more frequent in religious Offices; and, as their Number increas'd, met in larger Aſſemblies, and in Communion, to perform Divine Worſhip by Way of Public Liturgy; and, *(b)* for this their Piety and Zeal, were ſtyl'd the *Sons* or Servants *of God*; in Diſtinction to the Family of *Cain*, which now became profligate and profane, renouncing the Service of God, and addicting themſelves to all Manner of Impiety and Laſciviouſneſs; from whence they had the Name of the *Sons* and *Daughters of Men*.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

Enoch's *Tranſlation*.

IN this Period of Time, *Enoch*, one of the Family of *Seth*, and the Seventh, in a direct Line, from *Adam*, a Perſon of ſingular Piety and Sanctity of Life, not only took care of his own Conduct, * as conſidering himſelf always under the Eye and

† The Words in our Tranſlation are,—*then*, i. e. *in the Days of* Enos, *Men began to call upon the Name of the Lord*, Ch. iv. 26. but, it being very probable, that *public Aſſemblies*, for religious Offices, were held long before this Time, and that, even when *Cain* and *Abel* offer'd their Sacrifices, their Families join'd with them in the Worſhip of God; ſome Men of great Note, ſuch as *Bertram*, *Hackſpan*, and *Heidegger*, take them in the ſame Senſe with our *marginal* Tranſlation; *then began Men* (*i. e.* the Children of *Seth*) *to call themſelves by the Name of the Lord*, i. e. the Servants and Worſhippers of the Lord, in Contradiſtinction to the *Cainites*, and ſuch profane Perſons, as had forſaken him. It muſt not be diſſembled however, that the Word *Hochal*, which we tranſlate *began*, in ſeveral Places of Scripture ſignifies to *profane*; and, upon this Preſumption, many of the *Jewiſh* Writers, and ſome of no obſcure Fame among us, have taken the Words ſo, as if *Moſes* intended to intimate to us, that Men began now to apoſtatize from the Worſhip of God, to fall into Idolatry, and to apply the moſt holy Name, which alone belongs to the great Creator of Heaven and Earth, to created Beings, and eſpecially to the Sun. But, conſidering that *Moſes* is here ſpeaking of the pious Family of *Seth*, and not of that of *Cain*; that, when the *Hebrew* Word ſignifies to *profane*, it has always a Noun following it; but when an affirmative Mood follows (as in the Paſſage before us) it always ſignifies to *begin*; and withal, that the *Eaſtern* Writers repreſent this *Enos* as an excellent Governor, who, while he liv'd, preſerv'd his Family in good Order, and, when he died, call'd them all together, and gave them a Charge to keep all God's Commandments, and not to aſſociate themſelves with the Children of *Cain*: Conſidering all this, I ſay, we can hardly ſuppoſe, that *Moſes* is here pointing out the *Origin* of Idolatry, but rather the Invention of ſome religious *Rites* and *Ceremonies* in the external Worſhip of God at this Time, or the Diſtinction, which good Men began to put between themſelves, and ſuch as were openly wicked and profane. For, that the true Meaning of the Expreſſion *Karabeſhem*, according to our *marginal Tranſlation*, is to *call* or *nominate by*, or *after* the Name of any one, is manifeſt from ſeveral Inſtances in Scripture. Thus *Gen.* iv. 17. *Jikra, he call'd* the Name of the City *Beſhem, by*, or *after* the Name of his Son. *Numb.* xxxii. 42. *Jikra, he call'd* it *Nobahbeſhem, by*, or *after* his own Name: and in *Pſal.* xlix. 11. *Kareau, they call* their Lands *Biſhmotham, by*, or *after their* own *Names*: And the Name here intimated is afterwards expreſsly given them by *Moſes* himſelf, *Gen.* vi. when he tells us, that *the Sons of God ſaw the Daughters of Men*. *Patrick's* Commentary, and *Calmet's* Dictionary on the Word *Enos*, and *Shuckford's* Connection, Vol. I. l. 1.

(b) Heidegger's Hiſtor. Patriarch.

* This ſeems to be the natural Senſe of the Expreſſion of *walking with God*; and excellent, to this Purpoſe, is this Paſſage of *Seneca*, if we take what he tells us of *the Preſence of God* in a Chriſtian Senſe: *Sic certè vivendum*, ſays he, *tanquam in conſpectu vivamus*; *ſic cogitandum, tanquam aliquis in pectus intimum inſpicere poſſit, & poteſt. Quid enim proeſt ab homine aliquid eſſe ſecretum? nihil Deo clauſum eſt. Ineſt Animis noſtris, & Cogitationibus mediis intervenit*, Lib. 1. Ep. 83. *Le Clerc's* Commentary. But, conſidering how uſual a Thing it was, in theſe early Ages of the World, for Angels to be converſant with good Men, it may not improperly be ſaid of *Enoch*, and of *Noah* both, that *they walked with God* in this Senſe, *viz.* that they had oftentimes familiar Converſe with theſe Meſſengers, who might be ſent with Inſtructions from him, how they were to behave upon ſeveral Occaſions: For this anſwers the Tradition of the Heathens, *viz.* that in the *Golden Age* their Gods had frequent Intercourſe with Men:

> Ille Deûm vitam accipiet, Diviſque videbit
> Permiſtos Heroas, & ipſe videbitur illis. *Virg. Ecl.* IV.

And to the ſame Purpoſe,

> Sæpius & ſeſe mortali oſtendere cœtu
> Cœlicolæ, nondum ſpretâ Pietate, ſolebant. *Catul. in Nupt. Thet. & Pelei*

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and Obſervation of a righteous God, but, by his good Advices and Admonitions, endeavour'd likewiſe to put a Stop to the Torrent of Impiety, and reform the Vices of the Age; for which Reaſon God was pleas'd to ſhew a ſignal Token of his Kindneſs to him; for he exempted him from the common Fate of Mankind, and, without ſuffering Death to paſs upon him, tranſlated him into the Regions of Bliſs.

Adam's *Death.*

In this Period of Time, *Adam*, who, (according to the Sentence denounc'd againſt him at the Fall) was to *return* to his Native *Duſt*, * departed this Life, and (as the Tradition is) having called his Son *Seth*, and the other Branches of his numerous Family about him, he gave them ſtrict Charge, that they ſhou'd always live ſeparate, and have no Manner of Intercourſe with the impious Family of the Murtherer *Cain*. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

Noah's *Birth and Name.*

In this Period of Time, *Noah*, the Great-Grandſon of *Enoch*, and a Perſon of equal Virtue and Piety, was born: And as it was diſcover'd to *Enoch* at the Birth of *Methuſelah*, that, ſoon after that Child's Death, the whole Race of Mankind ſhou'd be deſtroy'd for their Wickedneſs; ſo was it revealed to *Lamech*, at the Birth of his Son, *(c)* that he, and his Family, ſhou'd be preſerv'd from the common Deſtruction, and ſo become the Father of the *new* World; and, for this Reaſon, † he call'd him *Noah*, which ſignifies

* Where *Adam* was buried cannot be collected from Scripture. St. *Jerome* [in Matt. xxvii.] ſeems to approve of the Opinion of thoſe, who imagine that he was buried at *Hebron*, in the Cave of *Machpelah*, or the double Cave, which *Abraham*, many Ages after, bought for a Burying-Place for himſelf and Family, *Gen.* xxiii. 3, *&c.* The *Oriental* Chriſtians ſay, that, when *Adam* ſaw Death approaching, he call'd his Son *Seth*, and the reſt of his Family to him, and order'd them to embalm his Body with Myrrh, Frankincenſe, and Caſſia, and depoſit it in a certain Cave, on the Top of a Mountain, which he had choſen for the Repoſitory of his Remains, and was thence call'd the Cave of *Al Konuz*, a Word deriv'd from the *Arabian Kanaza*, which ſignifies *to lay up privately*. And this Precaution (as the *Jews* will have it) was order'd by *Adam* to be taken, leſt his Poſterity ſhould make his Relicks the Object of Idolatry. Several of the *primitive* Fathers believe, that he died in the Place where *Jeruſalem* was afterwards built, and that he was interr'd on Mount *Calvary*, in the very Spot where *Chriſt* was crucified; but others are of Opinion, that (tho' he did not die at *Jeruſalem*) yet *Noah*, at the Time of the Deluge, put his Body into the *Ark*, and took care to have it buried there by *Melchiſedeck*, the Son of *Shem*, his Grandſon. The *Mahometans* will have his Sepulchre to have been on a Mountain near *Mecca*, and the antient *Perſians*, in *Serendil, or Ceylon:* So ambitious is every Nation to have the Father of all Mankind repoſited with them. When *Eve*, the Mother of all Living, died, is no where expreſs'd in Scripture; but there are ſome, who venture to tell us, that ſhe outliv'd her Huſband ten Years. Vide the Univerſal Hiſtory, and *Calmet's* Dictionary on the Word *Adam*.

(c) Bedford's Scripture Chronology.

† The Subſtance of *Lamech's* Prophecy, according to our Tranſlation, is this: ——— *He called his Son* Noah, *ſaying, This ſame ſhall comfort us concerning the Work and Toil of our Hands, becauſe of the Ground, which the Lord hath curſed*; and the Senſe of learned Men upon it hath been very different. Some are of Opinion, that there is nothing prophetical in this Declaration of *Lamech's*, and that the only Cauſe of his rejoicing was, to ſee a Son born, who might, in Time, be aſſiſting to him in the Toil of Cultivating the Ground. But in this there is nothing particular: In this Senſe *Lamech's* Words may be apply'd by every Father, at the Birth of every Son; nor can we conceive, why a peculiar Name ſhould be given *Noah*, if there was no particular Reaſon for it. The *Jewiſh* Interpreters generally expound it thus, *He ſhall make our Labour in tilling the Ground more eaſy to us*, in that he ſhall be the *Inventor* of ſeveral proper Tools and Inſtruments of Huſbandry, to abate the Toil and Labour of Tillage: And ſome will tell us, that he therefore receiv'd his Name, becauſe he firſt invented the Art of making *Wine*, a Liquor that chears the Heart, and makes Man forget Sorrow and Trouble. But the Invention of the fit Tools for Tillage, after that *Tubal-Cain* had become ſo great an *Artificer in Braſs and Silver*, ſeems to belong to one of his Deſcendants, rather than *Noah*; and as *Noah* was not the firſt *Huſbandman* in the World, ſo neither can it be concluded, from his *having planted a Vineyard*, that he was the firſt *Vine-Dreſſer*. Another Opinion, not altogether unlike this, is, ——— that *Lamech*, being probably inform'd by God, that his Son *Noah* ſhou'd obtain a Grant of the Creatures for Food, *Gen.* ix. 3. and knowing the Labour and Inconveniences they were then under, rejoic'd in foreſeeing what Eaſe and Comfort they ſhou'd have when they had obtain'd a large Supply of Food from the Creatures, beſides what they cou'd produce from the Ground by Tillage. The Reſtoration of Mankind by *Noah*, and his Son's ſurviving the Flood, is thought by many to anſwer the Comfort which *Lamech* promis'd himſelf and his Poſterity: But the learned *Heidegger*, after an Examination of all theſe and ſome other Opinions, ſuppoſes that *Lamech*, having in mind the Promiſe of God, expected that his Son ſhou'd prove the *bleſſed Seed*, the Saviour of the World, who was to *bruiſe the Serpent's Head*, and, by his Atonement, expiate our Sins, which are the Works of our own Hands, and remove the Curſe which lay upon Sinners. But this, in my Opinion, is too forc'd an Expoſition. *Lamech*, 'tis certain, in Virtue of God's Promiſe, expected a Deliverance from the Curſe of the Earth, and foreſaw that that Deliverance wou'd come through his Son: But how came it thro' his Son, unleſs it came in his Son's Days? And in what Inſtance cou'd it appear, unleſs it were in ſomething ſubſe-

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ſignifies *a Comforter:* Though others imagine, that the Name was therefore given him, becauſe his Father, by the Spirit of Prophecy, foreknew, that God, in his Days, wou'd remove the Curſe of Barrenneſs from off the Face of the Earth, and, after the Time of the Deluge, reſtore it to its *original* Fertility.

A. M. 930. Ant. Chriſ. 3074.

The Wickedneſs of the Cainites.

AFTER the Death of *Adam*, the Family of *Seth* (to fulfil their Father's Will) remov'd from the Plain, where they had liv'd, to the Mountains over-againſt *Paradiſe*, where *Adam* is ſaid to have been buried; and, for ſome Time, liv'd there in the Fear of God, and in the ſtricteſt Rules of Piety and Virtue. But, as the Family of *Cain* daily increas'd, they came at length to ſpread themſelves over all the Plain, which *Seth* had left, even to the Confines of the Hill Country, where he had fix'd his Abode, and there they * liv'd in all Kinds of Riot, Luxury, and Licentiouſneſs.

A.M 104. Ant. Chriſ. 2962.

The Defection of the Sethites.

THE Noiſe of their Revellings might poſſibly reach the holy Mountain, where the *Sethites* dwelt; whereupon ſome of them might be tempted to go down, merely to gratify their Curioſity perhaps at firſt, but, being taken with their deluding Pleaſures, and * intoxicated with the Charms of their Women (who were extremely beautiful) they forgot the Charge, which their Forefathers had given them, and ſo took to themſelves Wives of the Daughters of *Cain*; from which criminal Mixture were born Men of a vaſt *gigantic* Stature, who, for ſome Time, infeſted the Earth: And, in a few Generations after, the whole Family of *Seth* (very probably after the Death of their pious Anceſtor) follow'd the like Example, and, forgetting their Obligations to the contrary, enter'd into Society with the *Cainites*, and made *Intermarriages* with them; from whence aroſe another Race of Men, no leſs remarkable for their daring Wickedneſs, than for their bold Undertakings and adventurous Actions.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

The general Corruption of the World.

EVIL *Communications* naturally *corrupt good Manners:* And ſo the Example of the wicked Family prevail'd, and, by Degrees, eat out all Remains of Religion in the Poſterity of *Seth*. *Noah*, indeed, who was a good and pious Man, endeavour'd what he cou'd, *(e)* both by his Counſel and Authority, to bring them to a Reformation of their Manners, and to reſtore the true Religion among

quent to the Flood? And what cou'd that poſſibly be, unleſs the Removal of the *Sterility* of the Earth, and reſtoring it to its original Fruitfulneſs? For which Reaſon we find God, after the Flood, declaring, that he *will not again curſe the Earth for Man's Sake*; and ſolemnly promiſing, that, *while the Earth remaineth, Seed-Time and Harveſt ſhall not ceaſe*, Gen. viii. 22. Vid. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. *Patrick* and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. *Pool*'s Annotations. *Shuckford*'s Connection; and Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy, Diſſertation IV.

* Some of the *oriental* Writers have given us a large Account of their Manner of Living: "As to the Poſterity "of *Cain*, *ſay they*, the Men did violently burn in Luſt towards the Women, and, in like Manner, the Women, "without any Shame, committed Fornication with the Men; ſo that they were guilty of all Manner of filthy Crimes "with one another, and, meeting together in publick Places for this Purpoſe, two or three Men were concern'd with "the ſame Woman, the antient Women, if poſſible, being more luſtful and brutiſh, than the young. Nay, Fathers "liv'd promiſcuouſly with their Daughters, and the young Men with their Mothers; ſo that neither the Children "cou'd diſtinguiſh their own Parents, nor the Parents know their own Children. So deteſtable were the Deeds o. "the *Cainites*, who ſpent their Days in Luſt and Wantonneſs, in Singing and Dancing, and all Kinds of Muſick, un- "til ſome of the Sons of *Seth*, hearing the Noiſe of their Muſick, and riotous Mirth, agreed to go down to them "from the holy Mountain, and, upon their Arrival, were ſo captivated with the Beauty of their Women, (who were "naked) that they immediately defil'd themſelves with them, and ſo were undone. For, when they offer'd to return "again to their former Abode, the Stones of the Mountain became like Fire, and permitted them to paſs no far- "ther." *Eutych.* Annals, p. 27.

* Our excellent *Milton* deſcribes the Manner of their being captivated with the Daughters of *Cain* in theſe Words:

——— ——— They on the Plain
Long had not walk'd, when from the Tents, behold!
A Bevy of fair Women, richly gay
In Gems, and wanton Dreſs: To th' Harp they ſung
Soft am'rous Ditties, and in Dance came on.
The Men, tho' grave, ey'd them, and let their Eyes
Rove without Rein; 'till, in the am'rous Net
Firſt caught, they lik'd, and each his Liking choſe.

BOOK XI.

(e) Joſephus's Antiq. l. 1. c. 4.

A. M. 1042. Ant. Chriſ. 2962.

among them; * but all he cou'd do was to no Purpoſe. The Bent of their Thoughts had taken another Turn; and all their Study and Contrivance was, how to gratify their Luſts and inordinate Paſſions. In one Word, The whole Race of Mankind was become ſo very wicked, that one really wou'd have thought, they had all been confederated together againſt Heaven, to violate God's Laws, to profane his Worſhip, and ſpurn at his Authority; ſo that his Patience and Long-ſuffering came at length to be wearied out: And, though *he is not a Man*, that he ſhould *repent*, or *the Son of Man*, that he ſhou'd *grieve* at any Thing, yet his Concern for the general Corruption is repreſented under that Notion, the better to accommodate it to our Capacity, and to expreſs his fix'd Reſolution of deſtroying all Mankind for their Iniquity, and with them all other Creatures, made for their Uſe, || as if he had *repented* that ever he made them.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

A. M. 1556. Ant. Chriſ. 2468.

And God's Reſolution to deſtroy it.

BEFORE he reſolv'd upon their Deſtruction however, we find him in great *Struggle* and Conflict with himſelf; his *Juſtice* calling for Vengeance, and his *Mercy* pleading for Forbearance; till at length his Juſtice prevail'd and denounc'd the Sentence of Condemnation upon the wicked World: But ſtill with this Reverſe——That, if, || within the Space of 120 Years (which was the *Term* limited for their Reprieval) they ſhould forſake their evil Ways, repent, and reform, his Mercy ſhou'd be at Liberty to interpoſe, and reverſe their Doom. All which he communicated to his Servant *Noah*, who, for his Juſtice, and ſingular Piety, in that corrupt and degenerate Age, had found Favour in his Sight; and for whoſe Sake, his Family, which conſiſted of eight Perſons in all, was to be exempted from the general Deſtruction.

The

* *Joſephus* tells us, that *Noah*, for a long while, oppos'd the growing Impiety of the Age; but that at laſt, finding himſelf and Family in manifeſt Danger of ſome mortal Violence for his Good-will, he departed out of the Land himſelf, and all his People, *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 4. and (as the Tradition is) he ſettled in a Country call'd *Cyparisſon*, which had its Name from the great Quantity of Cypreſs-Trees, which grew there, and whereof (as we ſhall obſerve hereafter) in all Probability he built the *Ark*.

|| As Languages were at firſt invented by ſuch Perſons, as were neither *Philoſophers*, nor *Divines*, we cannot at all wonder, that we meet with many Improprieties in Speech, and ſuch Actions imputed to God, as no ways comport with the Dignity of his Nature. Thus, when the holy Scriptures ſpeak of God, they aſcribe *Hands*, and *Eyes*, and *Feet* to him; not that he has any of theſe Members, according to the *literal* Signification, but the Meaning is, that he has a Power to execute all thoſe Acts, to the effecting of which, theſe Parts in us are inſtrumental, *i. e.* he can converſe with Men, as well as if he had a Tongue or Mouth; can diſcern all that we do or ſay, as perfectly as if he had Eyes and Ears; and can reach us, as well as if he had Hands or Feet, *&c.* In like Manner, the Scripture frequently repreſents him, as affected with ſuch Paſſions, as we perceive in ourſelves, *viz.* as angry and pleas'd, loving and hating, repenting and grieving, *&c.* and yet, upon Reflection, we cannot ſuppoſe, that any of theſe Paſſions can *literally* affect the Divine Nature; and therefore the Meaning is, that he will as certainly *puniſh* the Wicked, as if he were inflam'd with the Paſſion of Anger againſt them; as infallibly *reward* the Good, as we will thoſe, for whom we have a particular Affection; and that, when he finds any Alteration in his Creatures, either for the better, or the worſe, he will as ſurely change his Diſpenſations towards them, as if he really repented, or changed his Mind. 'Tis by Way of *Analogy* and *Compariſon* therefore, that the Nature and Paſſions of Men are aſcribed to God: So that, when he is ſaid to *repent* or *grieve*, the Meaning muſt be, not that he perceiv'd any Thing, that he was ignorant of before, to give him any Uneaſineſs; (for *known unto him are all his Ways from the Beginning*) but only that he alter'd his Conduct with Regard to Men, as they varied in their Behaviour towards him, juſt as we are wont to do, when we are moved by any of theſe Paſſions and Changes of Affections, we, *who dwell in Houſes of Clay, and whoſe Foundations are in the Duſt:* For the very Heathens can tell us, that *Majeſtatis Diminutio eſt, & Confeſſio Erroris, mutanda facere; neceſſe eſt enim ei eadem placere, cui, niſi optima, placere non poſſunt.* Seneca *in Præf. Nat. Quæſt.* Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, Biſhop *King* on Predeſtination, and *Ainſworth*'s Annotations.

|| This was the Term allow'd Mankind for their Repentance, and Prevention of their Ruin: And yet, if we compare *Ch.* v. 32. with *Ch.* vii. 11. we ſhall find, that, between this Time and the Flood, there were but 100 Years. How then did God perform his Promiſe? Now, in Anſwer to this, it may be ſaid, that the increaſing Wickedneſs of Mankind might juſtly haſten their Ruin, and forfeit the Benefit of this Indulgence; but what I take to be the true Solution is this:——This Promiſe (though mentioned after what we read in *Ch.* v. 32.) ſeems nevertheleſs to have been made 20 Years before it; for that Verſe is added there out of its proper Place, only to complete the *Genealogy*; and therefore, after this Narrative of the Wickedneſs of the World, it is repeated here in its due Order, in the 10th Verſe. Nor are ſuch *Tranſpoſitions* uncommon in Scripture, without any Diminution to its Authority. *Pool*'s Annotations.



Pl 9

And God first looked upon the Earth and beheld it was corrupt for all
had destroyed unto Noah The End of all flesh is come before me for
the Earth & will destroy them with the Earth Make thee an Ark



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A. M. 1536. Ant. Chriſ. 2468.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

The OBJECTION.

The Objection.

" BUT how great ſoever the Wickedneſs of the *Antediluvian* World might be, yet it comports but badly with the Goodneſs, and Wiſdom, and Foreknowledge of God, to have created the Race of Mankind, and provided ſuch a delightful Place for their Habitation, and then, in ſo ſhort a Compaſs of Time, to cancel the Work of his own Hands, by deſtroying the Beauty of the one, and the Lives of the other. For *ſeven Generations* together (if *(f)* *Joſephus* tells Truth) Men liv'd in the Exerciſe of Virtue, and in the Love and Fear of God. The Family of *Seth* were very famous for their Holineſs, Juſtice, and Purity; and (as † *Eaſtern* Writers ſay) were continually employing themſelves in the Worſhip, and Praiſes of God. One of them, in particular, was ſo remarkable for his Virtue and Piety, that he had a Privilege granted him, which the Son of God himſelf (when on Earth) cou'd not obtain, viz. a *Tranſlation* into Immortality, without undergoing the *Pains of Death*; and yet, in a Generation or two following, we read, that *(g) all Fleſh had corrupted his Way upon the Earth, and that every Imagination of his Heart was evil continually*, in ſo much that *it repented, and griev'd the Lord, that he had made Man.* Now if God foreſaw that Man wou'd ſo ſoon become ſo very wicked, why did he make him at all? Or, if, foreſeeing this, he, nevertheleſs, thought proper to make him, why was he ſo concern'd in finding him to be juſt what he foreſaw he wou'd prove? To deſtroy the wicked Race of *Cain* indeed, in ſome particular Branch of it, for a Teſtimony of his Diſpleaſure againſt the reſt, *this* might have been conſiſtent with his Wiſdom and Juſtice, and other ſacred Attributes: But to lay waſte the whole Earth all at once, and even the Brute-Creation, which was not capable of offending; to pull down what he had, for the Space of 1656 Years, been eſtabliſhing, and to put himſelf to the Trouble of beginning again, and repeopling the ſhatter'd and defac'd Earth from the Loins of four Progenitors only, argues too much *Levity* and *Caprice*, ever to be imputed to a *wiſe* and *unchangeable* God.

" THE whole Hiſtory of this Period of Time indeed (according to the Account of *Moſes)* is ſo glaringly *romantic*, and ſo repugnant to other Parts of Scripture, that a Man, who ventures to think for himſelf, will hardly be induc'd to credit it. The Apoſtle to the *Corinthians* tells us, that *(h) Fleſh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, neither doth Corruption inherit Incorruption*; and yet *(i)* here we have a Man, who (according to the *Chriſtian* Interpretation (was immediately taken up into Heaven (but in what *Vehicle?* there's the Queſtion) without any *Change* or Alteration, that we read of. *Chriſt*, in his Goſpel, has told us expreſsly, that *(k) the Angels of God neither marry, nor are*

" *given*

(f) Antiq. l. 1. c. 4.

† Immediately after the Death of *Adam* (ſay ſeveral of theſe Writers) *Seth*, being wearied with the Wickedneſs of the Family of *Cain*, his Neighbours, and fearing that now they would become more profligate, retir'd from the Plain, where he lived before, and, taking with him his eldeſt Son *Enos*, and *Cainan* the Son of *Enos*, and *Mahalaleel* the Son of *Cainan*, and their Wives, brought them up unto the Top of that Mountain, where *Adam* was bury'd; that theſe Inhabitants of the Mountains became very famous for their Holineſs, Juſtice, and Purity; that they continually employ'd themſelves in the Praiſes of God, and in cultivating their Minds in ſublime Speculations; and that, when they were remov'd to a greater Diſtance from the *Earth*, they were ſo very near the *Celeſtial* Paradiſe, that they heard the Voices of *Angels*, celebrating the Praiſes of God, and join'd with them in their ſacred *Hymns*, and heavenly Benedictions. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology.

(g) Gen. vi. 12. *(h)* 1 Cor. xv. 50. *(i)* Gen. v. 24. *(k)* Matt. xxii. 30.

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" *given in Marriage*, and the * Simplicity " of their Nature muſt induce us to " think, that they are not capable of *Ge-* " *neration*; and yet *(l)* here again we " are told, that the *Sons of God took* " *themſelves Wives of the Daughters of* " *Men*. But, allowing *the Sons of God* " to ſignify the Deſcendants of *Seth*, yet " where was the great Damage in their " marrying the Daughters of *Cain?* We " read of no Law to prohibit ſuch Mar- " riages, *and where no Law is, there* " *can be no Tranſgreſſion*; and yet the " Deſtruction of the World is repreſented " as proceeding from this one Cauſe. " The Poets indeed do frequently enter- " tain us with many pleaſant Stories of " their Gods turning Gallants to Ladies, " of their aſſuming human Shape, living " in Obſcurity for ſome Time, and ſub- " mitting to Employs far beneath their " Quality, and all for the Love of the " Fair Sex; but, in a Book of Divine Ex- " tract, and ſacred to Truth, we little ex- " pected to be told of *amorous* Intrigues. " The Giants of old, of what monſtrous " Size and Strength they were, how they " fought againſt the Gods, and pil'd † " Mountain upon Mountain, in order to " ſcale Heaven, and dethrone them, is " a popular Subject among the Sons of " *Parnaſſus*; but who ever thought to " have met *(m)* with the Foundation of " all theſe Fictions in ſo grave an Author, " as *Moſes?* In ſhort, his whole Account " of the Tranſlation of *Enoch*, and the " Deluge of *Noah*; of the *Sons of God*, " and the *Daughters of Men*; of *Giants* " and *Incubuſes*, and other ſuch monſtrous " Abſurdities, ſavour very ſtrong of the " *fabulous* Age, and ſeem to be calculated " for no other Purpoſe, than merely to " banter the eaſy Faith of the Vulgar, and " to gratify ſuch, as delight in Fiction."

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

THAT God of his infinite Wiſdom might, for very good Reaſons, think proper to create Man at firſt, and in all the full Perfection of his Nature, notwithſtanding he cou'd not but foreſee, that he wou'd ſadly degenerate, and turn Rebel to his Will, is a Queſtion we have already endeavour'd to reſolve, *(n)* when we treated of the Fall of *Adam*; and by what means his Poſterity, in the Succeſſion of ſo few Generations, as paſſed from the Creation to the Flood, became ſo very corrupt, as to lay God under a Neceſſity to deſtroy them, may in a great Meaſure be imputed to the Length of their Lives, and the Strength and Vigour of their Conſtitutions. For, ſuppoſing all Mankind, ſince the *original* Defection, to be born in a State of deprav'd Nature, with their Underſtandings impair'd, their Wills perverted, and their Paſſions inflamed *(o)*; we can ſcarce imagine any Reſtraint, conſiſtent with human Freedom, ſufficient to check their unruly Appetites, in that Height of Vigour, and Confidence of long Life. For if we, who rarely, and with no ſmall Difficulty, ſtretch out to the Span of ſeventy Years, are hardly with-held from Violence and

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing how the Antediluvian *World came to be ſo wicked.*

* The learned *Heidegger*, in his Diſſertation *de Nephilim, ſeu Gigantibus Antediluvianis*, has abundantly ſhewn from Scripture, from Reaſon, and from the Nature of Angels, that neither ſimply by themſelves, nor incorporate in any human Body, are they capable of begetting Children; nor cou'd it have been conſiſtent with the Attributes of God for him to have permitted any ſuch Abomination.

(l) Gen. vi. 2.

† The Poets have deſcrib'd the Attempt of the antient Giants in ſuch Strains as theſe:

Neve foret Terris ſecurior arduus Æther:
Affectâſſe ferunt Regnum cœleſte Gigantes,
Altaque congeſtos ſtruxiſſe ad Sydera Montes.
OVID. *Met. L.* 1.

——— Immania vidi
Corpora, qui manibus magnum reſcindere Cœlum
Aggreſſi, ſuperiſque Jovem detrudere regnis.
Ter ſunt conati imponere Pelio Oſſam
Scilicet, atque Oſſæ frondoſum involvere Olympum;
Ter Pater extructos dìsjecit Fulmine Montes.
VIRG. *Æn. VI. & Geor. I.*

Magnum illa Terrorem intulerat Jovi
Fidens Juventus horrida brachiis,
Fratreſque tendentes opaco
Pelion impoſuiſſe Olympo.
Sed quid Typhœus, quid validus Mimas,
Aut quid minaci Porphyrion ſtatu,
Quid Rhœcus, evulſiſque truncis
Enceladus jaculator audax,
Contra ſonantem Palladis Ægida
Poſſent ruentes?
HOR. *Car. L.* 3. *Ode* IV.

(m) Gen. vi. 4. *(n)* Vid. pag. 48, 49. *(o)* Revelation Examin'd, Vol. I.

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and Villainy, by all the Dictates of Reaſon, and Terrors of Religion, what can we conceive ſufficient to have kept them back, in their Strength, and Security in Sin from a continued Series of 8 or 9 hundred Years? No Interpoſition of Providence can be ſuppos'd available to the Reformation of Mankind, under theſe Circumſtances, unleſs it were ſuch, as would either change their Nature, or deſtroy their Freedom; and therefore we have Reaſon to believe, that in the Space of about 1800 Years from the Creation, God found them degenerated to ſuch a Degree, as if they had loſt all Senſe of their *Humanity*; for this ſome have made the Import of the Text, *my Spirit ſhall not always ſtrive with Man, for that he alſo is Fleſh*, i. e. 'tis in vain to uſe any farther Methods of Mercy, or Monitions of Providence with Man, who is now entirely given up to *fleſhly* Appetites, and by that Means ſunk down into the loweſt Condition of Brutality.

BY what Gradations Man arriv'd at his Height of Corruption, is not ſo evident from Scripture; but there are two Paſſages, *(p) the Earth was corrupt before God, and the Earth was filled with Violence*, which ſeem to point out ſome particular Vices: For by *Violence*, is plainly meant Cruelty, and Outrage, and Injuſtice of every Kind; and by *Corruption*, the *Jews* always underſtand, either *Idolatry*, or unlawful Mixtures and Pollutions; the latter of which ſeems to be denoted here, becauſe of the ſubſequent Explication of the Words, *for all Fleſh had corrupted his Way upon the Earth.*

NOW, if we look into the Hiſtory, we ſhall find that the firſt Act of *Violence* was committed by *Cain* upon his Brother *Abel*; the firſt Act of Incontinence by *Lamech*, in the Matter of his *Polygamy*; and that, as one of his Sons invented the Inſtruments of *Luxury*, ſo the other invented the Inſtruments of *Violence* and War. As Luxury therefore naturally begets a Diſpoſition to injure others in their Property, and ſuch a Diſpoſition, arm'd with *offenſive* Weapons, in the Hands of Men of a *gigantick* Stature and Strength (as many of the *Antediluvians* very probably were) tends to beget all Manner of *Inſolence* and Outrage to our Fellow-Creatures; ſo theſe two cardinal Vices might naturally enough introduce that Train of Corruption, which drew God's Judgments upon the Inhabitants of the Earth.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

God's Juſtice *vindicated in deſtroying all* Mankind.

HAD God indeed given them no Intimations of this his Deſign, no Calls to Repentance, no Means and Opportunities of becoming better, before he determin'd their Deſtruction, ſomething might then be ſaid in Oppoſition to the *Righteouſneſs* of this Procedure; but *(q)* ſince, from the very Beginning, he was pleas'd, in the Sentence he paſs'd upon the *Serpent*, to give them a remarkable Promiſe, that *the Seed of the Woman* ſhould deſtroy the Power of that evil Spirit, which brought Sin into the World, and, conſequently, *(r)* that all Parents were oblig'd to train up their Children in the Ways of Virtue and Religion, without which it was impoſſible for any of them to be *the promis'd Seed*, which was to reſtore Mankind to their original Perfection; ſince he himſelf inſtituted Sacrifices, as a Means admirably well fitted to inſpire Mankind with an Horror of Guilt, and be, at the ſame Time, a perpetual Memorial of the divine Mercy from Generation to Generation; ſince, in his Expulſion of *Cain* from his Preſence, and Exaltation of *Enoch* into Heaven, he made an open Declaration, to all future Ages, that his *Vengeance* ſhould at all Times purſue Sin, but his Bounty had always in Store an ample Reward for the Righteous; ſince, at this Time, he exhibited himſelf to Mankind in a more ſenſible Manner than he does now, cauſing them to hear Voices, and to dream Dreams, and, by ſundry extraordinary Means, convincing them of their Duty, and giving them Directions for the Conduct of their Lives; ſince, at this Time, they had the Principles of Religion (which

(p) Gen. vi. 11. *(q) Stackford's* Connect. Vol. I. L. 1. *(r)* Revelation Examin'd, Vol. I.

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were but very few) convey'd to them by an eaſy Tradition, which, by *Methuſelah*'s living 248 Years with *Adam*, and dying but a little before the Flood, in the Compaſs of 1600 Years and more, had but two Hands to paſs through; and, laſtly, ſince God appointed *Noah* in particular to be *a Preacher of Righteouſneſs (s)*, as the Apoſtle ſtyles him, to exhort that wicked Race to forſake their Sins, and return unto him; to warn them of their impending Doom, if they perſiſted in their Provocations; to give them Notice, that 120 Years was the ſtated Time of their Reprieve, and that, at the End of that Period, his fix'd Determination was to deſtroy them utterly, unleſs their Amendment averted the Judgment: Since theſe, and many more Methods of Mercy were all along employ'd by God (and eſpecially *in the Days, that his Long-Suffering waited, while the Ark was preparing)* for the Recovery of Mankind, before the Deluge came upon them, they are ſufficient to vindicate *the Ways of God with Man*, and to juſtify his Severity *in bringing in the Flood upon the World of the Ungodly*, which neither his Reſtraints, nor Rewards, nor all the Monitions and Exhortations of his Prophets, added to his own Declarations, Inſtitutions, Inflictions, and Denunciations of Vengeance, cou'd reclaim, in the Courſe of ſo many Centuries.

And other living Creatures.

Other living Creatures, it is true, were not culpable in this Manner: They all anſwer'd the Ends of their Production, and Man was the only Rebel againſt his Maker. *(t)* But, as, in an *univerſal* Deluge, it was impoſſible to preſerve them alive without a Miracle; ſo, having, in ſome Meaſure, been made *inſtrumental* to Man's Wickedneſs, innocent tho' they were, they were all to be deſtroy'd, in order to evince the Malignity of Sin, and God's Abhorrence of it. For the great End of his Providence in ſending the Deluge, was not ſo much to *eaſe himſelf of his Adverſaries*, as to leave a perpetual Monument of his unrelenting Severity, that thereby he might deter future Ages from the like Provocations. And this is the Inference, which the Apoſtle draws from all his Judgments of old: *(u) If God ſpared not the Angels*, ſays he, *that ſinned, but caſt them down to Hell; if he ſpared not the old World, but brought in a Flood upon the Ungodly; if he turned the Cities of* Sodom *and* Gomorrah *into Aſhes, and condemned them with an Overthrow*; theſe *are an Enſample unto thoſe, that after ſhall live ungodly*; for (however they may eſcape in this Life) *he hath reſerved the Unjuſt unto the Day of Judgment to be puniſh'd.*

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

The Sons of God not *Evil Angels.*

The Scripture indeed ſeems to impute all this Iniquity to the Marriages between *the Sons of God and the Daughters of Men*; but the Misfortune is, that ſeveral Interpreters, being led away by the Authority of the LXX, who (according to *Philo)* did anciently render what we ſtyle the *Sons of God*, by ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ have ſuppos'd, that wicked and apoſtate Angels aſſum'd at this Time human Bodies, and, having had carnal Communion with Women, begat of them a Race of Giants; and from this Original, the Notion of *Incubi*, or Devils converſing with Women in the like Manner, has ever ſince been derived. St. *Auſtin*, † among many others, is very poſitive in this Opinion. *(x)* "Several People have "had the Trial, *ſays he*, and ſeveral have "heard it from thoſe, who knew it to "be true, that the *Silvani* and *Fauni*, "commonly call'd *Incubi*, have been "often fatal to Women, and have defil'd "their

(s) 2 Pet. ii. 5. *(t) Le Clerc*'s Commentary. *(u)* 2 Pet. ii. 4, &c.

† Dr. *Whitby*, in his Scripturæ Patrum, p. 5. has inſtanc'd in almoſt all the Fathers of the four firſt Centuries, who were of this Opinion; ſuch as *Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, Athenagoras, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian*, St. *Cyprian, Lactantius, Euſebius*, &c. and ſuppoſes, that this Notion took its Riſe from the vain Traditions of the *Jews*; becauſe we find not only *Philo* reading the Word ἄγγελοι in the Septuagint Verſion, but *Joſephus* likewiſe aſſerting, "that "the Angels of God, mixing with Women, begat an inſolent Race (not much unlike that of the Gian in the "*Greek* Fables) overbearing Right with Power." *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 4.

(x) De Civitate Dei, l. 15. c. 23.

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" their Bed. It is likewiſe affirmed with " ſo much Confidence, that certain De- " mons (call'd *Durii* among the *Gauls)* " have not only attempted, but likewiſe " perpetrated theſe Kinds of impure Ac- " tions, that it would be fooliſh to make " any Queſtion of it." But, beſides the Incompatibleneſs of the Notion of a Spirit, and the Nature of an *Incubus*, *the Sons of God* are here repreſented under Circumſtances, quite different to what we may ſuppoſe of any *Dæmons* aſſuming human Shape.

(y) AN *Incubus* (if any ſuch there be) can deſire Commerce with a Woman, for no other Reaſon, but only to draw her into the Gulf of Perdition. Any *carnal* Gratification of his own cannot be his Motive, becauſe Pleaſure, in an aſſum'd Body, if it is pretended to, muſt be fictitious: But here *the Sons of God* are ſaid to be enamour'd with the Daughters of Men, and (to ſatisfy their Luſts) *to take to themſelves Wives of all that they choſe*, which denoting a ſettled Marriage and Cohabitation with them, can hardly be imagin'd in the Caſe before us. From thoſe Marriages, we may farther obſerve, that a Generation of living Men, call'd by the Scripture *Men of Renown*, did enſue: but it is impious to think, that God wou'd ever concur with the Devil, violating the Laws of Generation, which he had eſtabliſh'd, and proſtituting the Dignity of human Nature, by ſtamping his own Image upon, or infuſing an human Soul into whatever Matter a *Fiend* ſhou'd think fit to ingenerate.

Not great Men and Magiſtrates.

IN Prejudice taken to this Opinion therefore, ſeveral Interpreters have made Choice of another, which, though ſomewhat more reaſonable, is nevertheleſs ſubject to Exceptions. It ſuppoſes, that, by the *Sons of God* in this Place, are meant the Princes, great Men, and Magiſtrates in thoſe Times, who, inſtead of uſing their Authority to puniſh and diſcountenance Vice, were themſelves the greateſt Examples and Promoters of Lewdneſs and Debauchery; taking *the Daughters of Men*, or of the inferior and meaner Sort of the People, and debauching them by Force. But *(z)* beſides the Harſhneſs of the Conſtruction, which (contrary to Scripture-Phraſe) makes all great and powerful Perſons to be call'd *the Sons of God*, and all mean and plebeian Women, *the Daughters of Men*, there is this Error in the Suppoſition, that the great Men, we are now ſpeaking of, did not offer any Force or Violence to theſe inferior Women; *they ſaw that they were fair, and made Choice of them for Wives.* They did not take them merely to lie with them, and ſo diſmiſs them; but voluntarily enter'd into a State of Matrimony and Cohabitation with them. And this being all the Matter, wherein is the Heinouſneſs of the Offence, if Men of a ſuperior Rank marry with their Inferiors, eſpecially when an Exceſs of Beauty apologizes for their Choice? Or, why ſhou'd a few unequal Matches be reckon'd among ſome of the chief Cauſes, which brought upon the World an univerſal Deſtruction?

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

But the Deſcendants of Seth.

THE moſt common therefore, and indeed the only probable Opinion is, that the *Sons of God* were the Deſcendants of *Seth*, who for the great Piety, wherein they continu'd for ſome Time, were ſo call'd, and that *the Daughters of Men* were the Progeny of wicked *Cain:* And why the Intermarriages of theſe two Families (even tho' there was no expreſs Prohibition from God) came to be ſo provoking to him, and in the End ſo deſtructive to themſelves, is the next Point of our Enquiry.

The Idolatry of the Cainites.

IT has been a Queſtion among the Learned, whether or no, in the Ages before the Flood, Idolatry was practis'd; but there ſeems to be no great Foundation for our doubting it, tho' ſome have endeavoured to eſtabliſh it upon incompetent Texts. The only Expreſſion in Scripture, that bears a proper Aſpect this Way, is in *Gen.* vi. 5. where we are told, *That God ſaw, that the Wickedneſs of Man was great in the Earth, and that every Imagination of the Thoughts of his Heart was only evil continually.* The Words ſeem parallel to that

(y) Heidegger's Hiſt. Patriar. *(z)* Ibid.

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that Paſſage of the Apoſtle, *(a) they became vain in their Imaginations, and their fooliſh Heart was darkened*; —— whereupon it follows, *that they changed the Glory of the incorruptible God, into an Image, made like to corruptible Man, and to Birds, and four-footed Beaſts, and creeping Things.* Since therefore *Moſes* makes uſe of *(b)* the like Expreſſion, concerning the Age, ſoon after the Flood; and ſince it is certain, that, ſoon after the Flood, Men fell into Idolatry, until the true Worſhip of God was again eſtabliſh'd in *Abraham*'s Family; it ſeems very probable, that he intended us an Intimation hereof in the Manner of his expreſſing himſelf: Nor can we imagine, but that, when St. *Peter* compares the falſe Teachers of his Age with the People of the *Antediluvian* World, in the Nature of their Puniſhment, he means to inform us, that they reſembled them likewiſe in the Nature of their Crime, in their *(c) bringing in damnable Hereſies*, and abetting ſuch Doctrines, as *even deny'd the Lord that bought them*; or that, when St. *Jude (d)* expreſſes his Indignation againſt certain *ungodly Men* in his Days, *who deny'd the only Lord God, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, in ſuch Words as theſe, *Woe unto them, for they are gone into the Way of* Cain; he leaves us to infer, that *Cain* and his Poſterity were the firſt, that threw off the Senſe of a God, and, *inſtead of the Creator*, began to *worſhip the Creature.*

Now if the *Cainites* were, at this Time, not only profligate in their Manners, but Abettors of Infidelity, and Promoters of Idolatry; for the Family of *Seth*, who profeſs'd the true Worſhip of God, to enter into Communion, or any matrimonial Compacts with them, cou'd not but prove of fatal Conſequence. 'Tis a ſolemn Injunction, which God gives the *Iſraelites*, againſt all idolatrous Nations, *(e) Thou ſhalt not make Marriages with them; thy Daughter thou ſhalt not give unto his Son, nor his Daughter ſhalt thou take unto thy Son:* And, that this is no *ſpecial*, but a *general* Prohibition, extenſive to all Nations, that profeſs the true Worſhip of God, is evident from the Reaſon that is annex'd to it; *for they will turn away thy Son from following me, that they may ſerve other Gods.* This was what *Balaam* knew full well, and therefore, perceiving that he cou'd injure the Children of *Iſrael* no other Way, he adviſ'd the *Moabites* to commence a Familiarity with them; whereupon it ſoon came to paſs, that *(f) The People began to commit Whoredom with the Daughters of* Moab, *and they called the People unto the Sacrifices of their Gods, and the People did eat, and bowed down to their Gods.*

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

'Twas this Danger of Seduction into a State of Idolatry that made *Abraham*, before the Law, ſo very anxious and uneaſy, leſt his Son *Iſaac* ſhou'd marry a *Cananitiſh* Woman; and though *we*, under the Goſpel, *(g) know* very well, *that an Idol is nothing in the World, and that there is none other God, but one*; yet we are admoniſh'd by the ſame Apoſtle, who teaches us this, *Not to be unequally yoked together with Unbelievers*; *for what Fellowſhip*, ſays he, *has Righteouſneſs with Unrighteouſneſs, what Communion hath Light with Darkneſs, or what Part hath he that believeth with an Infidel (h)?* From all which it ſeems to follow, that the Sin was very heinous in the Family of *Seth*, to mix with the wicked Seed of *Cain*, when they cou'd not but foreſee, that the Conſequence wou'd be their Seduction from the true Worſhip of God; and that the Heinouſneſs of their Sin ſeems ſtill to be inhanc'd, if, what ſome *oriental* Writers tell us, be true, *viz.* that God gave them this Prohibition by the Mouth of their great Forefather *Adam*, and that their Cuſtom was, at certain Times, to ſwear by the *Blood of* Abel (which was their ſolemn Oath) that they wou'd never leave the mountainous Country, where they inhabited, nor have any Communion with the Deſcendants of *Cain.*

The Giants, whence they ſprung.

How the Commixture of two ſuch different Families came to produce a Set of *Giants*, is not ſo eaſy a Matter to determine.

(a) Rom. i. 21. 23. *(b)* Gen. viii. 21. *(c)* 2 Pet. ii. 1, 5. *(d)* Ver. 4, 11. *(e)* Deut. vii. 3, 4. *(f)* Num. xxv. 1, 2. *(g)* 1 Cor. viii. 4. *(h)* 2 Cor. vi. 14, &c.

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mine. Thoſe, who pretend to reduce it to natural Cauſes, or the eager Luſt and *Impetus* of their Parents, are vaſtly miſtaken, *(i)* becauſe Giants there were among the *Cainites*, before this Conjunction, and we read of ſeveral in other Nations many Ages after the Flood. The more probable Opinion therefore is, *(k)* that God permitted it, in Vengeance to their Parents Crimes, and that the Children, begotten by ſuch unlawful Mixtures, might, (ſome of them at leaſt) be accounted monſtrous in their Kind, (for thus the Word *Nephilim* certainly ſignifies) and ſo become the Abhorrence of all future Generations.

IT muſt be acknowledged, indeed, that Tranſlators have not agreed in their Notions of this Word. *Aquila*, inſtead of *Gigantes*, renders it *(l) Men who attack*, or fall with Impetuoſity upon their Enemies; and *Symmachus* will have it mean *(m) violent and cruel* Men, the only Rule of whoſe Actions is their Strength, and Force of Arms: And from hence ſome have imagin'd, that the *Giants*, ſpoken of in Scripture, were famous for the Crimes and Violences they committed, rather than for the Height, or Largeneſs of their Stature. But to hinder this from paſſing for a Truth, we have the Hiſtories of all Ages, both *ſacred* and *profane*, and ſeveral other Remains and Monuments, to evince † the Being of ſuch prodigious Creatures, in almoſt every Country.

The real Exiſtence of them.

(n) THAT there were Multitudes of *Giants* in the Land of Promiſe, before the *Iſraelites* took poſſeſſion of it, ſuch as *Og*, King of *Baſan*, and the *Anakims*, whom *(o)* the *Moabites* call'd *Enims*, i. e. *terrible Men*, and *(p)* the *Ammonites*, *Zamzummims*, i. e. the *Inventors of all Wickedneſs*, whoſe Poſterity were in Being in the Days of *David*, and whoſe Bones were to be ſeen at *Hebron*, the chief Place of their Abode, is manifeſt from the ſacred Records. *(q) All the People* (ſay the *Spies*, who were ſent to take a Survey of the Land) *are Men of Stature; and there we ſaw the Giants, the Sons of* Anack, *which came of the Giants*, ſo unmeaſurably large, that *we were but like Graſhoppers* in Compariſon of them. And therefore we need leſs wonder, that we find *(r) Joſephus*, upon the ſame Occaſion, telling us, "That "the Race of Giants was not then ex- "tinct, who, on Account of their large- "neſs and Shapes (not at all to be liken'd "to thoſe of other Men) were amazing to "ſee, and terrible to hear of." *Homer (s)* ſpeaks of the Giants, *Otus* and *Ephialtes*, who, at the Age of nine Years, were nine Cubits about, and ſix and thirty in Height; he likewiſe deſcribes *(t)* the Bigneſs of the Cyclops *Polyphemus*, who was of ſuch prodigious Strength, that he cou'd, with the greateſt Facility, take up a Stone, which two and twenty *four-wheel'd* Chariots would ſcarce be able to move. This we allow to be, in ſome Meaſure, *romantic*, but ſtill it confirms the Tradition, that ſeveral Perſons of old were of a *gigantic* Stature.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

"THAT the *Cyclops* and *Laſtrigones*, "*(u)* ſays *Bochart*, were once in *Sicily*, "we have the Accounts, not only in the "Poets, *Homer*, *Heſiod*, and *Euripides*, "*Virgil*, *Ovid*, and *Sicilus*, but in the "*Hiſtorians* and Geographers (I mean "*Thucydides* and *Strabo)* who were *Gre-* "*cians*, and in *Trogus*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, and "others, who were *Romans:* and that "there was ſomething of Truth in the "Fables concerning them, we are aſſur'd

(i) Gen. vi. 4. *(k)* Vid. *Heidegger*'s Vit. Patriar. and *Patrick*'s Commentary. *(l)* Ἐπιπίπτοντας. *(m)* Βιαίους.

† Mr *Whiſton*, in his *Original Records*, has a Supplement concerning the old Giants, wherein, according to the Apocryphal Book of *Enoch*, he divides the Giants into three Kinds, and in this Diviſion thinks himſelf countenanc'd by the Words of *Moſes*, Gen. vi. 2, &c. the firſt and loweſt Kind of which are call'd *Eliudim*, and are of Stature from 4 Cubits to 15; the ſecond are *Nephilim*, from 15 to 40 Cubits; and the third, or great Giants, 40 Cubits at leaſt, and many Times above.

(n) Huetii Aletan. Queſt. *(o)* Deut. ii. 11. *(p)* Ver. 21. *(q)* Numb. xiii. 33. *(r)* Antiq. l. 5. c. 2. *(s) Odyſſ.* l. 11. *(t)* Ibid. l. 9. *(u)* Canaan i. 30.

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" by thoſe Bones of Giants, which were " dug out of the Earth in the Memory " of our Fathers." *(x)*

But I forbear more Inſtances of this Kind, and, * referring the Reader, for his further Conviction, to ſuch Authors, as have profeſſedly handled this Subject, ſhall only crave Leave to make this Remark —— *(y)* that, in all Probability, no ſmall Part of the eldeſt Cities, Towers, Temples, Obeliſks, Pyramids, and Pillars, ſome of which are ſtill remaining, and deſervedly eſteem'd *the Wonders of the World*, † were the Structure of theſe ancient *Giants*; and, as they ſurpaſs the Ability of all later Ages, ſo they ſeem to me to be the viſible, and undeniable Remains, Monuments, and Demonſtrations, not only of their Exiſtence, but of their prodigious Stature and Strength likewiſe; ſince in an Age, ignorant of *mechanical* Powers and Engines, ſuch vaſt Piles of Building could no otherwiſe have been erected.

Without concerning ourſelves then with the Fictions and Fables of the Poets, or *(z)* whether the Giants of old, rebelling againſt Heaven, were able to heap Mountains upon Mountains, in order to ſcale it, or to hurl Rocks, and Iſlands, and huge flaming Trees againſt it, in order to ſhake, or ſet it on Fire; all that we pretend to ſay is, that, in antient Days, there were Giants in great Numbers, who, (excepting the Largeneſs of their Stature) were form'd and faſhion'd like other Men, and wag'd no other war with Heaven, than what all wicked Perſons are known to do, when they provoke the Divine Majeſty by their Crimes, and enormous Impieties. This is the Whole of what the Scriptures aſſert, and I know no Occaſion we have to defend the wild *Hyperboles* of the Poets. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

The Reality of Enoch's Tranſlation, and what it meant.

Amidst the *Antediluvian* Corruption, and even while theſe abominable and *gigantick* Men were in Being, *Moſes* makes particular Mention of one Perſon of eminent Sanctity, and who found a Favour extraordinary, for having perſerved his Innocence, and perſiſted in his Duty, notwithſtanding the Wickedneſs of the Age, wherein he liv'd. *Enoch* was certainly, in other Reſpects, an extraordinary Perſon. *(a)* St *Jude* diſtinguiſhes him as a *Prophet*; *(b)* the *Arabians* repreſent him as a great Scholar; the *Babylonians* look upon him as the Author of their *Aſtrology*; the *Greeks* call him their *Atlas*, and affirm that *he was the firſt, who taught Men the Knowledge of the Stars:* But it was not for theſe rare Qualities, ſo much as for his ſingular Piety and Virtue, that God exempted him from the common Fate of Mankind.

The

(x) *Fazellus* relates, and out of him *Cluverius*, that *A. D.* 1547, near *Panormum* in *Sicily*, the Body of a Giant was dug up, about 18 Cubits, or 27 Foot tall. The ſame Authors relate, that *A. D.* 1516, was dug up, near *Mazarene* in *Sicily*, the Body of a Giant, 20 Cubits, or 30 Foot tall. The ſame Authors relate, that, *A. D.* 1548, near *Syracuſe*, was dug up another Body of the ſame Dimenſion. They inform us, that, *A. D.* 1550, near *Entella* in *Sicily*, was dug up a Body of about 22 Cubits, or 33 Foot high, whoſe Skull was about 10 Feet in Circumference; and they deſcribe the Corps of a Giant of portentous Magnitude, found ſtanding in a vaſt Cave, near *Drepranum* in *Sicily*, *A. D.* 1342, whoſe Staff was like the Maſt of a Ship, and the Forepart of whoſe Skull wou'd contain ſome *Sicilian* Buſhels, which are about a third Part of our *Engliſh* Buſhel. Vide *Whiſton*'s Supplement concerning the old Giants, in his authentic Records, *Part* II.

* They that deſire to ſee more Inſtances of this Kind, may find them cited by *Huetius*, in his *Quæſt. Aletan.* Lib. 2. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 15. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 5, 18. *Pliny*, l. 1. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patr. Exercit. 11. *Grotius* de Veritate, l. 1. *Hackwell*'s Apolog. l. 3. *Whiſton*'s Original Records, Part II, and our Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 234, 272, 274, 346, and 370.

(y) *Whiſton*'s Supplement, Part II.

† The Works of this Kind which our Author reckons up, are, 1. The *Giants Dance* upon *Saliſbury Plain* in *England*, now call'd *Stone-henge*. 2. The *Giants Cauſeway* in the North of *Ireland*. 3. The *Circular Gigantick Stone* at *Ravenna*. 4. The *Tower of Babel*. 5. The two *Obeliſks* mention'd by *Herodotus*. 6. The *Temple of Diana in Egypt*. 7. The *Labyrinth* in *Egypt*. 8. The Lake *Mæris*, 480 Miles long, and dug by human Labour, all by the ſame *Herodotus*. 9. The *Sphinx* of *Egypt*. 10. The *moſt ancient Temple of Egypt*. 11. The *Agrigentine Temple*. 12. The *Pyramidal Obeliſk*, all mention'd by *Diodorus Siculus*. 13. The *Temple of Solomon*. 14. The *Palace of Solomon* at *Jeruſalem*. 15. That at *Balbeck*. 16. That at *Tadmer*. 17. The *Palace* and *Buildings* at *Perſepolis*. 18. The *Temple* of *Belus* at *Babylon*. 19. The *Temple* at *Chillembrum*; and, 20. The *firſt Temple* of *Diana* at *Epheſus*. *Whiſton*'s Suppl.

(z) *Calmet*'s Diſſertation ſur les Geans, Vol. II. (a) Ver. 14, &c. (b) *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Enoch*.

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THE *Jewiſh* Doctors indeed will have the Words of *Moſes* concerning him to import no more, than his ſudden and untimely Death, becauſe he liv'd not near ſo long as the other Patriarchs. But the *Paraphraſe*, which St *Paul* gives us of them, *(c) By Faith* Enoch *was tranſlated, that he ſhould not ſee Death, and was not found, becauſe God had tranſlated him; for, before his Tranſlation he had this Teſtimony, that he pleaſed God*; this Paraphraſe, I ſay, will not ſuffer us to doubt of the Truth of the *Chriſtian* Interpretation. And indeed, *(d)* unleſs the *Chriſtian* Interpretation be true, the whole *Emphaſis* of *Moſes*'s Words is loſt, and they become a crude *Tautology*. For, if we ſay, that *Enoch was not*, i. e. was no longer living, becauſe *God took him*, *i. e.* God caus'd him to die; 'tis the ſame, as if we ſhould ſay, *God cauſed him to die, becauſe he took him away by Death*, which is flat and inſipid, a Proof of the ſame Thing by the ſame Thing, and hardly conſiſtent with common Senſe: Whereas, if we interpret the Words in this Manner ——*Enoch was not*, i. e. was no where to be found, was ſeen neither among the Living nor the Dead here on Earth, *for God took him*, i. e. becauſe God tranſlated him to another Place, Soul and Body together, without undergoing the Pains of Death; here is a *Grace* and *Energy* in the Expreſſion, not unbecoming the Stile of an inſpired Penman.

THE Reaſon which *Moſes* aſſigns for God's taking him in this wiſe, is, that *he walked with God:* But if God's *taking him* means no more than his haſty Death, 'twas far from being a divine Atteſtation of his Piety (becauſe *Length of Days* are the promis'd Reward of *that)* and therefore we may be allow'd to infer, that *his walking with God* was not the Cauſe of his Ablation by Death, but of his aſſumption into Glory. The Truth is, *(e)* about 57 Years before this Event, *Adam*, the Father of all Living, had ſubmitted to the Sentence denounc'd againſt him, and reſign'd his Breath; and, whatever Notions his Poſterity might have of a Life immortal in Reverſion, yet it ſeem'd expedient to the Divine Wiſdom, at this Time, in the Perſon of *Enoch*, to give them, as it were, an *Anticipation* of it, and to ſupport and comfort them under the Senſe of their Mortality, with the Proſpect, and aſſur'd Hope, that after the dark *Entry* of Death was paſs'd, they were to be admitted into the *Manſions* of Bliſs. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

OUR Saviour, indeed, when he came upon Earth, (tho' declar'd from Heaven to be the *Son of God)* was not exempted from the common Condition of our Mortality. *(f) Foraſmuch as the Children are Partakers of Fleſh and Blood, he alſo himſelf likewiſe took Part of the ſame, that, through Death, he might deſtroy him, who had the Power of Death*, i. e. *the Devil.* His Errand was to *propitiate* for our Sins; but ſince *(g) without ſhedding of Blood there is no Remiſſion*, the Decree was, that he ſhou'd die, which when he had ſatisfy'd, he roſe again; and after forty Days Converſe with his Diſciples, *even (h) while they beheld him*, we are told, *he was taken up into Heaven, and a Cloud receiv'd him out of their Sight.* And in like Manner, if the End of *Enoch*'s Aſſumption was for the Conviction of Mankind in that great Article of Faith, the Reality of another World, it ſeems reaſonable to believe, that the Thing was done *publickly* and viſibly; that either ſome bright and radient Cloud, guided by the Miniſtry of Angels, gently rais'd him from the Earth, and mounted with him up on high (which ſeems to be our Saviour's Caſe) or that a *(i) ſtrong Guſt of Wind*, govern'd by the ſame *angelick* Powers, in ſome Vehicle or other, reſembling a bright *Chariot and Horſes*, tranſported him into Heaven (which ſeems to be the Caſe of *Elijah)* and that, in his Paſſage thither, his body was transform'd, his *corruptible* into *Incorruption*, his *mortal* into *Immortality*, *in a Moment*, *in the Twinkling of an Eye (k)*, as we are told it will

Why Chriſt was not exempted from Death.

(c) Heb. xi. 5. (d) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Exercit. 9. (e) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (f) Heb. ii. 14.
(g) Ch. ix. 22. (h) Acts xix. *and* Luke xxiv. 51. (i) 2 Kings ii. 11. (k) 1 Cor. xv. 52.

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will happen to thoſe, who are alive, when the *laſt Trumpet ſhall ſound.*

The Place to which Enoch *was tranſlated.*

'Tis an idle Conceit therefore of ſome of the *Jewiſh*, as well as *Chriſtian* Doctors, that *Enoch* was not tranſlated into the *Celeſtial*, but only into the old *Terreſtrial* Paradiſe, wherein *Adam*, before his Tranſgreſſion, liv'd. Whether the Beauty of that Place went to Ruin, or no, as ſoon as our firſt Parents were ejected, and no Hand left to dreſs it; 'tis certain, it cou'd never withſtand the Violence of the Flood, and, conſequently, *Enoch* muſt have periſh'd in it, unleſs we can ſuppoſe, * that he was preſerv'd by ſome ſuch Miracle, as the *Iſraelites* were, when they paſs'd through the *Red-Sea*, and that the Waves, towering up on all Sides, ſurrounded it like a Wall, and kept that particular Spot dry; which is by much too bold a Suppoſition, eſpecially when in contradicts that Authority, which tells us, that *(l) the Waters prevail'd exceedingly upon the Earth, and that all the High Hills, which were under the Whole Heavens, were cover'd.*

And ſome Heathen Evidences hereof.

Whatever therefore ſome may fancy to themſelves, we acknowledged now no other *Paradiſe*, than what is repreſented in the Scriptures, as a Place, in which God gives the brighteſt Evidences of his Preſence, and communicates his Glory with the utmoſt Majeſty; a Place, which St *Paul* calls *(m) the third Heaven*, whereunto *Elijah* was tranſlated, and wherein our bleſſed Saviour is now *(n) preparing Manſions for us, that where he is, we may be alſo.* Into this happy Place we ſuppoſe *Enoch* to have been convey'd, and 'tis no mean Confirmation of the Truth of the *Moſaic* Account, that we find, among the *Heathen* World, Notions of the like Tranſlation: That we find *Bacchus* aſſuring *Cadmus*, that, by the Help of *Mars*, he ſhould live for ever in the *Iſles of the Bleſſed*: That we find *Aganympha* made immortal by the Favour of *Jupiter*; and after the Death of her Huſband *Hercules*, *Alcmena*, tranſlated by *Mercury*, and married to *Rhadamanthus*; with many more Alluſions of the like Nature *(o)*. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

As likewiſe the Flood.

And in like Manner, 'tis far from being a bad Argument for the Truth and Reality of the *Flood (p)*, that we find, almoſt every where in the *Latin* and *Greek* Hiſtorians, horrid Deſcriptions of the Lives of the Giants, which occaſion'd that heavy Judgment: That we find *Beroſus* the *Chaldean* (as he is quoted by *(q) Joſephus)* relating the ſame Things, which *Moſes* does, concerning the great Deluge, the Deſtruction of Mankind by it, and the Ark, in which *Nochus* (the ſame with *Noah)* was preſerv'd, and which reſted on the Tops of the *Armenian* Mountains: That we find *Abydenus*, the *Aſſyrian* (as he is cited *(r)* by *Euſebius)* taking Notice of the Wood of the Veſſel, wherein *Xiſuthrus* († for ſo he calls *Noah)* was ſav'd, and telling us, that the People of *Armenia* made uſe of it for *Amulets* to drive away Diſeaſes: That we find *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, in a Paſſage produced *(s)* by *Cyril*, informing us of an *Egyptian* Prieſt, who related to *Solon* out of the ſacred Books of the *Egyptians* (as he ſuppoſes) that before the particular Deluges, known and celebrated by the *Grecians*, there was, of old, an exceeding great Inundation of Waters, and Devaſtation of the Earth: And (to mention

* *Bonfrerius* ait, veriſimile eſſe, Paradiſum ab Imbribus ſervatum immunem, undique ad Latera ſeſe attollentibus aquis, & quaſi in murum Solidatis, quemadmodum Solidatæ aquæ maris rubri, *Iſraelitis* in medio aquarum tranſeuntibus. Verùm non hic quid veriſimile ſit, quæritur, ſed quid pro certo affirmari poſſit. Ubi Miraculi nullum veſtigium apparet, non licet propriâ Opinione veriſimilitudinis illud aſtruere. *Heidegger*, Vit. Patriar. de Raptu *Enochi* Exercit. 9.

(l) Gen. vii. 19. *(m)* 2 Cor. xii. 2. *(n)* John xiv. 2, 3. *(o) Huetii* Quæſt. Aletanæ, l. 2. c. 10. *(p) Grotius* de Verit. l. 1. §. 16. *(q)* Cont. App. l. 1. *(r)* Prepar. Evang. l. 9.

† M. *Le Clerc*, in his Notes upon *Grot.* de Verit. [l. 1. § 16.] ſeems to intimate, that *Xiſuthrus*, *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*, are all Names ſignifying the ſame Thing in other Languages, as *Noah* does in *Hebrew*, wherein *Moſes* wrote; and that the Deluges, which are ſaid to have happen'd in their Times, and are thought to be different, were in reality one and the ſame.

(s) Contra Julianum.

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mention no more) that we find *(t) Lucian* giving us a long Account of an ancient Tradition, which the People of *Hierapolis* had of the Deluge * varying very little from what our ſacred Hiſtorian relates: When we find all this, I ſay, we cannot but acknowledge, that theſe, and the many more Hiſtorians, who are uſually produc'd upon this Head, are a ſtrong Teſtimony of the Truth and Authority of *Moſes*; and therefore to conclude this Reply or Vindication of him, with the Reflection of the learned *(u) Scaliger* upon the Agreement he perceiv'd between *Moſes* and *Abydenus*, in the Account they both give of the *Dove*, and the *Raven*, which *Noah* is ſaid to have ſent out: Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

" Tho' the *Greek* Hiſtorians, *ſays he*, do " not always agree in particulars with the " *ſacred* one; yet they are rather to be " pitied, for not having had the Advan- " tage of true and *authentick* Antiquities " and Records, to ſet them right, than to " forfeit their Value and Authority, from " ſuch Slips, and Deviations from the " Truth of the Story, as render their Te- " ſtimony and Confirmation of the Truth " of the ſacred Hiſtory much ſtronger, " becauſe much leſs to be ſuſpected, than " if they agreed with it in every Circum- " ſtance."

DISSERTATION V.

Of the Heathen Hiſtory, the Chronology, Religion, Learning, Longevity, &c. of the Antediluvians.

The Heathen Hiſtorians from the Creation to the Flood.

WE are now arriv'd at a *Period*, where it may be convenient to take ſome Notice of ſuch Heathen Writers as have given us an Account of the Times before the Flood, thro' which we have hitherto been tracing *Moſes:* And thoſe, that are eſteem'd of the beſt Credit and Repute, are only three; *Beroſus*, who wrote the Hiſtory of the *Chaldeans*; *Sanchoniatho*, who compil'd that of the *Phœnicians*; and *Manetho*, who collected the Antiquities of *Egypt*.

The Hiſtory of Beroſus.

THE *Chaldeans* were certainly a Nation of great and undoubted Antiquity. *(x)* In all Probability they were the firſt form'd into a national Government after the Flood, and therefore were more capable of having ſuch Arts and Sciences flouriſh among them, as might preſerve the Memory of eldeſt Times, to the lateſt Poſterity;

(t) De Deâ Syriâ.

* The Account, though ſomewhat long, is not unpleaſant, and deſerves our Obſervation. This Race of Men, *ſays he*, which now is, was not the firſt: Theſe are of a ſecond Generation, and from their firſt Progenitor *Deucalion*, who increas'd to ſo great a Multitude, as we now ſee. Now of theſe former Men, they tell us this Story, —— they were contentious, and did many unrighteous Things; they neither kept their Oaths, nor were hoſpitable to Strangers, for which Reaſon, this great Misfortune came upon them. All on a ſudden the Earth diſembowell'd itſelf of a great Quantity of Water, great Showers fell, the Rivers overflow'd, and the Sea ſwell'd to a prodigious Height; ſo that all Things became Water, and all Men periſh'd. Only *Deucalion* was left unto the ſecond Generation, upon the Account of his Prudence and Piety; and the Manner wherein he was ſav'd is this —— He had a great *Ark*, or Cheſt, into which he came with his Children, and the Women of his Houſe; and then enter'd Hogs, and Horſes, and Lions, and Serpents, and all other Animals, which live upon the Earth, together with their Mates. He receiv'd them all, and they did him no Harm; for by the Aſſiſtance of Heaven, there was a great Amity between them, ſo that all ſail'd in one Cheſt, as long as the Water did predominate. This is the Account which all the *Greek* Hiſtorians give of *Deucalion*. But what happen'd afterwards (as it is told by the People of *Hierapolis*) is worthy our Obſervation, *viz.* That in their Country, there was a Chaſm, into which all this Water ſunk, whereupon *Deucalion* built an Altar, and erected a Temple over it, which he conſecrated to *Juno:* And, to verify this Story, not only the Prieſts, but the other Inhabitants likewiſe of *Syria* and *Arabia*, twice every Year, bring Abundance of Water, which they pour into the Temple, and tho' the Chaſm be but ſmall, yet it receives a prodigious Quantity of it; and, when they do this, they relate how *Deucalion* firſt inſtituted this Cuſtom, in Memory of that Calamity, and his Deliverance from it.

(u) Not. in Fragm. in Append. ad Emend. Temp. *(x) Stillingfleet's* Orig. Sacr. l. 1. c. 3.

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Poſterity: And yet, even among theſe People, who enjoy'd all the Advantages of Eaſe, Quiet, and a flouriſhing Empire, we find no credible and undoubted Records preſerv'd. *Beroſus*, their Hiſtorian, was (as *(y) Joſephus* aſſures us) a Prieſt of *Belus*, and a *Babylonian* born, but afterwards flouriſhed in the Iſle of *Cos*, and was the firſt who brought the *Chaldean* Aſtrology into Requeſt among the *Greeks*; in Honour of whoſe Name and Memory, the *Athenians* (who were great Encouragers of Novelties) erected a Statue for him with a Golden Tongue, a good Emblem of his Hiſtory *(z)* ſays one, which made a fair and ſpecious Shew, but was not within what it pretended to be, eſpecially when it attempts to treat of ancient Times. It cannot be deny'd, however, but that ſome Fragments of it, which have been preſerv'd from Ruin by the Care and Induſtry of *Joſephus*, *Tatianus*, *Euſebius*, and others, have been very uſeful, not only for proving the Truth of Scripture-Hiſtory to the *Heathens*, but for confirming likewiſe ſome Paſſages relating to the *Babyloniſh* Empire.

After a Deſcription of *Babylonia*, and a ſtrange Story concerning a certain Creature, which, in the firſt Year of the World, came out of the *Red-Sea*, and, converſing familiarly with Men, taught them the Knowledge of Letters, and ſeveral Arts and Sciences; he proceeds to give us a ſhort Account of the ten Kings, which reign'd in *Chaldea* before the Flood, and theſe correſponding with the Number which *Moſes* mentions, *Alorus*, the firſt, is ſuppos'd to be *Adam*, and *Xiſuthrus* the laſt, *Noah*; and of this *Xiſuthrus* he purſues the Story in this Manner.

(a) CRONUS, or *Saturn*, appearing to him in a Dream, gave him Warning, that on the 15th Day of the Month *Dæſius*, Mankind ſhould be deſtroy'd by a Flood, and therefore commanded him to build a Ship; and, having firſt furniſh'd it with Proviſions, and taken into it Fowls and four-footed Beaſts, to go into it himſelf with his Friends, and neareſt Relations. *Xiſuthrus* did as he was order'd, built a Veſſel, whoſe Length was five Furlongs, and Breadth two Furlongs; and, having put on Board all that was directed, he went into it with his Wife, Children, and Friends. When the Flood was come, and began to abate, he let out ſome Birds, which finding no Food, nor Place to reſt on, return to the Ship again. After ſome Days, he let out the Birds again, but they came back with their Feet daub'd with Mud; and, when, after ſome Days more, he let them go the third Time, they never came back again, whereby he underſtood, that the Earth appear'd again above the Water, and ſo, taking down ſome of the Planks of the Ship, he ſaw it reſted upon a Mountain. This is the Subſtance of what we have in *Beroſus*, who varies very little from our ſacred Hiſtorian, during this Period. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

Of Sanchoniatho.

SANCHONIATHO is highly commended both by *Porphyry*, the great Adverſary of *Chriſtianity*, and by his Tranſlator into *Greek*, *Philo Biblius*. *Theodoret* is of Opinion, that his Name, in the *Phœnician* Tongue, ſignifies Φιλαλήθης *a Lover of Truth*; which Name, as *Bochart* imagines, was given him, when he firſt ſet himſelf to write Hiſtory: But how faithful he has been in tranſcribing his Account of Things from his Records, we cannot determine, unleſs we had the Books of *Taautus*, and the ſacred Inſcriptions and Records of Cities, from whence he pretends to have extracted his Hiſtory, to compare them together. If we may judge by what remains of his Writings, which is only his firſt Book concerning the *Phœnician Theology*, extant in *Euſebius*, we ſhall hardly think him deſerving ſo large a Commendation: But, be that as it will, the Method wherein he proceeds is this. ——After having delivered his *Coſmogony*, or Generation of the other Parts of the World, he tells us, that the firſt Pair of human

(y) Cont. App. l. 1. *(z)* Vid. Univerſ. Hiſt. *and* Shuckford's Connect. l. 1. *(a)* Ibid.
(b) *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. l. 1. c. 2.

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human Creatures were *Protogonus* and *Æon* (as *Philo*, his Translator, calls them) the latter of whom found out the Fruit, which is gather'd from Trees: That their Issue were call'd *Genus* and *Genea*, who were the first that practis'd Idolatry, for, upon the Occasion of great Droughts, they made their Adoration to the Sun, calling him *Beelsamen*, which, in *Phœnician*, is, *the Lord of Heaven:* That the Children of these were *Phos*, *Pur*, and *Phlox*, i. e. Light, Fire, and Flame, who first found out the Way of generating Fire, by rubbing Pieces of Wood against one another: That these begat Sons of vast Bulk and Stature, whose Names were given to Mount *Cassius*, *Libanus*, *Antilibanus*, and *Brathys*, whereon they seiz'd: That of these were begotten *Memrumus*, and *Hypsuranius*, the latter of whom was the Inventor of Huts made of Reeds and Rushes, and had a Brother call'd *Usous*, the first Worshipper of Fire and Wind, in whose Time Women became very abandon'd and debauch'd: That, many Years after this Generation, came *Agreus* and *Halieus*, the Inventors of the Arts of Hunting and Fishing: That of these were begotten two Brothers, the first Forgers and Workers in Iron; the Name of one is lost, but *Chrysor*, (who is the same with *Vulcan*) found out all Fishing-Tackle, and, in a small Boat, was the first that ventur'd to Sea, for which he was afterwards *deified:* That from this Generation came two Brothers, *Technites*, and *Antochthon*, who invented the Art of making Tiles; from these *Agrus*, and *Agrotes*, who first made Courts about Houses, Fences, and Cellars; and from these *Amynus* and *Magus*, who shew'd Men how to constitute Villages, and regulate their Flocks. This is the Substance of what *Sanchoniatho* relates during this Period; and how far it agrees with the Account of *Moses*, especially in the idolatrous Line of *Cain*, our learned Bishop *Cumberland* has all along made his Observations.

Gen Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

Manetho Sebennita was High-Priest of *Heliopolis*, in the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, by whose Order he wrote his History; but that which destroys the Credit of it (though it gave him an Opportunity of Invention) is, that *(c)* he professes to transcribe his *Dinasties* from Inscriptions on the Pillars of *Hermes* whom the *Egyptians*, out of Veneration, call *Trismagistus)* in the Land of *Seriad*, which Land no one knows any thing of, and which Pillars, being engraven before the Flood, can hardly be suppos'd to escape undefac'd.

And of Manetho.

THE plain Truth is, the LXX Translation was, not long before this Time, finish'd, and, when the *Jewish* Antiquities came to appear in the World, the *Egyptians* (who were mighty Pretenders this Way) grew jealous of the Honour of their Nation, and were willing to shew, that they could trace up their Memoirs much higher, than *Moses* had carried those of the *Israelites*. *(d)* This was the chief Design of *Manetho*'s making his Collections. He was resolv'd to make the *Egyptian* Antiquities reach as far backwards as he cou'd, and therefore, as many several Names as he found in their Records, so many successive Monarchs he determin'd them to have had; never considering that *Egypt* was at first divided into three, and afterwards into four Sovereignties for some Time, so that three or four of his Kings were, many Times, reigning together: which, if duly consider'd, will be a Means to reduce the *Egyptian* Account to a more reasonable Compass.

* The Substance of the Account however (as it stands unexplain'd in *Manetho)* is

(c) Vid. *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacra. l. 1. c. 2. No. XI. *(d) Shuckford*'s Connect. Part. 1. l. 1.

* The Accounts of *Manetho* seem at first Sight so extravagant, that many great Writers look upon them as mere Fictions, and omit attempting to say any Thing concerning them; tho' other learned Men (and more especially our Countryman, Sir *John Marsham*, in his Can. Chron. p. 1.) not well satisfy'd with this Proceeding, have undertaken an Examination of them, and with some Success. The Misfortune is, we have none of the original Works, from whence they were collected, nor any one Author, that properly gives us any Light or Knowledge of them. The Historians *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Herodotus*, did not examine these Matters to the Bottom; and we have no Remains of the old *Egyptian Chronicon*, or of the Works of *Manetho*, except some Quotations in the Works of other Writers.

The

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is this: —— That there were in *Egypt* thirty *Dynaſties* of *Gods*, conſiſting of 113 Generations, and which took up the Space of 36,505 Years; that, when this Period was out, then there reign'd eight *Demi-gods* in the Space of 217 Years; that, after them ſucceeded a Race of *Heroes*, to Number 15, and their Reign took up 443 Years; that all this was before the Flood, and then began the Reign of their *Kings*, the firſt of whom was *Manes*.

Now in order to explain what is meant by this prodigious Number of Years, we muſt obſerve, *(e)* that it was a very uſual and cuſtomary Thing for ancient Writers to begin their Hiſtories with ſome Account of the Origin of Things, and the Creation of the World. *Moſes* did ſo in his Book of *Geneſis*; *Sanchoniatho* did ſo in his *Phœnician* Hiſtory; and it appears from *Diodorus*, that the *Egyptian* Antiquities did ſo too. Their Accounts began about the Origin of Things, and the Nature of the *Gods*; then follows an Account of their *Demi-gods*, and terreſtrial Deities; after them came their *Heroes*, or firſt Rank of Men; and laſt of all, their *Kings*. Now if their *Kings* began from the Flood; if their *Heroes* and *Demi-gods* reach'd up to the Beginning of the World; then the Account, which they give of the Reigns of their *Gods*, before theſe, can be only their *Theological* Speculations, put into ſuch Order, as they thought moſt *Philoſophical*.

To make this more plain, we muſt obſerve farther, that the firſt, and moſt ancient Gods of the *Egyptians*, and of all other Nations, (after they had departed from the Worſhip of the true God) were the *Luminaries* of Heaven; and 'tis very probable, that, what they took to be the Period of Time, in which any of theſe Deities finiſh'd their Courſe, *that* they might call the *Time of his Reign*. Thus a perfect and compleat Revolution of any Star, which they worſhip'd, was the *Reign* of that Star; and as a Period of 36,525 Years is what they call an entire *Mundane* Revolution, *i. e.* when the ſeveral heavenly Bodies come round to the ſame Point, from which all their Courſes began; ſo is it very remarkable, that they made the *Sum Total* of the Reigns of all their ſeveral Gods, to amount to the ſelf-ſame Space of Time. This I take to be a true State of the *Egyptian* Dynaſties: And if ſo, it makes their Hiſtory not near ſo extravagant, as has been imagin'd, and ſinks their Account of Time ſome hundred Years ſhort of the *Jewiſh* Computation. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 15.

The Difference between the Hebrew *and* Samaritan *Computation.*

The *Jewiſh* Computation indeed is not a little ambiguous, by Reaſon of the different Methods, which Men find themſelves inclin'd to purſue. The three common Ways of computing the Time from the Creation to the Flood, are, that which ariſes from the *Hebrew* Text, from the *Samaritan* Copies, and from the LXX Interpretation.

The *Chronographia* of *Syncellus*, wrote by one *George*, an Abbot of the Monaſtry of *St Simeon*, and called *Syncellus*, as being Suffragan of *Taraſius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, is the only Work we can have Recourſe to. From theſe Antiquities *Syncellus* collected the Quotations of the old Chronicon, of *Manetho*, and of *Eratoſthenes*, as he found them in the Works of *Africanus* aud *Euſebius*; and the Works of *Africanus* and *Euſebius* being now loſt (for 'tis known, that the Work, which goes under the Name of *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*, is a Compoſition of *Scaliger*'s, we have nothing to be depended upon, but what we find in *Syncellus* abovemention'd. *Shuckford*'s Connect.

(e) Shuckford's Connect. l. i.

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Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

The Computation of MOSES.

1. According to the *Hebrew* Text.	Began his Life in the Year of the World	Had his Son in the Year of his Life.	Lived after his Son's Birth Years.	Lived in all Years	Died in the Year of the World
Adam — —	1	130	800	930	930
Seth — —	130	105	807	912	1042
Enos — —	235	90	815	905	1140
Cainan — —	325	70	840	910	1235
Mahalaleel — —	395	65	830	895	1290
Jared — —	460	162	800	962	1422
Enoch — —	622	65	300	365	987
Methuſelah — —	687	187	782	969	1656
Lamech — —	874	182	595	777	1651
Noah — —	1056	500	—	—	—

2. According to the *Samaritan.*	Began his Life in the Year of the World	Had his Son in the Year of his Life	Lived after his Son's Birth Years	Lived in all Years	Died in the Year of the World
Adam — —	1	130	800	930	930
Seth — —	130	105	807	912	1042
Enos — —	235	90	815	905	1140
Cainan — —	325	70	840	910	1235
Mahalaleel — —	395	65	830	895	1290
Jared — —	460	62	785	847	1307
Enoch — —	522	65	300	365	887
Methuſelah — —	587	67	653	720	1307
Lamech — —	654	53	600	653	1307
Noah — —	707	500	—	—	—

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3. According to the *Septuagint.*	Began his Life in the Year of the World	Had his Son in the Year of his Life	Lived after his Son's Birth Years	Lived in all Years	Died in the Year of the World
Adam — —	1	230	700	930	930
Seth — —	230	205	707	912	1042
Enos — —	435	190	715	905	1340
Cainan — —	625	170	740	910	5135
Mahalaleel — —	795	165	730	895	1690
Jared — —	960	162	800	962	1922
Enoch — —	1122	165	200	365	1487
Methuſelah — —	1287	187	782	969	2256
Lamech — —	1474	188	565	753	2227
Noah — —	1662	500	——	——	——

THE Difference between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* Computation is eaſily perceiv'd, by comparing the two former *Tables* together; nor will it be any hard Matter to reconcile them, if we conſider what *(f)* St *Jerom* informs us of, *viz.* that there were *Samaritan* Copies, which made *Methuſelah* 187 Years old, at the Birth of *Lamech*; and *Lamech* 182, at the Birth of *Noah*. Now, if this be true, it is eaſy to ſuppoſe 62 (the Age of *Jared* at the Birth of *Enoch)* to be a Miſtake of the Tranſcriber, who might drop a Letter, and write 62, inſtead of 162; and thus all the Difference, between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* Copies will entirely vaniſh.

And between the Hebrew *and* Septuagint.

BUT it is not ſo between the *Hebrew* and the *Septuagint*. The *Hebrew*, according to the higheſt Calculation, makes no more, than 1656 Years before the Flood, but the *Septuagint* raiſe it to no leſs, than 2262: So that, in this one Period, (without ſaying any Thing of the wide Difference between them in *ſubſequent* Times) there is an Addition of above 600 Years, which can † hardly be accounted for by any Miſtake of Tranſcribers, becauſe all the antient and authentick Copies, both of the *Hebrew* and *Septuagint*, agree exactly in their Computation. And therefore the Generality of learned Men, deſpairing of a Reconciliation, have fairly enter'd the Liſts, and taken the Side, which they thought moſt tenable.

Argument for the Septuagint.

THOSE, who eſpouſe the Cauſe of the *Greek* Verſion, draw up their Arguments in

(f) In Quæſt. in Geneſ.

† *Lud. Capellus* [in his *Chron. ſacr. in Apparatu Walton. ad Bibl. Polyglot.*] attempts to reconcile this Difference, by telling us from St *Auſtin* [de Civitate Dei, *cap.* 13] That this Edition was not made by the LXX themſelves, but by ſome early Tranſcriber from them, and probably for one or other of theſe two Reaſons; *1ſt*, Perhaps, thinking the Years of the *Antediluvians* to be but *Lunar*, and computing that, at this Rate, the ſix Fathers (whoſe Lives are thus alter'd) muſt have had their Children at 5, 6, 7, or 8 Years old, (which could not but look incredible;) the Tranſcriber, I ſay, finding this, might be induc'd to add 100 Years to each, in order to make them of a more probable Age of Manhood, at the Birth of their reſpective Children: Or, *2dly*, If he thought the Years of their Lives to be *Solar*, yet ſtill he might imagine, that Infancy and Childhood were proportionably longer in Men, who were to live 7, 8, or 9 hundred Years, than they are in us; and that it was too early in their Lives, for them to be Fathers at 60, 70, or 90 Years of Age; and, for this Reaſon, might add an 100 Years, to make their Advance to Manhood (which is commonly not till one fourth Part of Life is over) proportionable to what was to be the Term of their Duration, *Shuckford's* Connection, l. 1.

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in this Rank and Order. They tell us, that the Alteration in the *Septuagint* Computation muſt have been purpoſely made; becauſe, where Letters muſt neceſſarily have been added, and where ſometimes both Parts of a Verſe, and ſometimes two Verſes together are alter'd, and ſo alter'd, as ſtill to keep them conſiſtent with one another; this, whenever done, muſt be done *deſignedly*, and for no other Reaſon, that they can imagine, but merely a Detection of Errors in the *Hebrew* Copies.

THEY tell us, that, tho' they have no poſitive Proof of ſuch Errors in the preſent *Hebrew* Copies, yet they have good Grounds to ſuſpect there are ſuch, becauſe that, before the Time of *Antiochus*, the *Jews*, while in Peace, were ſo very careleſs about their ſacred Writings, that they ſuffer'd ſeveral Variations to creep into their Copies; that when *Antiochus* fell upon them, he ſeiz'd and burnt all the Copies, he could come at, ſo that none, but ſuch as were in private Hands, eſcap'd his Fury; that, as ſoon as that Calamity was over, thoſe Copies, which were left in private Hands, the *Jews* got together, in order to tranſcribe others from them; and that, from theſe Tranſcriptions, came all the Copies, now in Uſe. Now ſuppoſe, *ſay they*, that theſe private Copies, which eſcap'd the Fury of *Antiochus*, but were made in an Age confeſſedly *inaccurate*, had any of them dropt ſome numerical Letters, this might occaſion the preſent *Hebrew* Text's falling ſhort in its Computations: And, to confirm this,

THEY tell us, that *Joſephus*, *(g)* who expreſsly declares, that he wrote his Hiſtory from the ſacred Pages, *(h)* in his Account of the Lives of the *Antediluvian* Patriarch, agrees with the *Septuagint*; and that the *Greek* Hiſtorians before *Joſephus*, ſuch as *Demetrius Phalerius*, *Philo* the Elder, *Eupolemus*, *&c.* very accurate Writers, and highly commended by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Euſebius*, in their Calculation differ very much from the common *Hebrew*: So that not only *Joſephus*, but theſe elder Hiſtorians likewiſe, muſt have either ſeen, or been inform'd of certain *Hebrew* Copies, which agreed with the *Septuagint*, and differ'd from what have deſcended to us. In ſhort, Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

THEY tell us, *(i)* that the whole Chriſtian Church, *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern*, and all the celebrated Writers of the Church, are on their Side; that all the antient *Manuſcripts* have exactly the ſame Computations with the common *Septuagint*, except here and there a Variation or two, not worth regarding; and therefore they conclude, that, as there is a manifeſt Diſagreement between the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Copies in this Reſpect, the Miſtake ſhou'd rather be charg'd upon the *Hebrew*, than the *Septuagint*; becauſe, as the *Hebrew* is thought by ſome to fall ſhort, and the *Septuagint* to exceed, in its Account of the Lives of the *Patriarchs*, 'tis obvious to conceive, that a Fault of this Kind may be incurr'd by Way of *Omiſſion*, rather than *Addition*.

For the Hebrew *Computation.*

THOSE, who maintain the Authority of the *Hebrew* Text, as the Standard and Rule of reckoning the Years of the Patriarchs, oppoſe their Adverſaries in this Manner.

THEY tell us, *(k)* that the *Hebrew* Text is the *Original*, in which the Spirit of God indicted the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, and being, conſequently, authentick, is better to be truſted, than any Tranſlations made by Men, liable to Error, as the LXX Interpreters were; and that the *Jews*, to whom *(l) were committed theſe Oracles of* God, us'd the greateſt Diligence to preſerve them pure and entire, inſomuch, that in the Courſe of ſo many Years (as *(m) Joſephus* teſtifies in his Time) *no Perſon durſt add, take away, or miſplace any Thing therein.*

THEY tell us, that no Reaſon can be aſſign'd, why the *Hebrew* Text ſhould be corrupted, but many very probable ones, why the *Septuagint* might; ſince, either to exalt the Antiquity of their own Nation, or to conform to the *Dynaſties* of

(g) Contra App. l. 1. *(h)* Antiq. l. 1. c. 3. *(i)* *Shuckford*'s Connection, and *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar.
(k) *Miller*'s Church Hiſtory. *(l)* Rom. iii. 2. *(m)* Contra App. l. 1.

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of the *Egyptians*, the *Jewish* Interpreters at *Alexandria* might falsify their Chronology; since, in this very Point, there are so many different Readings in the *Septuagint*, and so many Errors and Mis-translations in it, that *(n)* the learned Dr *Lightfoot* (to whom, as yet, no sufficient Reply has been made) has prov'd it a very corrupt and imperfect Version.

They tell us, that the *Hebrew* Computations are supported by a perfect Concurrence and Agreement of all *Hebrew* Copies now in Being; that there have been no various Readings in these Places, since the *Talmuds* were compos'd; that, even in our Saviour's Time, this was the current Way of Calculation, since the Paraphrase of *Onkelos* (which is on all Hands agreed to be about that Age) is the same exactly with the *Hebrew* in this Matter; that St *Jerom*, and St *Austin*, (who were the best skill'd in the *Hebrew* Tongue of any Fathers in their Age) follow'd it in their Writings, and the *vulgar Latin*, which has been in Use in the Church above 1000 Years, entirely agrees with it.

They tell us, that *Demetrius*, the real Historian (for † *Phalerius* was none) liv'd not before the Reign of *Ptolemy Philopater*, the Grand-Son of *Philadelphus*, near seventy Years after the LXX Translation was made; that *Philo* was contemporary with our Saviour, wrote almost 300 Years after the said Translation, and, living constantly at *Alexandria*, might very well be suppos'd to copy from it; that *Josephus*, though a *Jew*, and perfectly skill'd in the *Hebrew* Language, in many Instances, which learned *(o)* Men have pointed out) adheres to the *Greek* in Opposition to the *Hebrew*; and that the Fathers of the first Ages of the Church, though they were very good Men, had no great Extent of Learning; understood the *Greek* Tongue better than the *Hebrew*; and for that Reason gave the Preference to the *Septuagint* Computation. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

In this Manner do the Advocates for the *Hebrew* Text defend its Authority: And, since it is confess'd, there has been a Transmutation somewhere, if that Transmutation was designedly and on purpose done (as the adverse Party agrees) 'tis indifferent *(p)* whether it was done by way of Addition, or Substraction: Only as it is evident, that the *Greeks* did compute by numerical Letters, whereas, it is much question'd, that the *Hebrews* ever did; the Mistake, or Falsification rather seems to lie on the Side of the *Greek* Translators, the very Form of whose Letters was more susceptible of it.

This is a true State of the Controversy, wherein the Arguments for the *Hebrew* Computation do certainly preponderate; though the Names, the venerable † Names, on the contrary Side, have hitherto been more numerous.

The Religion.

It might be some Entertainment to the Reader, could we but give him any tolerable View of the Religion, Polity, and Learning, of the *Antediluvian* People: But the sacred History, in this Respect, is so very short, and the Hints, suggested therein,

(n) Vid. ejus Opera. Tom. II. p. 932. ex Edit. Ultraject, 1699.

† *Demetrius Phalerius* was the first President of the College of *Alexandria*, to which the Library belonged, where the original Manuscripts of the *Septuagint* were reposited. He was a great Scholar, as well as an able Statesman and Politician; but I doubt Bishop *Walton* is mistaken, when (in his 9th Prolegom. ad Bib. Polyglot.) he quotes him as one of those *Greek* Historians, whose Works may prove the *Septuagint* Computation to be more probable than the *Hebrew*. The *Phalerian Demetrius* liv'd a busy, active Life, was a great Officer of State, both at Home and Abroad, and I do not find that he ever wrote any History. 'Twas *Demetrius* the Historian therefore, that the Bishop should have quoted, but he, living in the Time that I mention'd, does not make much to his Purpose. *Shuckford*'s Connect. l. 1.

(o) Vid. *Cave*'s Hist. Litt. p. 2. in *Joseph*, and *Well*'s Dissertation upon the Chronicles of *Josephus*, p. 19.—21.

(p) *Heidegger*'s Hist. Patriar.

† The Names for the *Septuagint* Computation, which the learned *Heidegger* in his Hist. Patriar. (as he takes them from *Baronius)* has reckon'd up, are such as these; *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, St *Cyprian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Hippolytus*, *Origen*, *Lactantius*, *Epiphanius*, *Philastrius*, *Orosius*, *Cyril*, the two *Anastasii*, *Nicephorus*, and *Suada*, to whom he might add several more, as *Heidegger* suggests; while those among the Ancients, who contended for the *Hebrew* Calculation, were only St *Austin* and St *Jerom*, but Men of great Skill and Proficiency in the *Hebrew* Language. De Ætate Patriarcharum, Exer. 10.

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therein, ſo very few, and ſo very obſcure withal, that, during this Period, we are left, in a great Meaſure in the Dark. However, we cannot but obſerve, that it is a miſtaken Notion of ſome Authors, who affirm, that at the Beginning of the World, for almoſt 2000 Years together, Mankind liv'd without any Law, without any Precepts, without any Promiſes from God; and that the Religion from *Adam* to *Abraham* was purely *natural*, and ſuch as had nothing, but right Reaſon to be its Rule and Meaſure. The *Antediluvian* Diſpenſation indeed was, in the main, founded upon the Law of Nature; but ſtill it muſt be acknowledg'd, that there was (as we ſhewed before) a Divine *Precept* concerning *Sacrifices*; that there was a Divine *Promiſe* concerning the *bleſſed Seed*; and that there were ſeveral other Precepts and Injunctions given the Patriarchs, beſides thoſe, that were built upon mere Reaſon.

THE Law of Sacrifices (which confeſſedly at this Time obtain'd) was partly *natural*, and partly *Divine*. As Sacrifices were Tokens of Thankfulneſs, and Acknowledgments, that the Fruits of the Earth, and all other Creatures, for the Uſe and Benefit of Man, were deriv'd from God; they were a Service, dictated by natural Reaſon, and ſo were *natural* Acts of Worſhip: But, as they carried with them the Notion of *Expiation*, and Atonement for the Souls of Mankind, eſpecially as they refer to the *Meſſias*, and ſignify'd the future Sacrifice of Chriſt; they were certainly inſtituted by God, and the Practice of them was founded upon a Divine Command.

IT is not to be doubted, *(q)* but that *Adam* inſtructed his Children to worſhip and adore God, to commemorate his Goodneſs, and deprecate his Diſpleaſure; nor can we ſuppoſe, but that they, in their reſpective Families, put his Inſtructions in Execution: And yet we find, that in the Days of *Enos* (beſides all private Devotion) a publick Form of Worſhip was ſet up; that the People had the Rites of their Religion, which God had appointed, fix'd, and eſtabliſh'd; and that, very probably, as *Cain* built Cities for his Deſcendants to live in, ſo *Enos* might build Temples, and Places of divine Worſhip, for his to reſort to. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

THE Diſtinction of *clean* and *unclean* Animals was another Divine Injunction under this Diſpenſation. God refers *Noah* to it, as a Thing well known, when he commands him *(r)* to put *into the Ark ſeven Pair of clean, and two of unclean Creatures:* And *(s)* tho' in Reſpect of Man's Food, this Diſtinction was not before the Law of *Moſes*, yet ſome Beaſts were accounted fit, and others unfit for Sacrifices from the Beginning. The former were eſteem'd *clean*, and the latter *unclean:* And it ſeems ſafer to make a poſitive Law of God the Foundation of this Diſtinction, than to imagine that Men, in ſuch Matters as theſe, were left to their own Diſcretion.

THE Prohibition of marrying with Infidels, or Idolaters, was another Article of this *Diſpenſation*, as appears from God's angry Reſentment, when the Children of *Seth* enter'd into Wedlock with the wicked Poſterity of *Cain*. And, to mention no more, under this Period were given thoſe ſix *great Precepts of* Adam (as they are generally call'd) whereof the *Jewiſh* Doctors make ſuch Boaſt; * and of theſe the 1ſt was *of ſtrange Worſhip*, or Idolatry; the 2d *of curſing the moſt holy Name*,

(q) Edwards's Survey of Religion, l. 1. *(r)* Gen. vii. 2. *(s) Patrick*'s Commentary.

* The Commandments, given to the Sons of *Noah*, are the ſame with theſe. They are an Abridgment of the whole Law of Nature; but have one *poſitive* Precept annex'd to them; and are generally plac'd in this Order. 1. *Thou ſhalt ſerve no other Gods, but the Maker only of Heaven and Earth.* 2. *Thou ſhalt remember to ſerve the true God, the Lord of the World, by ſanctifying his Name in the midſt of thee.* 3. *Thou ſhalt not ſhed the Blood of Man, created after the Image of God.* 4. *Thou ſhalt not defile the Body, that thou mayeſt be fruitful and multiply, and, with a Bleſſing repleniſh the Earth.* 5. *Thou ſhalt be content with that which thine is, and what thou wou'dſt not have done to thyſelf, that thou ſhalt not do to another.* 6. *Thou ſhalt do right Judgment to every one, without Reſpect to Perſons.* 7. *Thou ſhalt not eat the Fleſh in the Blood, nor any thing that hath Life, with the Life thereof.* This is the *Heptalogue* of *Noah*, or the *ſeven Words*, which, as the *Jews* tells us, were deliver'd to him and his Sons, and were conſtantly obſerv'd by all the *uncircumcis'd* Worſhippers of the true God. Bibliotheca Bib. Occaſ. Annot. 15. Vol. I.

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or Blaſphemy; the 3d *of uncovering the Nakedneſs*, or unlawful Copulation; the 4th *of Bloodſhed*, or Homicide; the 5th *of Theft*, and *Rapine*; and the 6th *of Judgment*, or the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the publick Courts of Judicature. So that from the very firſt, God *did not leave himſelf without a Witneſs* (as the Apoſtle terms it) but, in one Degree or other, made frequent Manifeſtations of his Will to Mankind.

Polity.

THAT Government, of one Kind or other, is eſſential to the Well-being of Mankind, ſeems to be a Poſition, * founded in the Nature of Things, the Relation, wherein Men, at firſt, ſtood towards one another, and the ſeveral Qualifications in them, which, in a ſhort Time cou'd not but appear. The firſt Form of Government, without all Controverſy, was *patriarchal:* But this Form was ſoon laid aſide, when Men of ſuperior Parts came once to diſtinguiſh themſelves; when the Head of any Family either out-power'd, or outwitted his Neighbour, and ſo brought him to give up his Dominion, either by Compulſion, or Reſignation. Government however, at this Time, ſeems to have been plac'd in fewer Hands, than it is now: not that the Number of People was leſs, but their Communities were larger, and their Kingdoms more extenſive, than ſince the Flood; *(t)* inſomuch, that it may well be queſtion'd, whether, after the Union of the two great Families of *Seth* and *Cain*, there was any Diſtinction of *civil* Societies, or Diverſity of regal Governments at all. It ſeems more likely, that all Mankind then made but one great Nation, living in a Kind of *Anarchy*, and divided into ſeveral diſorderly Aſſociations; which, as it was almoſt the natural Conſequence of their having, in all Probability, but one Language; ſo it was a Circumſtance, which greatly contributed to that general Corruption, which otherwiſe perhaps cou'd not ſo univerſally have prevail'd. And for this Reaſon we may ſuppoſe, that no ſooner was the Poſterity of *Noah* ſufficiently encreas'd, but a Plurality of Tongues was miraculouſly introduc'd, in order to divide them into diſtinct Societies, and thereby prevent any ſuch total Depravation for the future. Gen. Ch. v. and vi to Ver. 13.

And the Learning of the Antediluvians.

THE enterprizing Genius of Man began to exert itſelf very early in Muſick, Braſs-work, Iron-work, and every Science, uſeful and entertaining, and the Undertakers were not limited by a ſhort Life. They had Time enough before them to carry Things to Perfection; but whatever their Skill, Learning, or Induſtry perform'd, all Remains and Monuments of it have long ſince periſh'd.

Seth's *Pillars.*

(u) Joſephus indeed gives us this Account of *Seth*'s great Knowledge in Aſtronomy, and how induſtrious he was to have it convey'd to the new World. "*Seth*, "and his Deſcendants, *ſays he*, were Per- "ſons of happy Tempers, and liv'd in "Peace, employing themſelves in the Stu- "dy of *Aſtronomy*, and in other Searches "after uſeful Knowledge; but, being in- "form'd by *Adam*, that the World ſhould "be twice deſtroy'd, firſt by Water, and "afterwards by Fire, they made two Pil- "lars, the one of *Stone*, and the other "of *Brick*, and inſcrib'd their Knowledge "upon them, ſuppoſing that the one or "other of them might remain for the "Uſe of Poſterity". *(x)* But how ſtrangely improbable is it, that they, who foreknew that the Deſtruction of the World ſhould be by a Flood, ſhould buſy themſelves to write *aſtronomical* Obſervations on Pillars, for the Benefit of thoſe, who ſhould live after it? Could they think, that their Pillars would have ſome peculiar Exemption, above other Structures, from the Violence and Outrage of the Waters? If they believ'd that the Flood would prove univerſal, for whoſe

* To this Purpoſe *Cicero* [de Legibus l. 3. c. 1.] tells us, that ſine Imperio, nec Domus ulla, nec Gens, nec hominum univerſum Genus ſtare, nec Rerum natura omnis, nec ipſe mundus poteſt. *Seneca* aſſerts, that *iſtud* [imperium] *eſt vinculum, per quod* Reſpublica cohæret: Ille ſpiritus vitalis, quem hæc tot millia trahunt; nihil ipſa per ſe futura, niſi onus & præda, ſi mens illa imperii ſubtrahatur.

(t) Univerſ. Hiſt. l. 1. n. 2. *(u)* Antiq. l. 1. c. 2. *(x)* *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. l. 1. c. 2.

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whoſe Inſtruction did they write their Obſervations? If they did not, to what End did they write them at all, ſince the Perſons who ſurviv'd, might communicate their Inventions to whom they pleas'd? The plain Truth is, *(y) Joſephus*, who frequently quotes Heathen Authors, and *Manetho* in particular, took this Story of *Seth*'s Pillars from the Pillars of *Hermes*, mention'd in that Hiſtorian: For, as the *Jews* had an antient Tradition concerning *Seth*'s Pillars, *Joſephus*, in reading *Manetho*, might poſſibly think his Account miſapplied, and thereupon imagine, that he ſhould probably hit on the Truth, if he put the Account of the one, and the Tradition of the other together; and this very likely might occaſion his Miſtake.

And Enoch's *Prophecy.*

(z) THE *Eaſtern* People have preſerv'd ſeveral Traditions of very little Certainty concerning *Enoch*. They believe, that he receiv'd from God the Gift of Wiſdom and Knowledge to an eminent Degree, and that God ſent him thirty Volumes from Heaven, fill'd with all the Secrets of the moſt myſterious Science. St *Jude*, 'tis certain, ſeems to cite a Paſſage from a Prophecy of his; nor can it be denied, but that in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, † there was a Book, well known to the *Jews*, that went under his Name: But, beſides that this Piece is now generally given up for *ſpurious*, there is no need for us to ſuppoſe, that St *Jude* ever quoted any Paſſage out of this, or any other Book of *Enoch*.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

(a) ENOCH was a Prophet, we are told, and, as ſuch, was inveſted with Authority *to cry aloud, and ſpare not*, to reprove the Wicked, and denounce God's Judgments againſt them; and, as he was a good Man, 'twas eaſy for St *Jude* to imagine, that he would not ſit ſtill, and ſee the Impieties of the People grow ſo very exorbitant, without endeavouring to repreſs them, by ſetting before them *the Terrors of the Lord*. He could not diſcharge the Office of a *good Man*, and a *Prophet*, without forewarning them of the *(b) Lord's coming, with ten thouſand of his Saints, to execute Judgment upon all, and to convince all that were ungodly among them:* And, becauſe this was his Office and Duty, the Apoſtle infers (as by the Spirit of God he might certainly know) that *he did ſo*, tho' he might not make that Inference from any Paſſage in his Prophecy; becauſe it is a known Obſervation, that † many Things are alluded to in the *New Teſtament*, which were never perhaps in any Book at all.

The Longevity of the Antediluvians.

OF all the ſtrange Matters that occur in this Period of Time, there is nothing which looks ſo like a Prodigy as the *Longevity* of thoſe Men, who at firſt inhabited the Earth; nor is any Event ſo apt to affect us with Wonder, as the Diſproportion

(y) Shuckford's Connection, l. 1. *(z) Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Enoch*.

† *Joſeph Scaliger*, in his Annotations upon *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*, has given us ſome conſiderable Fragments of it, which *Heidegger*, in his *Hiſt. Patriarch.* has tranſlated into *Latin*, which the Curious, if they think proper, may conſult: But the Whole ſeems to be nothing but a fabulous Collection of ſome *Jew* or other, moſt unworthy the holy Patriarch. *Tertullian* however, has defended it with great Warmth, and laments much, that all the World is not as zealous as himſelf, in the Maintenance of its *Authenticalneſs*. He pretends, that it had been ſaved by *Noah* in the Ark, from thence tranſmitted down to the Church, and that the *Jews*, in his Days, rejected it, only becauſe they thought it was favourable to *Chriſtianity*. *Miller*'s Hiſtory of the Church, and *Saurin*'s Diſſertations. The great Objections againſt this Book is, that neither *Philo*, nor *Joſephus*, (thoſe diligent Searchers into Antiquity) make any mention of it; and that it contains ſuch fabulous Stories as are monſtrous and abſurd. But to this ſome have anſwered, that ſuch a Book there certainly was, notwithſtanding the Silence of theſe *Jewiſh* Antiquaries; and that, after the Apoſtle's Time, it might be corrupted, and many Things added to it by ſucceeding *Hereticks*, who might take Occaſion from the Antiquity thereof, and from the Paſſage of *Michael*'s contending with the Devil about the Body of *Moſes*, to interpolate many Fables, and Inventions of their own. *Raleigh*'s Hiſtory of the World.

(a) Heidegger's Hiſt. Patriar. *(b)* Jude *ver.* 14, 15.

† There are many Inſtances in the *New Teſtament* of Facts alluded to, which we do not find in any ancient Books. Thus the Conteſt between *Michael* and the Devil is mention'd, as if the *Jews* had, ſome where or other, a full Account of it. The Names of the *Egyptians*, *Jannes*, and *Jambres*, are ſet down, though they are no where found in *Moſes*'s Hiſtory. St *Paul* tells us, that *Moſes* exceedingly quak'd and fear'd on Mount *Sinai*; but we do not find it ſo recorded any where in the *Old Teſtament*. In all theſe Caſes, the Apoſtles and holy Writers hinted at Things commonly receiv'd as true by Tradition among the *Jews*, without tranſcribing them from any real Book. *Shuckford*'s Connection, l. 1.

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tion between their Lives and ours. We think it a great Thing, if we chance to arrive at *fourſcore*, or an hundred Years; whereas they liv'd to the Term of 7, 8, 9 Hundred, and upwards, as appears * by the joint Teſtimony both of ſacred and profane Hiſtory. The only Suſpicion that can ariſe in our Minds upon this Occaſion, is, tha the Computation might poſſibly be made, not according to *ſolar*, but *lunar* Years; but this, inſtead of ſolving the Difficulty, runs us into ſeveral groſs Abſurdities.

The Space of Time, between the Creation and the Flood, is uſually computed to be 1656 Years, which, if we ſuppoſe to be *lunar*, and converted into common Years, will amount to little more than 127; too ſhort an Interval, by much, to ſtock the World with a ſufficient Number of Inhabitants. From one Couple we can ſcarce imagine, that there could ariſe 500 Perſons in ſo ſhort a Time; but, ſuppoſe them a Thouſand, they would not be ſo many, as we ſometimes have in a good Country *Village*. And, were the *Floodgates of Heaven* open'd, and the great *Abyſs broken up*, to deſtroy ſuch an Handful of People? Were the Waters rais'd *fifteen Cubits above the higheſt Mountains*, throughout the Face of the whole Earth, to drown a Pariſh or two? This certainly is more incredible, than the longeſt Age, which the Scriptures aſcribe to the Patriarchs: Beſides that, this ſhort Interval leaves no Room for ten Generations, which we find from *Adam* to the Flood, nor does it allow the Patriarchs Age enough (ſome of them, upon this Suppoſition, muſt not be above five Years old) when they are ſaid to beget Children.

It is generally allow'd, and may indeed be prov'd by the Teſtimony of Scripture, that our firſt Fathers liv'd conſiderably longer, than any of their Poſterity have done ſince; but, according to this *Hypotheſis* (which depreſſes the Lives of the *Antediluvians*, not only below thoſe, who liv'd next the Flood, but even below all following Generations to this Day) *Methuſelah*, who was always accounted the oldeſt Man ſince the Creation, did but reach to the Age of 75, and *Abraham*, who is ſaid to have *died in a good old Age*, was not compleatly 15. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 15.

The Patrons of this Opinion therefore would do well to tell us, when we are to break off this Account of *lunar* Years in the ſacred Hiſtory. If they will have it extended no farther than the Flood, they make the *Poſtdiluvian* Fathers longer liv'd than the *Antediluvian*, but will be puzzled to aſſign a Reaſon why the Deluge ſhould occaſion *Longevity*. If they will extend it to the *Poſtdiluvians* likewiſe, they will then be entangled in worſe Difficulties; for they will make their Lives miſerably ſhort, and their Age of getting Children altogether incongruous and impoſſible.

From the Whole therefore we may conclude, that the Years whereby *Moſes* reckons the Lives of the *Antediluvians*, were *ſolar* Years, much of the ſame Length with what we now uſe, and that therefore there muſt be a Reaſon, either in their Manner of Life, their bodily Conſtitution, the Temperament of the World wherein they liv'd, or (what is moſt likely) the particular Vouchſafement of God, to give them this mighty, this ſingular Advantage above us.

And the Reaſons for it.

Some have imputed this extraordinary Length of Life in the *Antediluvians* to the Sobriety of their Living, and Simplicity of their Diet; that they eat no Fleſh, and had no Provocations to Gluttony, which Wit and Vice have ſince invented. *(c)* This indeed might have ſome Effect, but not poſſibly to the Degree we now ſpeak of; ſince there have been many moderate and abſtemious People in all Ages, who have not ſurpaſs'd the common Period of Life.

Others

* *Manetho*, who wrote the Story of the *Egyptians*; *Beroſus*, who wrote the *Chaldean* Hiſtory; thoſe Authors, who give us an Account of the *Phœnician* Antiquities; and among the *Greeks*, *Heſiodus*, *Hecateus*, *Hellanicus*, *Ephorus*, &c. do unanimouſly agree, that in the firſt Ages of the World, Men liv'd a thouſand Years. *Burnet's* Theory, l. 2. c. 4.

(c) Burnet's Theory of the Earth, l. 2. c. 4.

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OTHERS have aſcribed it to the Excellency of the Fruits, and ſome unknown Quality in the Herbs and Plants of thoſe Days: But the Earth, we know, was curs'd immediately after the Fall, and its Fruits, we may ſuppoſe, gradually decreas'd in their Virtue and Goodneſs, until the Time of the Flood, and yet we do not ſee, that the Length of Men's Lives decreas'd at all, during that Interval.

OTHERS therefore have thought, that the long Lives of the Men of the old World proceeded from the Strength of their *Stamina*, or firſt Principle of their bodily Conſtitution, which, if they were equally ſtrong in us, wou'd maintain us, as they think, in Being, as long: But, tho' it be granted, that both the Strength and Stature of their Bodies were greater than ours, and that a Race of ſtrong Men, living long in Health, will have Children of a proportionably ſtrong Conſtitution; yet, that this was not the ſole and adequate Cauſe of their *Longevity*, we have one plain Inſtance to convince us, *viz.* that *Shem*, who was born before the Deluge, and had in his Body all the Virtue of an *Antediluvian* Conſtitution, fell 300 Years ſhort of the Age of his Forefathers, becauſe the greateſt Part of his Life was paſs'd after the Flood.

THE ingenious *Theoriſt*, whom I have quoted, for this Reaſon imagines, that, before the Flood, the Situation of the Earth to the Sun was *direct* and *perpendicular*, and not, as it is now, *inclin'd* and *oblique*. From this Poſition he infers, that there was a perpetual *Equinox* all the Earth over, and one continued Spring; and thence concludes, that the Equality of the Air and Stability of the Seaſons were the true Cauſes of the *then Longevity*; whereas the Change, and Obliquity of the Earth's Poſture, occaſion'd by the Deluge, alter'd the Form of the Year, and brought in an Inequality of Seaſons, which caus'd a ſenſible Decay in Nature, and a gradual Contraction in human Life.

HIS Reaſoning upon this Point is very elegant. "There is no Queſtion, *ſays he*, "but every Thing upon Earth, and eſpe- "cially the animate World, wou'd be "much more permanent, if the general "Courſe of Nature was more ſteady, and "more uniform. A Stability in the Hea- "vens makes a Stability in all Things "below; and that Change, and Contra- "riety of Qualities, which we have in "theſe Regions, is the Fountain of Cor- "ruption——the *Æther*, in their little "Pores, the Air, in their greater, and "the Vapours, and Atmoſphere, that ſur- "round them, ſhake, and unſettle their "Texture and Continuity; whereas, in a "fix'd State of Nature, where theſe Prin- "ciples have always the ſame conſtant and "uniform Motion, a long and laſting "Peace enſues, without any Violence, "either within, or without, to diſcom- "poſe them. We ſee by daily Expe- "rience, *continues he*, that Bodies are kept "better in the ſame *Medium* (as we call "it) than when they are ſometimes in the "Air, and ſometimes in the Water, moiſt "and dry, hot and cold by Turns; be- "cauſe theſe different States weaken the "Contexture of their Parts. But our Bo- "dies in the preſent State of Nature, are "put in an hundred different *Mediums*, "in the Courſe of a Year; the Winds are "of a different Nature, and the Air of a "different Weight and Preſſure, accord- "ing as the Weather and Seaſons affect "them. All theſe Things are enough to "wear out our Bodies ſoon, very ſoon, in "compariſon of what they would laſt, if "they were always encompaſs'd with one "and the ſame *Medium*, and that *Me- "dium* were always of one and the ſame "Temper."

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

THIS is all very pretty: But the Author's grand Miſtake is, that it was not ſo in the *primitive* Earth. He has no Authority to ſhew, that, how high ſoever the Waters might ſwell at the Deluge, the Centre of the Earth gave way, *or the Foundations of the round World were ſhaken.*

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The Earth no doubt had, before, as well as after the Flood, an *annual* as well as a *diurnal* Motion. *(d)* It ſtood to the Sun in the ſame *oblique* Poſture and Situation, and was, conſequently, ſubject to the ſame Seaſons and Viciſſitudes that the preſent Earth is; and, if the Air was more mild, and the Element more favourable at that Time, this we may account the peculiar Bleſſing of God, and not the Reſult of the Earth's Poſition to the Sun, or any fancied Stability in the Weather. The Truth is, whatever we may attribute to ſecond Cauſes, why Bodies, that are naturally mortal and corruptible, ſhould ſubſiſt ſo long in the primitive Ages of the World; yet the true Cauſe of all is to be aſcrib'd to the Will of God, who impregnated our firſt Parents with ſuch Vigour, and gave their Poſterity, for ſome Time, ſuch robuſt Conſtitutions, as depended not upon the Nature of their *Diet*, the Stability of the *Seaſons*, or the Temperature of the *Air*. After the Flood, God ſoon made a ſenſible Change in the Length of Man's Days. For, perceiving the general Iniquity to increaſe again, and thereupon deſigning to make an Alteration in the World's Continuance, he haſten'd the Period of human Life, that the Number of Souls, he intended to ſend into the World, before the Conſummation of all Things, might have a ſpeedier Probation. Man's Age, accordingly, went on ſinking by Degrees, until, a little before *David*'s Time, it came to be fix'd at what has been the common Standard ever ſince. *(e) The Days of our Age are threeſcore Years and ten; and tho' Men be ſo ſtrong, that they come to fourſcore Years, yet is their Strength then but Labour and Sorrow, ſo ſoon paſſeth it away and we are gone.* This is our ſtated Period, and therefore for us, who live in this *Poſtdiluvian* World, and have the Term of our Trial ſo much ſhorten'd, the ſubſequent Prayer of the devout *Pſalmiſt* will always be neceſſary, always ſeaſonable; *ſo teach us to number our Days, that we may apply our Hearts unto Wiſdom.*

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

(*d*) Vid. *Keill*'s Examination of *Burnet*'s Theory.

(*e*) *Pſal.* xc. 10.

CHAP.



GOD'S Covenant with NOAH.



L. Pinchy Sc.

— behold, I, even I do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh ;
— But with thee will I establish my covenant : **Gen: Chap: VI. Ver: 17. 18.**

Pl. 10

A. M. 1656, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 2349, &c.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

CHAP. VI.

Of the DELUGE.

The HISTORY.

GOD (as we ſaid before) had given Mankind a Reprieval for an *hundred and thirty Years*; but when he ſaw that all his Lenity and Forbearance tended to no Purpoſe, except it was to make them more bold, and licentious in their Sins, he declared to his Servant *Noah*, that, within a ſhort Time, his Reſolution was to deſtroy them, and, with them, all other Creatures upon the Face of the Earth, by a *Flood of Waters*; but ‡ aſſur'd him, at the ſame Time, that, ſince he had comported himſelf better, and approv'd his Fidelity to his Maker, he would take Care to preſerve him, and his Family, and whatever other Creatures were neceſſary for the Reſtoration of their Species, from the general Calamity.

The Make and Faſhion of the Ark.

To this Purpoſe he gave him Orders to build a Kind of Veſſel, not in the Form of Ships now in Uſe, but rather inclining to the Faſhion of a ‡ large Cheſt or Ark, and himſelf preſcrib'd the *Plan*, whereby he was to proceed.——That to make the Veſſel firm, and ſtrong, and able to endure the Preſſure of the Waves, the Wood, moſt proper for that Purpoſe, ‡ ſhou'd be Cypreſs; and that to prevent the Waves from

‡ The Words in our Tranſlation are, *with thee will I eſtabliſh my Covenant:* But, 1ſt, by the Word *Covenant*, we are not here to underſtand a mutual Compact or Agreement, but only a ſimple and gracious Promiſe, as it is likewiſe us'd, Numb. xviii. 19. xxv. 12. and in ſeveral other Places; which Promiſe, tho' only mention'd here, was doubtleſs made before, as may eaſily be gather'd from both theſe Words, and ſome foregoing Paſſages, and from the Neceſſity that *Noah* ſhould have ſome ſuch Support and Encouragement, during all the Time of his Miniſtry. 2dly, This *Covenant* of God might relate to his ſending the *promis'd Seed*, and Redemption of Mankind by the *Meſſias*; and, in this Senſe, will import, that, as the *Meſſias* was to come out of *Noah*'s Loins, ſo the Divine Providence wou'd take Care to preſerve him alive. But, 3dly, A learned and right Reverend Author is of Opinion, that this Covenant of God relates to his reinſtating the Earth in its primitive Fertility in *Noah*'s Life-time: To which Purpoſe he obſerves, that, as ſoon as the Flood was over, God declares, *I will not curſe again the Ground any more for Man's Sake:* From which Declaration it appears, *ſays he*, 1. That the Flood was the Effect of that Curſe, which was denounc'd againſt the Earth for Man's Sake; and, 2dly, that the old Curſe was fully executed, and accompliſh'd in the Flood; in Conſequence of which, a new Bleſſing is immediately pronounc'd upon the Earth, Gen. viii. 22. *While the Earth remaineth, Seed-Time, and Harveſt, and Cold, and Heat, and Summer, and Winter, and Day, and Night, ſhall not ceaſe: Pool*'s Annot. and Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy.

‡ The Word *Thebath*, which we render *Ark*, is only read here, and in another Place, where *Moſes*, when an Infant, is ſaid to have been put into *one* made of *Bulruſhes*, Exod. ii. 3. It is ſuppos'd to come from a *Root*, which ſignifies to *dwell* or *inhabit*, and may therefore here denote a *Houſe*, or Place of Abode. And indeed, if we conſider the Uſe and Deſign, as well as the Form and Figure of this Building, we can hardly ſuppoſe it to be like an *Ark* or Cheſt, wherein we uſually ſtore Lumber, and put Things out of the Way; but rather like a *Farm-Houſe*, ſuch as are in ſeveral Countries, where the Cattle and People live all under one Roof. As ſoon as Men began to hew down Timber, and to join it together, for the Purpoſe of making Houſes, nothing can be ſuppos'd a more ſimple Kind of Edifice, than what was made rectangular; with a *Bottom* or Floor, to prevent the Dampneſs of the Ground; a ſloping Cover or *Roof* to carry off the Rain that ſhou'd fall; *Stalls* and Cabbins for the Lodgment of Man and Beaſt; and, to keep out Wind and Weather effectually, a Coat of Bitumen or Pitch. Of this Kind was this Building of *Noah*'s, and may therefore rather be term'd a *Place of Abode*, than an *Ark* or Cheſt, properly ſo call'd. *Le Clerc*'s Comment. in Locum.

‡ The Timber, whereof the Ark was fram'd, *Moſes* calls *Gopher Wood*; but what Tree this *Gopher* was, is not a little controverted. Some will have it to be *Cedar*, others the *Pine*, others the *Box*, and others, (particularly the *Mahometans*)

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from penetrating, or the Sun from cracking it, as well as to ſecure it from Worms, and make it glide more eaſy upon the Water, his Buſineſs wou'd be, as ſoon as it was finiſh'd, † *to pitch it*, or rather ſmear it all over with Bitumen, (whereof there was Plenty in the Country) both within and without; that, to make its Proportion regular, its Length ſhould be ſix Times more than its Breadth, and ten Times more than its Height; and, to give it Capacity enough, the firſt of theſe ſhou'd be † 300 Cubits, that is, in our Meaſure, 450 Feet; the ſecond 50 Cubits, or 75 Feet; and the third 30 Cubits, or 45 Feet; that, to make it commodious for the Reception of every Thing, it was to conſiſt of three Stories, or Decks, of equal Height each, and each divided into Stalls and Apartments, proper for the Things, that were to be put into it; that, for turning off the Rain, the Roof was to be made ſloping; for letting in of Light, * there were Windows ſo and ſo diſpos'd, † or ſome other Conveniency anſwerable to them; and that, for the more eaſy Induction of the many Things, it was to contain, a Door, or Entry-port, was to be made in its Side. From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

The Things to be taken into it.

These were the Inſtructions, which God gave *Noah*, who, accordingly, went to work, and being aſſiſted with the Hands of his Family (for † the reſt of the World doubtleſs derided him) in the Time, that was appointed him, and ſeven Days before the

Mahometans) the *Indian-plane* Tree; but our learned *Fuller*, in his *Miſcellanies*, has obſerv'd, that it was nothing elſe but that, which the *Greeks* call Κυπάρισσος, or the *Cypreſs-Tree*: For, taking away the Termination, *Cupar* and *Gopher* differ very little in the Sound. This Obſervation the great *Bochart* has confirm'd, and ſhewn very plainly, that no Country abounds ſo much with this Wood, as that Part of *Aſſyria*, which lies about *Babylon*. And to this we may add the Obſervation of *Theophraſtus*, who, ſpeaking of Trees, that are leaſt ſubject to decay, makes the *Cypreſs-Tree* the moſt durable of all; for which *Vitruvius* gives us this Reaſon, *viz.* that the Sap, which is in every Part of the Wood, has a peculiar bitter Taſte, and is ſo very offenſive that no Worm, or other corroding Animal, will touch it, ſo that ſuch Works, as are made of this Wood, will in a Manner laſt for ever. Vid. Univerſ. Hiſt. *Patrick*'s Comment. *Bochart*'s Phaleg. l. 1. c. 4. and *Bedford*'s Script. Chronol. l. 1. c. 9.

† The *Arabick* Tranſlation ſays expreſly, *pitch it with Pitch*, but the *Bitumen* (which was plentiful in that Country, and, as others think, intended here) was of the ſame Nature, and ſerv'd to the ſame Uſe, as Pitch, being glutinous, and tenacious, and proper to keep Things together. *Patrick*'s Comment.

† A *Cubit* is the Meaſure from the Elbow to the Fingers-end, containing ſix Hand's-breadths, or a Foot and an half; ſo that 300 Cubits make exactly 450 Feet. There are ſome however, who take thoſe for *geometrical* Cubits, every one of which contain ſix of the common; but there is no need for any ſuch Computation, ſince, taking them for common Cubits, it is demonſtrable (as will appear hereafter) that there might be room enough in the Ark for all Sorts of Beaſts, and Birds, together with *Noah*'s Family, and their neceſſary Proviſion. *Ainſworth*'s Annot. and *Patrick*'s Comment.

* There are various Tranſlations of the Word *Zohar*, which occurs but once in the whole Bible in this Senſe. It ſeems to be deriv'd from a *Root* in the *Chaldee*, which ſignifies to *ſhine*, or *give Light*; and therefore our Verſion renders it a *Window*; but if ſo, it muſt be *collective*, and mean ſeveral Windows, becauſe it is not likely, that there ſhould be but *one* in ſo vaſt a Building: And from the following Words, *in a Cubit ſhalt thou finiſh it above*, ſome have ſuppos'd, that the Window was to be a Cubit ſquare, or but a Cubit high, which wou'd have been much too ſmall. But the Relative *it*, being, in the *Hebrew*, of the *Feminine* Gender, and *Zohar* of the Maſculine, theſe two Words cannot agree, and therefore the proper *Antecedent* ſeems to be the *Ark*, which was cover'd with a Roof, *rais'd a Cubit high* in the Middle. This however, in the Original, may ſignify no more than an Injunction to build the Ark by the Cubit, as the common Meaſure, by which the Work was to be mark'd out, and directed. *Vid.* Univerſ. Hiſt. *Saurin*'s Diſſert. and *Lamy*'s Introduction.

† What that other Conveniency was, we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew, when we come to treat of the Word *Zohar* (which we here render *Window*) in anſwer to the ſubſequent Objection.

† The Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* (xi. 7.) mentions *Noah*'s building the Ark as an heroick Act of Faith: *By Faith*, Noah, ſays he, *being warn'd of God of Things not ſeen as yet, mov'd with Fear, prepar'd an Ark, to the ſaving of his Houſe, by which he condemn'd the World, and became Heir of the Righteouſneſs, which is by Faith*: For, we may well imagine, that this Work of his was not only coſtly and laborious, but eſteem'd by the Generality very fooliſh and ridiculous; eſpecially when they ſaw all Things continue in the ſame Poſture and Safety, for ſo many Scores of Years together; whereby *Noah*, without doubt, became, all that while, the *Song of Drunkards*, and the Sport of the Wits of the Age. *Pool*'s Annot. The *Mahometans* have a Tradition, that, when he began to work upon this famous Veſſel, all that ſaw him, derided him, and ſaid, "You are building a Ship, if you can bring Water to it, you will be a "Prophet, as well as a Carpenter"; but he made Anſwer to theſe Inſults, "You laugh at me now, but I ſhall have "my turn to laugh at you; for, at your own coſt, you will learn, that there is a God in Heaven, who puniſhes the "Wicked". *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Noah*.

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the Rain began to fall, * he had compleated the Whole. Whereupon God gave him Inſtructions, that he ſhould take into the Ark *every living Thing of all Fleſh*, both Cattle, and Beaſts of the Field, Birds, and Fowls of the Air, and Reptiles of all Kinds; † of the *Unclean*, one Pair only, but of the *Clean* ſeven Pair; that, when the general Diſſolution was over, they might increaſe again, and repleniſh the Earth; and that, when every Thing was thus ſettled and diſpos'd of, himſelf, and his Family, ſhould likewiſe go into the Ark, and take up their Apartments. From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

A ſhort deſcription of the Flood.

PURSUANT to theſe Directions, *Noah* and his Family went into the Ark (leaving the reſt of the World in their Security and Senſuality) in the 600th Year of his Age, much * about the Middle of *September*; when, in a few Days after *(a)* the whole Face of Nature began to put on a diſmal Aſpect, as if the Earth were to ſuffer a final Diſſolution, and all Things return to their primitive *Chaos*. ** The *Cataracts*

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* 'Tis ſomewhat ſtrange, that the Torrent of Interpreters ſhou'd ſuppoſe, that *Noah* was 120 Years about this Work, when he gives no Intimation to that Purpoſe, but ſufficient Reaſons to believe, that he was not near ſo long as is imagin'd. 'Tis plain from Scripture, that *he was* 500 *Years old when he begat* Shem, Ham, and Japhet; (Gen. v. 32.) and that, when he receiv'd the Command for building the Ark, the ſame Sons were married, for the Text ſays expreſsly, *Thou ſhalt come into the Ark, thou, and thy Sons, and thy Wife, and thy Sons Wives with thee*, (Gen. vi. 18.) So that, all the Time, between the Birth and Marriage of the ſaid Sons, muſt at leaſt be ſuppos'd to intervene, before the Command to build the Ark was given; and, between the Command and the Execution of it, muſt not be ſo long, as is imagin'd, without a Concurrence of Miracles, to prevent that Part of it, which was firſt built, from being rotten and decay'd, before the laſt Part of it was finiſh'd. *Saurin*'s Diſſert. In what Place *Noah* built, and finiſh'd his Ark, is no leſs made a Matter of Diſputation. One ſuppoſes that he built it in *Paleſtine*, and planted the *Cedars* whereof he made it, in the Plains of *Sodom:* Another takes it to have been built near Mount *Caucaſus*, on the Confines of *India*; and a third, in *China*, where he imagines *Noah* dwelt before the Flood: But the moſt probable Opinion is, that it was built in *Chaldea*, in the Territories of *Babylon*, where there was ſo great a Quantity of Cypreſs in the Groves and Gardens, in *Alexander*'s Time, that that Prince built a whole Fleet out of it, for want of other Timber. And this Conjecture is confirm'd by the *Chaldean* Tradition, which makes *Xiſuthrus* (another Name for *Noah*) ſet ſail from that Country. *Vid.* Univerſal Hiſt. l. 1. c. 1.

† The Diſtinction between Beaſts that were *clean* and *unclean*, being made by the Law, has given ſome a Colour to imagine, that *Moſes* wrote this Book after his coming out of *Egypt*, and receiving the Law: But to this it may be anſwer'd, that though, with reſpect to Man's Food, the Diſtinction of *clean* and *unclean* was not before the Law, yet ſome were accounted *fit* for Sacrifices, and others *unfit*, from the very firſt Beginning; and then *unclean* Beaſts, in this Place, muſt denote ſuch as are *rapacious*, which were not to be offer'd to God. In ſhort, ſince the Rite of ſacrificing was before the Flood, we may very well be allow'd to ſuppoſe, that this Diſtinction was alſo before it; and to ſuppoſe farther, that, as the Rite was undoubtedly of God's Inſtitution, ſo the Difference of *clean* and *unclean* Creatures, to be ſacrificed, was of his Appointment likewiſe. But there is a farther Doubt ariſing from this Paſſage, and that is ——whether there went into the Ark but ſeven of every *clean*, and two of every *unclean* Species, or fourteen of the firſt, and two of the laſt. Some adhere to the *former* Expoſition, but others to the latter, which ſeems to be the natural Senſe of the *Hebrew* Words, *ſeven and ſeven*, and *two and two*. Beſides, if there were but ſeven of the clean Beaſts, one muſt have been without a Mate: And if it be ſuggeſted, that the odd one was for Sacrifice, it is more than *Moſes* tells us, who, on the contrary, repeats it, that the Animals all went in by Pairs. *Patrick*'s Commentary, *Pool*'s Annotations, and Univerſal Hiſtory, c. 1.

* The Words in the Text are, *In the ſecond Month*, but for the better Underſtanding of this, we muſt remember, that the Year, among the *Hebrews*, was two Kinds; the one *eccleſiaſtical*, which began in *March*, and chiefly regarded the Obſervation of their *Faſts* and *Feſtivals*, of which we read *Exod.* xii. 2. and the other *civil*, for the better regulating of Men's *political* Affairs, which began in *September*. Accordingly the *ſecond Month* is thought by ſome to be Part of *April*, and Part of *May*, the moſt pleaſant Part of the Year, and when the Flood was leaſt expected, and leaſt fear'd; but, by others, Part of *October*, and Part of *November*, a little after that *Noah* had gather'd in the Fruits of the Earth, and laid them up in the Ark: So that the Flood came in with the Winter, and was by Degrees dry'd up in the following Summer. And this Opinion ſeems to be more probable, becauſe the moſt antient and firſt Beginning of the Year was in *September*; and the other Beginning of the Year in *March* was but a later Inſtitution among the *Jews*, with reſpect to their *Feſtivals*, and other *ſacred* Affairs, which are not at all concern'd here. *Pool*'s Annotations.

(a) Howell's Complete Hiſtory.

* *Ovid*, who is ſuppos'd to have extracted moſt of the Beginning of his *Metamorphoſes* out of the ſacred Records, has deſcrib'd both the Induction and Retreat of the Waters in a Manner very conformable to the Original, from whence he had them. Their Induction thus:

——Madidis

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of Heaven were open'd, the *Abyſs* of Waters, in the Centre of the Earth, pour'd out, and the *Sea*, forgetting its Bounds, overſpread the Earth with a dreadful Inundation.

Too late does wretched Man perceive the Approach of his deſerved Fate; and in vain does he find out Means for his Preſervation. The Tops of the Hills, the talleſt Trees, the ſtrongeſt Towers, the loftieſt Mountains, can give him no Relief; 'tis but a ſmall Reprieve, at moſt, that they can yield him; for, as the Waters ſwell, and the Waves come ruſhing on, Hills, Trees, Towers, Mountains, and every little Refuge, muſt diſappear with him. *Noah* himſelf cannot help him. Though he might now remember his Predictions, and ſo flee to him for Succour, yet God has ſhut the Door of the Ark, and it cannot be open'd: *(b)* And ſo ſhall it be to every one, at the laſt great Day, who ſhall not be found in Chriſt, the only Ark of our Salvation.

Its Riſe. For forty Days and Nights together, without the leaſt Intermiſſion, did the Clouds continue raining; when, at length, the Ark began to float, and to move from Place to Place as the Waves drove it. And, tho' there might be ſome ſhort Ceſſations afterwards, yet, at certain Intervals, the Rain continu'd falling, and the Waters ſwelling, till, in Proceſs of Time, the Flood began to cover the Mountains, and, by a gradual Increaſe, came at laſt to raiſe its Surface fifteen Cubits (above twenty-two Feet of our Meaſure) higher than the Tops of the higheſt of them. From Gen. vi. 12 to ix. 20.

In this Elevation the Flood continu'd, *And Decreaſe.* until the latter End of *March:* When, as one Friend is apt to *remember* another in Diſtreſs, *(the Scripture here ſpeaks in the Stile of Men)* ſo God, reflecting upon *Noah*, and the poor Remains of his Creation, floating in the Ark, caus'd a drying North Wind to ariſe, the *Flood-Gates of Heaven* to be ſtopp'd, and the *Irruption* of the Waters out of the Womb of the Earth to ceaſe; by which Means the Deluge began to abate, and the Waters ſubſide, ſo that, in a ſhort Time, the Ark, which muſt have drawn great Depth of Water, ſtuck on a Mountain, nam'd *Ararat*, and there reſted; and, not long after, the Tops of other Mountains began to appear.

The Raven and Dove ſent out. This happen'd in the Beginning of *May*, when the Summer was coming on apace: But *Noah* wiſely conſidering, that, although the Mountains were bare, the Vallies might ſtill be overflow'd, waited forty Days longer, before he attempted any farther Diſcovery; and then, † opening

——— Madidis Notus evolat Alis,
Terribilem piceâ tectus Caligine vultum ———
Utque manu latâ pandentia nubila preſſit:
Fit fragor: Hinc denſi funduntur ab æthere nimbi. ———
Ipſe Tridente ſuo terram percuſſit: At illa
Intremuit, motuque ſinus pateſecit aquarum.
Expatiata ruunt per apertos flumina campos,
Cumque ſatis, arbuſta ſimul, pecudeſque, viroſque,
Tectaque, cumque ſuis rapiunt Penetralia ſacris, &c.

Their Retreat thus:
Nubila disjecit, nimbiſque Aquilone remotis,
Et cœlo terras oſtendit, & æthera terris ———
Jam mare Littus habet: Plenos capit alveus amnes:
Flumina ſubſidunt: Colles exire videntur:
Surgit humus: Creſcunt Loca decreſcentibus undis.
Poſtque diem longum nudata cacumina Sylvæ
Oſtendunt, Limumque tenent in fronde relictum.

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(b) Miller's Hiſtory of the Church, *Patrick*'s Commentary and *Pool*'s Annot.

† It is very obſervable, that the Words, which we render *Window*, in Ch. vi. Ver. 16. and Ch. viii. Ver. 6. of *Geneſis*, are far from being the ſame: In the former Place, the Word is *Zohar* (the Nature of which we ſhall have a proper Occaſion to explain). In the latter 'tis *Hhalon*, which ſignifies indeed an oval Hole, or Window, in any Building, but here is a Window of a peculiar Denomination. That it was cuſtomary among the *Jews* to have a Room in the upper Part of their Houſes, ſet apart for Divine Worſhip, in *Hebrew* call'd *Beth-Alijah*, or ſimply *Alijah*, in *Greek* ὑπερῶον and in *Latin*, *Oratorium*; and that, in this Place of Prayer, there was always an *Hhalon*, an Hole, or Window, which pointed to the *Kibla*, or Place whereunto they directed their Worſhip, is evident from ſeveral Paſſages in Scripture. Among the *Jewiſh* Conſtitutions, in the Code, call'd *Beracoth*, there is a certain Canon grounded upon this Cuſtom, *viz. That no Man ſhall pray, but in a Room, where there is an* Hhalon *opening towards the holy City:* And of *Daniel* it is particularly related, that when he knew that the Decree for his Deſtruction *was ſign'd, he went into the Houſe, and his* Hhalon, *his Window, being open in his Chamber towards* Jeruſalem, *he kneel'd upon his Knees three-Times a Day, as he did aforetime*, Dan. vi. 10. for that this was not a common Window, but one dedicated to religious

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ing the Window, he let go a Raven, as ſuppoſing that the Smell of dead Bodies wou'd allure him to fly a good Diſtance from the Veſſel, but the Experiment did not do: The Raven, after ſeveral unſucceſsful Flights, finding nothing but Water, return'd to the Ark again. Seven Days after this, he let fly a *Dove*, a Bird of a ſtrong Pinion, and, from the remoteſt Places, always accuſtom'd to come Home, and therefore proper to make farther Diſcoveries. But ſhe finding nothing but Water likewiſe, immediately return'd to the Ark, and was taken in. After this, he waited ſeven Days more, and then ſent her forth again; and ſhe, in the Evening, brought in her Mouth an *Olive-Branch*, the Emblem of Peace, and a Token to *Noah*, that the Waters were abated much. Whereupon he waited ſeven Days more, and then let her fly the third Time; but ſhe, finding the Waters gone, and the Earth dry, return'd no more: So that he was now thinking of uncovering the Roof, and going out of the Ark himſelf; but having a pious Regard to the Divine Providence, and Direction in all Things, he waited five and fifty Days longer, and then receiv'd Orders from God, for him, and his Family, to quit the Veſſel, but to take Care, at the ſame Time, that every other Creature ſhou'd be brought forth with him.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

THUS ended * *Noah*'s long and melancholy Confinement; which, by a due Computation, from the Time of his going into the Ark, to that of his coming out, was exactly the Space of a *ſolar* Year.

gious Worſhip, is plain from the People's diſcerning, by it's being open, that he was at Prayers. Nor is it improbable, that this Window might have ſome viſible Sign, either of the Name of God, or of the Holy City, or of the Sanctuary, or the like, inſcrib'd on it; becauſe it is a conſtant Tradition, that theſe Oratories, or Rooms for Prayer, were always ſo made, as to have their Angles anſwer to ſuch certain Points of the Heaven, and to have the *Mark of Adoration* ſo evidently diſtinguiſh'd, that none might miſtake it, if they caſt but their Eye upon the Wall. Now, as the Practice among the *Jews* of worſhipping in upper Rooms, with their Faces towards a Hole, or Window in the Wall, was never introduc'd by any poſitive Law, and yet univerſally prevail'd, 'tis reaſonable to believe, that, at firſt, it was deriv'd from *Noah*, and that the Windows, in their *Oratories*, were made in Imitation of this *Hhalon*, or Point of Adoration, in the Ark. *Bibliotheca, Biblica*, Vol. II. Occaſ. Annot. in the Appendix.

* Mr. *Baſnage* [in his Antiq. Judaiq. Tom. II. p. 399.] has given us the Kalendar of this melancholy Year of *Noah*'s Confinement.

The Year of the World's Creation 1656.

Month.

I. *September*. *Mathuſelah* died at the Age of 969 Years.

II. *October*. *Noah* and his Family enter'd the Ark.

III. *November* the 17th, the *Fountains of the great Deep* were broken open.

IV. *December* the 26th, the Rain began, and continu'd forty Days, and forty Nights.

V. *January*. All the Men and Beaſts, that were upon the Earth, were bury'd under the Waters.

VI. *February*. The Rain continu'd.

VII. *March*. The Waters remain'd in their Elevation, till the 27th, when they began to abate.

VIII. *April* the 17th, the Ark reſted on Mount *Ararat*.

IX. *May*. They did nothing, while the Waters were retreating.

X. *June* the 1ſt, the Tops of the Mountains appear'd.

XI. *July* the 11th, *Noah* let go a Raven, which (as *Baſnage* thinks) return'd to him no more.

The 18th, he let go a Dove, which return'd.

The 25th, he let go the Dove again, which return'd with an Olive-Branch.

XII. *Auguſt* the 2d, the Dove went out the third Time, and return'd no more.

I. *September* the 1ſt, the dry Land appear'd.

II. *October* the 27th, *Noah* went out of the Ark with his Family. During his long Continuance in the Ark, the Form of Prayer, which ſome *Oriental* Writers made *Noah* to have offer'd unto God, runs in this Manner: "O Lord, thou art "truly great, and there is nothing ſo great, as that it can be compar'd to thee; look upon us with an Eye of Mercy, "and deliver us from the Deluge of Waters. I intreat this of thee for the Love of *Adam*, thy firſt Man; for the "Love of *Abel*, thy Saint; for the Righteouſneſs of *Seth*, whom thou haſt loved. Let us not be reckon'd in the "Number of thoſe, who have diſobey'd thy Commandments; but ſtill extend thy merciful Care to us, becauſe thou "haſt hitherto been our Deliverer, and all thy Creatures ſhall declare thy Praiſe. *Amen*." *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Words *Deluge* and *Noah*.

The

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The OBJECTION.

" BUT, granting *(c)* that a Veſſel " faſhion'd according to the Deſcrip- " tion, which *Moſes* gives us of the Struc- " ture of the Ark, cou'd *live* (as the Sea- " men phraſe it) in ſuch a Tempeſt of " Waters ſo long together; yet what can " we think wou'd become of *Noah* and " his Family, with all the ſeveral Kinds " of Birds, Beaſts, and Reptiles, *(d)* ſtow- " ed up, all this while, in a cloſe *Hutch*, " without the leaſt Breath of freſh Air? " How cou'd they ſee to go about their " Buſineſs (and certainly they had Buſineſs " enough, to attend ſuch a Multitude of " Creatures) when they muſt have liv'd, " all this while, without the leaſt Light " either of Sun, Moon, or the Stars? " And in this State of Darkneſs, wherein " Day and Night to them were both alike, " how cou'd they poſſibly *meaſure* Time, " or tell the preciſe Number of the Months " and Days, that they had continu'd in " the Ark?

" THE Ark indeed, according to the " Deſcription of *Moſes*, was a large Build- " ing: But, had it been ten Times larger, " it cou'd never have contain'd the ſeveral " Couples of all Kinds, which were or- " der'd to be brought into it. Had they " been huddled together, the wild and the " tame, the ſtrong and the weak promiſ- " cuouſly, they wou'd have ſoon diſpatch- " ed one another, without troubling the " Deluge. Had proper Cells and Parti- " tions been made for them, 'tis hardly " conceivable, what a prodigious Space, " ſuch a Number, as was merely neceſſa- " ry, wou'd have taken up. For, if we " compute only the Creatures of the *old* " *World*, the Room allow'd them in the " Ark will hardly contain ſo many diffe- " rent *Species* together, with their re- " ſpective Food and Provender; but then, " if we take in all the Beaſts of the *new* " *World*, and ſuch as are found under the " *Southern* Hemiſpheres, we ſhall ſcarce " find Room for the Animals themſelves, " much leſs for the great Store of Pro- " viſions, that will be neceſſary to keep " them alive ſo long. But the greateſt " Wonder is, *(e)* how the many Animals, " which are peculiar to ſeveral Parts of " *America*, cou'd get into *Chaldea*, or " wherever the Ark was built; and, after " the Deluge was over, cou'd return to " their native Country again. Nay, even " allowing this to be practicable, it will " ſtill puzzle our Imagination to conceive, " how either Man, or Beaſt, cou'd poſſi- " bly live, by Reaſon of the Sharpneſs of " the Air, when once the Ark came to " be rais'd above the *Middle* Region, above " the Tops of the higheſt Mountains.

" IT is a much more reaſonable Scheme " therefore, and what rids us of all theſe " Difficulties, to ſuppoſe that the Flood " was not univerſal, but confin'd to ſome " particular Countries; that, as its pri- " mary Deſign was to deſtroy Mankind " only, (who cou'd hardly be thought, in " ſo ſhort a Time, to have overſpread the " whole Face of the Earth) there was no " Neceſſity to carry the Waters beyond " the Bounds of what was inhabited; and " that the Waters, requir'd to raiſe the " Deluge ſome fifteen Cubits above the " higheſt Mountains, are more, than what " the Clouds, the Rivers, the Sea, and all " the ſuppos'd Cavities of the Earth, were " able to produce. For, to come to an " Eſtimate of this, *(f)* we muſt firſt ſup- " poſe Water enough to cover the plain " Surface of the Earth, the Fields, and " lower Grounds; then we muſt heap up " ſo much more upon this, as will reach " above the Tops of the higheſt Moun- " tains; ſo that, drawing a Circle over " the Tops of the higheſt Mountains, " quite

(c) *Parker*'s Bibliotheca Biblica, Vol. I. Part I. Occaſional Annotat. xii. *(d)* *Ibid.* Occaſional Annot. xi.
(e) If. Voſſius de Ætate Mundi, *p.* 283. *(f)* *Burnet*'s Theory, l. 1. c. 2.

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" quite round the Earth, ſuppoſe from " Pole to Pole) and another to meet round " the Middle of the Earth, all that Space " or Capacity, contain'd within theſe Cir- " cles, is to be fill'd up with Water; and " what a prodigious Maſs muſt this needs " make?

" IN a Word, we allow the Flood to " have been ſo far univerſal, that it over- " whelm'd all the Parts of the then inha- " bited World, and that all the Race of " Mankind, except *Noah*'s Family, was " deſtroy'd in it; but that it ſhould extend " itſelf over the whole Globe, we ſee no " Manner of Reaſon, becauſe the whole " Globe was not then inhabited: Nor can " we find out, in the whole Store-Houſe " of Nature, a ſufficient Quantity of Wa- " ter to overflow it to the Height, which " *Moſes* talks of, even tho' the Whole of it " had been inhabited. And therefore we " may well be allow'd to conclude, that " the Deluge was *local*, and might pro- " bably happen in that Tract of Ground, " which lies between the four Seas, the " *Perſian*, the *Caſpian*, the *Euxine*, and " the *Syrian*, in which Compaſs are the " *Tygris*, the *Euphrates*, and ſeveral other " large Rivers that might be contributary " to the Inundation."

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing the Deluge to be univerſal, from the Number of the World's Inhabitants.

HOW many wiſe Ends the Providence of God might have in bringing this Deſtruction upon the Earth, it is impoſſible for us to find out; but even ſuppoſing that he had but this one, *viz.* to rid himſelf of a Generation, that was become profligate, and paſt all Hopes of Amendment; yet the Number of Mankind, which, before the Flood, was vaſtly ſuperior to what the preſent Earth perhaps is capable of ſuſtaining, caus'd every Place to be inhabited, and, that none might eſcape the avenging Hand, caus'd every Place to be overflow'd. And indeed, if we conſider the Longevity of the firſt Inhabitants of the Earth, and the pretty near Equality of their Ages (which ſeem to have been providentially deſign'd for the quick Propagation of Mankind) we ſhall ſoon perceive, that, in the Space of 1600 Years, Mankind wou'd become ſo numerous, that the chief Difficulty would be where we ſhou'd find Countries to receive them. For if, in the Space of about 266 Years, (as the ſacred Hiſtory acquaints us) the Poſterity of *Jacob*, by his Sons only (without the Conſideration of *Dinah* his Daughter) amounted to *ſix hundred thouſand* Males above the Age of twenty, all able to bear Arms, what Increaſe may not be expected from a Race of *Patriarchs*, living 6, 7, 8, or 9 hundred Years a-piece, and ſome to *the five hundredth* Year of their Lives begetting Sons and Daughters. For, *(g)* if we ſuppoſe the Increaſe of the Children of *Iſrael* to have been gradual, and proportionate through the whole 266 Years, it will appear, that they doubled themſelves every fourteen Years at leaſt; and if we ſhou'd continue the like Proportion through the entire hundred and fourteen Periods (which the Space from the Creation to the Deluge admits) the Product, or Number of People on the Face of the Earth, at the Deluge, wou'd, at leaſt, be the hundredth in a *geometrick* double Proportion, or *Series* of Numbers 2, 4, 8, 16, *&c.* where every ſucceeding one is double to that before it: And to how an immenſe Sum this Proportion would ariſe, * thoſe, who know any Thing of the Nature of *geometrick* Progreſſions will ſoon perceive. So that, had the *Antediluvians* only multiply'd as faſt *before*, as it is certain the *Iſraelites* did *ſince* the Flood, the Number of Mankind actually alive, and exiſting at the Deluge, muſt have been, not only more, than what the preſent Earth does contain, but prodigiouſly more than what the whole Number of Mankind can be juſtly ſuppos'd

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

(g) Whiſton's Theory of the Earth, l. 3. c. 3.

* The ingenious Dr *Burnet* [in his Theory of the Earth, l. 1.] has computed the Multiplication of Mankind in this Method. " If we allow the firſt Couple, *ſays he*, at the End of 100 Years, or of the firſt Century, to have left " ten Pair of *Breeders* (which is no hard Suppoſition) there would ariſe from theſe, in 150 Years, a greater Number " than the Earth was capable of, allowing every Pair to multiply in the ſame *decuple* Proportion, that the firſt Pair did.

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ever ſince the Deluge; nay indeed, with any Degree of Likelihood, ever ſince the firſt Creation of the World. Upon which Account, tho' this Calculation muſt not at all be eſteem'd *real*, or to exhibit, in any Meaſure, the juſt Number of the Poſterity of *Adam* alive at the Time of the Deluge; yet it certainly ſhews us, how vaſtly numerous, according to the regular Method of human Propagation, the Offspring of one ſingle Perſon may be; how plentifully each Quarter of the World muſt then have been ſtock'd with Inhabitants; and that, conſequently, to deſtroy its Inhabitants, the Inundation muſt have fallen upon every Quarter, and encompaſs'd the whole Globe.

From Tradition.

AND accordingly, if we take the *Circuit* of the Globe, and enquire of the Inhabitants of every *Climate*, we ſhall find, *(b)* that the *Fame* of this Deluge is *gone through the Earth*, and that, in every Part of the known World, there are certain Records and Traditions of it; that the *Americans* acknowledge, and ſpeak of it in their Continent; that the *Chineſe* (who are the moſt diſtant People in *Aſia*) have the Tradition of it; that the ſeveral Nations of *Africa* tell various Stories concerning it; and that in the *European* Parts the Flood of *Deucalion* is the ſame with that of *Noah*, only related with ſome Diſguiſe. So that we may trace the Deluge quite round the Globe, and (what is more remarkable ſtill) every one of theſe People have a Tale to tell, ſome one Way, ſome another, concerning the Reſtoration of Mankind, which is a full Proof, that they thought all Mankind was once deſtroy'd in that Deluge.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

From Foſſils.

NAY, inſtead of ſurrounding the Globe, we need only turn aſide the Surface a little, and look into the Bowels of the Earth, and we ſhall find Arguments enough for our Conviction. For * the Beds of *Shells* which are often found on the Tops of the higheſt Mountains, and the petrify'd *Bones*, and Teeth of Fiſhes, which are dug up ſome hundreds of Miles from the Sea, are the cleareſt Evidences in the World, that the Waters have, ſome Time or other, overflow'd the higheſt Parts of the Earth: Nor can it, with any Colour of Reaſon, be

" did. But, becauſe this wou'd riſe far beyond the Capacity of the Earth, let us ſuppoſe them to increaſe, in the " following Centuries, in a *quintuple* Proportion only, or, if you will, only in a *Quadruple*, and then the Table of " the Multiplication of Mankind from the Creation to the Flood wou'd ſtand thus:

Century 1	10	Century 9	655360
2	40	10	2621440
3	160	11	10485760
4	640	12	41943040
5	2560	13	167772160
6	10240	14	671088640
7	40960	15	2684354560
8	163840	16	10737418240

This Product is too exceſſive high, if compar'd with the preſent Number of Men upon the Face of the Earth, which I think is commonly eſtimated to be between three and four hundred Millions; and yet this Proportion of their Increaſe ſeems to be low enough, if we take one Proportion for all the Creatures. For though, in the reality, the ſame Meaſure cannot run equally thro' all the Ages, yet we have taken *this*, as moderate and reaſonable, between the higheſt and the loweſt; but, if we had only taken a *triple* Proportion, it wou'd have been ſufficient (all Things conſider'd) for our Purpoſe.

(b) Burnet's Theory, *ibid.*

* A learned Author, who has lately undertaken *an Examination of Revelation*, has enforc'd this Argument with a good deal of Life and Spirit. " Whereas *Moſes* aſſures *us*, *ſays he*, that *the Waters prevail'd fifteen Cubits above the* " *higheſt Mountains*, let the Mountains themſelves be appeal'd to for the Truth of this Aſſertion. Examine the higheſt " Eminences of the Earth, and they all, with one Accord, produce the Spoils of the Ocean, depoſited upon them " on that Occaſion, the Shells and Skeletons of Sea-Fiſh, and Sea-Monſters of all Kinds. The *Alps*, the *Apennine*, " the *Pyrenees*, the *Andes*, and *Atlas*, and *Ararat*, every Mountain of every Region under Heaven, from *Japan* to " *Mexico*, all conſpire, in one uniform, univerſal Proof, that they all had the Sea ſpread over their higheſt Sum- " mits. Search the Earth, and you will find the *Mouſe-Deer*, Natives of *America*, buried in *Ireland*; *Elephants*, Na- " tives of *Aſia* and *Africa*, buried in the Midſt of *England*; *Crocodiles*, Natives of the *Nile*, in the Heart of *Germany*; " *Shell-Fiſh*, never known in any but the *American* Seas, together with entire Skeletons of *Whales*, in divers other " Countries; and, what is more, Trees and Plants of various Kinds, which are not known to grow in any Region " under Heaven. All which are a perfect Demonſtration, that *Moſes*'s Account of the Deluge is inconteſtably true." Part I. Diſſertation II.

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be aſſerted, that theſe ſubterraneous Bodies are only the *Mimickry*, or Mock-Productions of Nature; for, that they are real Shells, the niceſt Examination both of the Eye and Microſcope does evince, and that they are true Bones, may be prov'd by burning them, which (as it does other Bones) turns them firſt into a Coal, and afterwards into a *Calx*.

From Scripture.

THESE Conſiderations bid fair for the Univerſality of the Deluge; but then, if we take in the Teſtimony of Scripture, this puts the Matter paſt all Doubt. For, when we read, that, by reaſon of the Deluge, *(i) every living Subſtance was deſtroyed, which was upon the Face of the Ground, both Men, and Cattle, and the creeping Things, and the Fowl of the Heaven*; that, during the Deluge, *(k) the Waters exceedingly prevail'd, and all the high Hills that were under the whole Heavens were covered*; and that, when the Deluge was over, God made a *Covenant* with *Noah*, that *(l) there ſhould be no more a Flood to deſtroy the Earth, and to cut off all Fleſh*; we cannot but conclude, that every Creature under Heaven, except what was preſerv'd in the Ark, was ſwept away in the general Devaſtation.

And from Reaſon.

AND, indeed, unleſs this Devaſtation was general, we can hardly conceive what Neceſſity there was for any Ark at all. *(m) Noah*, and his Family, might have retir'd into ſome neighbouring Country, as *Lot* and his Family ſav'd themſelves by withdrawing from *Sodom*, when that City was to be deſtroy'd. This had been a much better Expedient, and might have been done with much more Eaſe than the great Preparations, he was order'd to make, of a large Veſſel, with Stalls and Apartments for the Reception of Beaſts and Birds. *Beaſts* might have poſſibly ſav'd themſelves by Flight; but, if they did not, *Noah* might, after the Deluge, have furniſh'd himſelf from other Places, which this Deſolation had not reach'd; and as for the *Birds*, they, without much Difficulty, might have flown to the next dry Country, perching upon Trees, or the Tops of Mountains, by the Way, to reſt themſelves, if they were tir'd, becauſe the Waters did not *prevail upon the Earth* all on a ſudden, but ſwell'd by Degrees to their determinate Height.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

NOW, if the Swelling of theſe Waters to a Height, ſuperior to that of the loftieſt Mountains, was only *topical*, we cannot but allow, that, unleſs there was a Miracle to keep them up on Heaps, they wou'd certainly flow all over the Earth; becauſe theſe Mountains are certainly high enough to have made them fall every Way, and join with the Seas, which environ the Earth. All liquid Bodies, we know, are diffuſive: Their Parts, being in Motion, have no Tie, or Connection one with another, but glide, and fall off any Way, as Gravity and the Air preſs them; and therefore, when the Waters began to ariſe at firſt, long before they cou'd ſwell to the Height of the Hills, they wou'd diffuſe themſelves every Way, and thereupon all the Valleys and Plains, and the lower Parts of the Earth, wou'd be fill'd all the Globe over, before they cou'd riſe to the Tops of the Mountains in any Part of it. So vain and *unphiloſophical* is the Opinion of thoſe, who, to evade the Difficulty of the Queſtion, wou'd fain limit or reſtrain the Deluge to a particular Country, or Countries. For, if we admit it to be *univerſal*, ſay they, where ſhall we find a ſufficient Quantity of Water to cover the Face of the Earth, to the Height, that *Moſes* mentions?

Whence the Sufficiency of Water, various Conjectures.

SOME indeed have thought it the beſt and moſt compendious Way, to call in the Arm of Omnipotence at once, and to affirm, *that God created Waters on purpoſe to make the Deluge, and then annihilated them again, when the Deluge was to ceaſe.* But our Buſineſs is not here to enquire what God could work by his Almighty Power; but to account for this Event, in the beſt Manner we can, from natural Cauſes. *(n) Moſes*, it is plain, has aſcrib'd it to natural Cauſes, the continu'd Rains for

(i) Gen. vii. 23. *(k)* Ch. vii. 19. *(l)* Ch. ix. 11. *(m)* *Burnet's* Theory, l. 1. *(n)* *Burnet's* Theory, l. 1. c. 3.

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for forty Days, and the Diſruption of the great *Abyſs*; and the Manner of its gradual *Increaſe* and *Decreaſe*, wherein he has repreſented it, is far from agreeing with the inſtantaneous Actions of Creation and Annihilation.

OTHERS, inſtead of a Creation, have ſuppos'd a *Tranſmutation* of Elements, *viz.* either a *Condenſation* of the Air, *(o)* or a *Rarefaction* of the Waters; but neither of theſe Expedients will do: For, beſides that Air is a Body of a different Species, and (as far as we know) cannot, by any Compreſſion or Condenſation, be changed into Water, even upon the Suppoſition that all the Air in the Atmoſphere were in this Manner condens'd, it wou'd not produce a Bed of Water, over all the Earth, above two and thirty Feet deep; becauſe it appears by undoubted Experiment, that a Column of Air, from the Earth to the Top of the Atmoſphere, does not weigh more than two and thirty Feet of Water: Much leſs wou'd the Expedient of *Rarefaction* anſwer the Purpoſe, *(p)* becauſe, if we ſuppoſe the Waters but fifteen Times *rarer* than they naturally are, (as we muſt certainly do, to make them reach the Tops of the higheſt Mountains) it will be difficult to conceive, how they cou'd either drown Man or Beaſt, keep alive the Fiſh, or ſupport the heavy Bulk of the Ark. The Truth is, *Moſes*, in his Account of the Deluge, ſays not one Word of the *Tranſmutation of Elements*; the forty Days Rain, and the Diſruption of the Abyſs, are the only Cauſes, which he aſſigns, and theſe, very likely, will ſupply us with a ſufficient Quantity of Water, when other Devices fail.

(q) A VERY ſagacious *Naturaliſt* obſerving that, at certain Times, there are extraordinary Preſſures on the Surface of the Sea, which force the Waters outwards upon the Shores to a great Height, does very reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the Divine Power might, at this Time, by the Inſtrumentality of ſome natural Agent, to us at preſent unknown, ſo *depreſs* the Surface of the Ocean, as to force up the Water of the *Abyſs* through certain Channels and Apertures, and ſo make them a partial and concurrent Cauſe of the Deluge. It cannot be denied indeed, but that the Divine Providence might, at the Time of the Deluge, ſo order and diſpoſe *ſecond* Cauſes, as to make them raiſe, and impel the Water to an Height ſufficient to overflow the Earth; but then, becauſe there muſt be another Miracle requir'd to ſuſpend the Waters upon the Land, and to hinder them from running off again into the Sea, our Author ſeems to give the Preference to another Hypotheſis, which, at the Time of the Deluge, ſuppoſes the Center of the Earth to have been chang'd, and ſet nearer to the Center or Middle of the Continent, whereupon the *Atlantick* and *Pacifick* Oceans muſt needs preſs upon the *ſubterraneous Abyſs*, and ſo compel the Water to run out at thoſe wide Mouths, and Apertures, which the Divine Power had made in breaking up the *Fountains* of the *great Deep*. Thus the Waters being pour'd out upon the Face of the Earth, and its Declivity chang'd by the Removal of the Center, they cou'd not run down to the Sea again, but muſt neceſſarily ſtagnate upon the Earth, and overflow it, till, upon its Return to its old Center, they in like Manner wou'd retreat to their former Receptacles. But the Misfortune of this Hypotheſis is, that, beſides the Multitude of Miracles requir'd in it, it makes the Deluge *Topical*, and confin'd to our Continent only, whereas, according to the Teſtimony of the Spirit of God in the Holy Scriptures, it was certainly *univerſal*.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 29.

(r) A VERY ingenious *Theoriſt* ſeems to be of Opinion himſelf, and labours to perſuade others, that the * Deluge was occaſioned by the Diſſolution of the *primæval*

(o) Kircher de Arcâ Noë, l. 2 c. 4. *(p) Burnet*'s Theory, and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. *(q) Ray* in his Phyſico-Theological Diſcourſe concerning the Deluge. *(r)* Dr. *Burnet*.

* To have a more perfect Idea of the Author's Scheme, we muſt remember, that he conceives the firſt Earth, from the Manner of its Formation, to have been extremely regular and uniform, of a ſmooth and eaſy Surface, without

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mæval Earth; the Diſſolution of the Earth by the Fermentation of the enclos'd Waters; the Fermentation of the Waters, by the continu'd intenſe Heat of the Sun; and the great Heat of the Sun, by the perpendicular Poſition of the *Axis* of the Earth to the Plane of the *Ecliptic*. But allowing the Poſition of the Earth to be what he imagines, *(s)* yet it ſeems difficult to conceive how the Heat of the Sun ſhould be ſo intenſe, as to cauſe great Cracks in it, and ſo raiſe the Waters in it into Vapours; or how the Waters, thus *rarefy'd*, ſhou'd be of Force ſufficient to break through an Arch of ſolid Matter, lying upon them ſome hundred Miles thick. 'Tis much more probable, that if the Action of the Sun was ſo ſtrong, the Abyſs (which the Theoriſt makes the only Storehouſe of Waters in the firſt Earth) would have been almoſt quite exhauſted, before the Time of the Deluge; nor can we believe that this Account of Things is any Way conſonant to the *Moſaic* Hiſtory, which deſcribes a gradual Riſe and Abatement, a long Continuance of the Flood, and not ſuch a ſudden Shock and Convulſion of Nature, as the *Theoriſt* intends, in which, without the Divine Intervention, it was impoſſible for the Ark to be ſav'd.

(t) ANOTHER learned *Theoriſt* endeavours to ſolve the whole Matter, and ſupply a Sufficiency of Water, from the *Tra-jection* of a Comet. For he ſuppoſes, From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20. "That, in its Deſcent towards the Sun, "it preſs'd very violently upon the Earth, "and, by that Means, both rais'd a great "Tide in the Sea, and forc'd up a vaſt "Quantity of *ſubterraneous* Waters; that, "as it paſs'd by, it involv'd the Earth in "its *Atmoſphere* for a conſiderable Time; "and, as it went off, left a vaſt Tract of "its Tail behind, which (together with "the Waters, preſs'd from the Sea, and "from the great *Abyſs)* was enough to "cover the Face of the whole Earth, for "the perpendicular Height of three "Miles." But (to paſs by ſmaller Objections) that which ſeems to deſtroy his whole Hypotheſis is this——*(u)* That it is far from being clear, whether the *Atmoſphere* of a *Comet* be a watery Subſtance or not. The Obſervations of the moſt curious Enquirers make it very probable, that the *Circle* about the Body of a Comet is nothing, but the curling or winding round of the Smoak, riſing at firſt to a determinate Height, from all Parts of the Comet, and then making off to that Part of it, which is oppoſite to the Sun; and if this Opinion be true, the Earth, by paſſing through the Atmoſphere of a Comet, ran a greater Riſque of a Conflagration, than a Deluge.

without Mountains, and without a Sea; and that all the Waters, belonging to it, were enclos'd within an upper *Cruſt*, which form'd a ſtupendous Vault around them. This vaſt Collection of Waters he takes to have been the *great Deep*, or *Abyſs* of *Moſes*, and that the Diſruption of it was the chief Cauſe of the Deluge. For he ſuppoſes, that the Earth being, for ſome hundred of Years, expos'd to the continual Heat of the Sun, which by Reaſon of the *perpendicular* Poſition, which, as he imagines, the Earth's *Axis* then had to the Plane of the *Ecliptic*, was very intenſe, and not allay'd by the Diverſity of Seaſons, which now keep our Earth in an Equality of Temper; its exterior Cruſt was, at length, very much dried, and when the Heat had pierc'd the *Shell*, and reach'd the Waters beneath it, they began to be *rarefied*, and rais'd into Vapours, which Rarefaction made them require more Space, than they needed before; and finding themſelves pent in by an exterior Earth, they preſs'd with Violence againſt the *Arch* to make it yield to their *Dilatation:* And as the repeated Action of the Sun gave Force to theſe enclos'd Vapours more and more, ſo, on the other Hand, it weaken'd more and more the Arch of the Earth, that was to reſiſt them, ſucking out the Moiſture, that was the Cement of its Parts, and parching and chapping it in ſundry Places: ſo that, there being then no Winter to cloſe up its Parts, it, every Day, grew more and more diſpos'd to a Diſſolution, till, at length, when God's appointed Time was come, the whole *Fabrick* broke; the Frame of Earth was torn in Pieces, as by an Earthquake; and thoſe great Portions or Fragments, into which it was parted, fell down into the *Abyſs*, ſome in one Poſture, and ſome in another. Thus the Earth put on a new Form, and became divided into Sea and Land; the greateſt Part of the Abyſs conſtituting our preſent Ocean, and the reſt filling up the Cavities of the Earth. Mountains and Hills appear'd on the Land, Iſlands in the Sea, and Rocks upon the Shore, ſo that, at one Shock, Providence diſſolved the *old* World, and made a *new* one out of its Ruin. *Vide* the Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 1. where the Extract out of *Burnet*'s Theory is made.

(s) *Keil*'s Examination of *Burnet*'s Theory. *(t)* Mr. *Whiſton*. *(u)* *Keil*'s Anſwer to *Whiſton*'s Theory, and *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I.

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THESE are the ſeveral Expedients which the Wit of Men have deviſ'd, to furniſh a ſufficient Quantity of Water, in order to effect a Deluge, but all incompetent for the Work. Let us now turn to the ſacred Records, and ſee, what the two general Cauſes, aſſign'd therein, *the opening the Windows of Heaven*, and *the breaking up of the Fountains of the great Deep*, are able to ſupply us with, upon this Occaſion.

The two Reaſons, which the Scripture aſſigns. 1. *Continued Rains.*

1. BY *the Opening of the Windows of Heaven*, muſt be underſtood the cauſing the Waters which were ſuſpended in the Clouds, to fall upon the Earth, not in ordinary Showers, but in Floods, or (as the Septuagint tranſlate it) in *Cataracts*, (x) which Travellers may have the trueſt Notion of, who have ſeen thoſe prodigious Falls of Water, ſo frequent in the *Indies*, and where the Clouds many Times do not break into Drops, but fall, with a terrible Violence, in a Torrent.

How far theſe Treaſures of Waters in the Air might contribute to the general Inundation, we may, in ſome Meaſure, compute from what we have obſerv'd in a *Thunder-Cloud*, (y) which, in the Space of leſs than two Hours, has ſometimes pour'd down ſuch a vaſt Quantity of Water, as, beſides what ſunk into the dry and thirſty Ground, and fill'd all the Ditches and Ponds, has caus'd a conſiderable Flood in the Rivers, and ſet all the Meadows on float.

Now had this Cloud (which, for ought we know, mov'd forty Miles forward in its Falling) ſtood ſtill, and emptied all its Water upon the ſame Spot of Ground, what a ſudden and incredible Deluge wou'd it have made in the Place? What then muſt we ſuppoſe the Event to have been, when the *Flood-Gates of Heaven* were all opened, and, on every Part of the Globe, the Clouds were inceſſantly pouring out Water with ſuch Violence, and in ſuch Abundance, for forty Days together? From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

IT is impoſſible for us indeed to have any adequate Conception of the Thing, (z) though the vaſt Inundations which are made every Year in *Egypt*, only by the Rains which fall in *Ethiopia*, and the like annual Overflowings of the great River *Oroonoque* in *America*, whereby many Iſlands and Plains, at other Times inhabited, are laid twenty Feet under Water, between *May* and *September*, may give us a faint Emblem, and be of ſome Uſe to cure our Infidelity in this Reſpect.

2. THE other Cauſe which the Scripture makes mention of, is the *Breaking up of the Fountains of the great Deep*, whereby thoſe Waters which were contain'd, in vaſt Quantities, in the Bowels of the Earth, were forc'd out, and thrown upon the Surface of it. (a) That there is a mighty Collection of Waters enclos'd in the Bowels of the Earth, which conſtitutes a large Globe, in the interior or *central* Part of it; and that the Waters of this Globe communicate with that of the Ocean, by Means of certain *Hiatus*, or Apertures, paſſing between it and the Ocean, * is evident from the *Caſpian* and other Seas, which receive into themſelves many great Rivers, and, having no viſible Outlets, muſt be ſuppos'd to diſcharge the Water they receive, by ſubterraneous Paſſages into this Receptacle, and, 2. *The Breaking up of the* Abyſs.

(x) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (y) *Ray* on the Deluge. (z) *Patrick*'s Commentary.
(a) *Woodward*'s Natural Hiſtory.

* The *Caſpian* Sea is reckon'd in Length to be above an hundred and twenty *German* Leagues, and in Breadth, from Eaſt to Weſt, about ninety of the ſame Leagues. There is no viſible Way for the Water to run out; and yet it receives into its Boſom near an hundred large Rivers, and particularly the great River *Wolga*, which of itſelf is like a Sea for Largeneſs, and ſuppos'd to empty ſo much Water into it in a Year's Time, as might ſuffice to cover the whole Earth; and yet it is never increas'd nor diminiſh'd, nor is obſerv'd to ebb or flow, which makes it evident, that it muſt neceſſarily have a *ſubterraneous* Communication with other Parts of the World. And accordingly, Father *Avril*, a modern Traveller, tells us, that near the Coaſt of *Xylan* there is in this Sea a mighty *Whirlpool*, which ſucks in every Thing that comes near it, and conſequently has a Cavity in the Earth, into which it deſcends. V'd. *Moll*'s Geography at the End of *Perſia* in *Aſia*, p. 67. *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacra, l. 3. c. 4. and *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, c. 12.

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and, by its Intervention, into the Ocean again. The *(b) Mediterranean* in particular, beſides the many Rivers that run into it, has two great Currents of the Sea, one at the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*, and the other at the *Propontis*, which bring in ſuch vaſt Tides of Water, that, many Ages ago, it muſt have endanger'd the whole World, had it not empty'd itſelf, by certain ſecret Paſſages, into ſome great Cavity underneath. And, for this Reaſon, ſome have imagin'd, *(c)* that the Earth altogether is one great Animal, whoſe *Abyſs* ſupplies the Place of the Heart in the Body of the Earth, to furniſh all its *Aqueducts* with a Sufficiency of Water, and whoſe *ſubterraneous* Paſſages are like *Veins* in the Body, which receive Water out of the Sea, as the Veins do Blood out of the Liver, and, in a continu'd Circulation, return it to the Heart again.

HOWEVER this be, 'tis certainly more than probable, (becauſe a Matter of Divine Revelation) that there is an immenſe Body of Water inclos'd in the Centre of the Earth, to which the Pſalmiſt plainly alludes, when he tells us, that *(d) God founded the Earth upon the Seas, and eſtabliſhed it upon the Floods*; that *(e) he ſtretched out the Earth above the Waters*; that *(f) he gathered up the Waters as in a Bag* (ſo the beſt Tranſlations have it) *and laid up the Deep as in a Store-houſe.* Nay, there is a Paſſage or two in the Proverbs of *Solomon* (where *Wiſdom* declares her Antiquity and Pre-exiſtence to all the Works of the Earth) which ſets before our Eyes, as it were, the very Form and Figure of this Abyſs: *(g) When he prepared the Heavens, I was there, when he ſet a Compaſs upon the Face of the Deep, and ſtrengthened the Fountains of the Abyſs.* Here is mention made of the Abyſs, and of the Fountains of the Abyſs; nor is there any Queſtion to be made, but that the Fountains of the Abyſs here are at the ſame with thoſe, which *Moſes* mentions, and which, as he tells us, were *broken up* at the Deluge. And what is more obſervable in this Text, the Word, which we render *Compaſs*, properly ſignifies a *Circle*, or Circumference, or an Orb, or Sphere: So that, according to the Teſtimony of *Wiſdom*, who was then preſent, there was, in the Beginning, a Sphere, Orb, or Arch, ſet round the Abyſs, by the Means of which, *the Fountains thereof were ſtrengthened*; for we cannot conceive, how they cou'd have been *ſtrengthened* any other Way, than by having a ſtrong Cover, or Arch made over them. From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

IF ſuch then be the Form of this *Abyſs*, that it ſeems to be a vaſt Maſs, or Body of Water, lying together in the Womb of the Earth, it will be no hard Matter to compute what a plentiful Supply might have been expected from thence, in order to effect an univerſal Deluge. *(h)* For, if the Circumference of the Earth (even according to the loweſt Computation) be 21000 Miles, the Diameter of it (according to that Circumference) 7000 Miles, and conſequently from the Superficies to the Centre, 3500 Miles; and if (according to the beſt Account) * the higheſt Mountain in the World (taking its Altitude from the Plain it ſtands upon) does not exceed four *perpendicular* Miles in Height; then we cannot but conclude, that in this *Abyſs* there would be infinitely more Water than enough, when drawn out upon the Surface of the Earth, to drown *Its Sufficiency to drown the World.*

(b) Nicholls's Conference, Vol. I. *(c) Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. *(d)* Pſal. xxiv. 2. *(e)* Pſal. cxxxvi. 6. *(f)* Pſal. xxxiii. 7. *(g)* Prov. viii. 27, 28. Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Hiſtory. *(h) Patrick*'s Commentary.

* It is very probable, that Men are exceedingly miſtaken as to the Height of Mountains, ſince, upon Examination, it appears, that the higheſt in the World is not four Miles perpendicular. *Olympus*, whoſe Height is ſo extoll'd by the Poets, does not much exceed a Mile and a half. The Mount *Athos*, which is ſaid to caſt its Shadow into the Iſle of *Lemnos* (according to *Pliny* 87 Miles) is but two Miles in Height; nay the very Pike of *Teneriff*, which is reputed the higheſt Mountain in the World, may be aſcended in three Days, which (according to the Proportion of eight Furlongs to a Day's Journey) makes it much about the Height of a *German* Mile perpendicular, as *Varenius* confeſſes. And, as for thoſe Mountains in *Peru*, in Compariſon of which (as the *Spaniards* tell us) the *Alps* are no more than *Cottages*, they themſelves allow, that they may be aſcended in four Days, which ſtill reduces them much within the Compaſs of four Miles, and thereby makes the Account of the Flood, and its over-topping the higheſt Mountains, not ſo improbable as ſome imagine. *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. lib. iii. cap. 4.

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drown the Earth to a far greater Height, than *Moſes* relates. In a Word, ſince it is agreed on all Hands, that, in the Time of the *Chaos*, the Waters did cover the Earth, inſomuch that nothing of it could be ſeen, till God was pleas'd to make a Separation: Why ſhould it be thought ſo ſtrange a Thing, that, upon a proper Occaſion, they ſhou'd be able to cover the Earth again; *(i)* eſpecially when the Waters *above the Firmament* came down to join thoſe *below*, as they did at the Beginning?

(k) SENECA, treating of that *fatal Day*, (as he calls it) when the Deluge ſhall come, (for he ſuppos'd that the World was to be deſtroy'd *alternately*, firſt by Water, and after that by Fire) and queſtioning how it might be effected, whether by the Force of the Ocean overflowing the Earth, by perpetual Rains without Intermiſſion, by the Swelling of Rivers, and Opening of new Fountains, or (what he rather ſuppoſes) by a general Concourſe and Combination of all theſe Cauſes, concludes his Enquiry at laſt with theſe remarkable Words: "There are vaſt Lakes, "*ſays he*, which we do not ſee, much of "the Sea, which lies hidden and conceal-"ed, and many Rivers which glide in "Secret; ſo that there may be Cauſes of "a Deluge on all Sides, when ſome Wa-"ters flow under the Earth, others flow "round about it, and being long pent up, "may overwhelm it. And as our Bodies "ſometimes diſſolve into Sweat, ſo the "Earth ſhall melt, and, without the Help "of other Cauſes, ſhall find *in itſelf* what "ſhall drown it.——There being, in all "Places, both openly and ſecretly, both "from above and from beneath, an E-"ruption of Waters ready to overflow "and deſtroy it."

But whatever Solutions we may gather, either from ſacred or profane Authors, it ſeems neceſſary, after all, to call in the Divine Power to our Aſſiſtance. *(l)* For, tho' the Waters, which cover'd the Earth at the Creation, might be ſufficient to cover it again; yet, how this cou'd be effected by mere natural Means, cannot be conceiv'd. Tho' the Waters, ſuſpended in the Clouds, might fall in great Torrents for ſome Time; yet, when once their Store was exhauſted (as at this Rate it cou'd not laſt long) nothing, but an Almighty Voice, could have commanded a freſh Supply of forty Days Continuance from thoſe other *planetary* Spaces, where he had ſettled their Abode: And, tho' the *ſubterraneous* Stores did certainly contain a Fund ſufficient to compleat the Deluge, yet there wanted, on this Occaſion, an Almighty Hand, either to break down the Arch, which enclos'd the *Abyſs*, or, by ſome ſecret Paſſages, to force the Waters out of it upon the Surface of the Earth; and ſo, ſtopping the *Reflux*, ſuſpend them, for ſuch a determinate Time, at ſuch an Elevation. There needed ſome Almighty Hand, I ſay, to do this. And, accordingly, we may obſerve, that, tho' *Moſes* makes mention of two natural Cauſes that might be conducive to the Work, yet he introduces God, as ſuperintending theſe Cauſes, and aſſuming indeed the whole Performance to himſelf: For, *behold I, even I, do bring a Flood of Waters upon the Earth, to deſtroy all Fleſh, wherein is the Breath of Life, from under Heaven, and every Thing that is on the Earth ſhall die.* From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

Thus, with the Help and Concurrence of God, we have found a ſufficient Quantity of Water for the Deſtruction of the *old* World: Let us now conſider the Make and Capacity of the Veſſel, wherein the ſeveral Animals, that were to repleniſh the *new*, were to be preſerv'd.

(m) Cou'd we but imagine, that, by ſome ſtrange Revolution, the whole Art of Shipping ſhould come to be loſt in this Part of the World, and that there happen'd to remain ſuch a ſhort Account of one of our largeſt Ships (the *Royal Anne*, for Inſtance) as that it was ſo many Feet long, broad

Moſes's *Manner of deſcribing the Ark.*

(i) Vid. l. 1. c. 1. p. 6. *(k)* Nat. Quæſt. l. 3. c. 27. *(l)* Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 1.
(m) Biblioth. Biblica. Occaſ. Annot. xiii.

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broad, and deep; cou'd contain in it ſome Hundreds of Men, with other living Creatures, and Proviſions for them all, during ſeveral Months; and that the Strength of it was ſuch, that it was not broken in Pieces, all the Time that the great Storm endur'd; wou'd it not be very pleaſant for any one to conclude from hence, that this Ship, according to the Deſcription of it, was nothing but an *oblong Square*, without any more Contrivance than a common Cheſt, made by the moſt ignorant Joiner? And yet ſuch are ſome Men's Inferences, when they talk of this noble Structure.

Its Deſign to float in calm Weather.

MOSES indeed makes mention of little elſe, but the Dimenſions of the Ark, its Stories, and Capacity to hold the Things to be plac'd in it; but it does not therefore follow but that it might have the Convexity of a *Keel* (as many large flat-bottom'd Veſſels have) as well as a *Prow* to make it cut the Waters more eaſily. The Deſign of the Veſſel however was not *to make Way* (as they call it at Sea) but to preſerve its Inhabitants; and this it was more capable of doing (as † may be prov'd to a Demonſtration) than if it had been built according to the moſt modern Model, even ſuppoſing the Waters, from the firſt to the laſt, to have been never ſo boiſterous. But this they were not: Whatever Storms and Convulſions there might be in particular Places, when the *Flood-Gates of Heaven were* at firſt *opened, and the Fountains of the great Deep broken up* (and then the Ark was not afloat) the Sacred Text takes no Notice of any rough Weather, till after the 150 Days of the Flood's *gradual* Increaſe, when, upon the ceaſing of the Rains from above, and the Waters from beneath, God ſent forth a ſtrong driving Wind, but then the Ark was at reſt. So that, all the Time that the Ark was afloat, or (as the Scripture expreſſes it) while it *went on the Face of the Waters*, the Winds were aſleep, and the Weather, tho' rainy, was free from all Storms and angry Commotions. Upon the whole therefore we may conclude, that, be the Structure of the Ark what it will, it was certainly ſuited, both to the Burthen it was to carry, and the Weather it was to live in; and on this, and ſundry other Accounts, * upon Experiment perhaps it may be found to be the moſt compleat and perfect Model, that ever was devis'd.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

Its Capacity to hold every Thing, that was to be put in it.

HAD we never ſeen a Ship, and ſhou'd be told what a Number of Men, and what a Quantity of Proviſion, and Merchandize, one of the largeſt Rates will carry, it wou'd ſeem no leſs incredible to us, than what *Moſes* tells us of the Things, which were contain'd in the Ark. The Ark, according to his Account, was 300 Cubits in Length, 50 in Breadth, and 30 in Height; and if we ſuppoſe the Cubit here mention'd, at the loweſt Computation, to be but a Foot and an half long, yet was the Length of it (according to that Proportion) 450 Feet, the Breadth 75, and the Height 45; and conſequently, the whole Capacity 1,580,750 *cubical* Feet, which was Space enough, in all Conſcience, to receive every Thing, and much

† For let us ſuppoſe, without any Addition of Art, it was nothing more than an *Oblong Square*, whoſe Length was *ſextuple* to the Breadth, and *decuple* to the Height; it is demonſtrable, that a Piece of Wood of that Proportion, being lighter than the Water, will be always ſupported by it. For Inſtance, take a Plank of Oak exactly ſquare; let it be one Foot broad, ſix Feet long, and ſeven or eight Inches thick, anſwering the Proportion of the Ark; there is no Body, I believe, will ſay, that any Waves, or Winds, will be ſtrong enough to break this Piece of Timber, notwithſtanding its *Right Angles*. Now, let any Solid of this Faſhion be multiply'd in a *decuple*, *centuple*, or *millecuple* Proportion, and let the Force of the Waves, and the invaſive Power of the Wind, be multiply'd alſo with it in the ſame Proportion, the Reſiſtance of a *rectangular Solid* (which is perfectly impenetrable, and exactly the Caſe of the Ark) will be Proof againſt any given Force whatever. *Bibliotheca Biblica*. Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. xiii.

* About the Beginning of the laſt Century, *Peter Janſen*, a *Dutch* Merchant, caus'd a Ship to be built for him, anſwering, in its reſpective Proportions, to thoſe of *Noah*'s Ark, the Length of it being 120 Feet, the Breadth of it 20, and the Depth of it 12. At firſt this was look'd upon no better than a *fanatical* Viſion of this *Janſen* (who was by Profeſſion a *Mennoniſt*) and, whilſt it was building, he and his Ship were made the Sport of the Seamen, as much as *Noah* and his Ark cou'd be. But afterwards it was found that Ships, built in this Faſhion, were, in the Time of Peace, beyond all others moſt commodious for Commerce; becauſe they would hold a third Part more, without requiring any more Hands, and were found far better *Runners*, than any made before. *Bibliotheca Biblica*, ibid.

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much more than every Thing, that was to be contain'd in it. For it appears from the ſacred Text, that the Form of the Ark was *rectangular*; *(n)* and being intended only for a Kind of Float, to ſwim above the Water, the Flatneſs of its Bottom did render it much more capacious. It appears from the ſame Text, that this Ark conſiſted of three Stories, and the whole Height of it being 45 Feet, it may well be ſuppos'd, that this Height was equally divided among the three Stories, and ſo each Story was 15 Feet high, only deducting a Foot and a half, or one Cubit, for the Slope of the Roof, or the Cover of the upper Story. *(o)* 'Tis likewiſe pretty well agreed by Interpreters, that the loweſt Story was appointed for four-footed Animals, as moſt commodious for them; the middle Story for their Provender, and what they were to live upon; and the upper Story partly for the Birds, and what they were to eat, and partly for *Noah*, and his Family, together with their Utenſils: And, that each of theſe Stories was ſpacious enough to receive what was to be put therein, will appear to any one, who will give himſelf the Trouble * of making a *geometrical* Calculation.

The Number of Animals.

He who looks upon the Stars, as they are confuſedly ſcatter'd up and down in the Firmament, will think them to be (what they are ſometimes call'd) *innumerable*, and above the Power of all *Arithmetick* to count; and yet, when they are diſtinctly reduc'd to their particular *Conſtellations*, and deſcrib'd by their ſeveral Places, Magnitudes, and Names, it appears, that of thoſe, which are viſible to the naked Eye, there are not many more than a thouſand in the whole Firmament, and few more than half ſo many (even taking in the *minuter* Kinds of them) to be ſeen at once in any *Hemiſphere*. And, in like Manner, he, who ſhou'd put the Queſtion, *How many Kinds of Beaſts, or Birds, there are in the World?* wou'd be anſwer'd, even by ſuch, as, in other Reſpects, are knowing and learned enough, that there are ſo many hundred of them, as cannot be enumerated; *(p)* whereas, upon a diſtinct Enquiry into all ſuch, as are yet known, or have been deſcrib'd by credible Authors, it will appear, that they are much fewer, than is commonly imagin'd, not an hundred Sorts of Beaſts, and not two hundred of Birds.

From Gen. vi 12. to ix. 20.

And why fewer than is imagin'd.

And yet, out of this Number, as ſmall as it is, we muſt except all Animals, that are of equivocal Generation, as Inſects; all that are accuſtom'd to live in Water, as Fiſh, and Water-Fowl; all that proceed from a Mixture of different Species, as Mules; and all that, by changing their Climate, change their Colour, and Size, and ſo paſs for different Creatures when in reality they are the ſame. We muſt obſerve farther, that all Creatures of the *Serpentine* Kind, the Viper, Snake, Slow-Worm,

(n) Wilkins's Eſſay towards a real Character. *(o) Wells*'s Geography, Vol. I. cap. 2. *Lamy*'s Introduction.

* *Buteo* has plainly demonſtrated, that all the Animals, contain'd in the Ark, cou'd not be equal to 500 Horſes; (the learn'd *Heidegger*, from *Temporarius*, makes them 400 Oxen; and yet it is not to be queſtion'd, but that a Building, very near as long as St *Paul*'s Church, and as broad as the middle Iſle of that Church is high within, is capable of affording Stabling for ſuch a Number of Horſes. Vid. Dr *Bundy*'s Tranſlation of *Lamy*'s Introduction. *Kircher* (in his *Arca Noë*, c. 8.) has given us large Calculations of the Dimenſions of the Ark, and from thence concludes, that this Veſſel was capacious enough to receive, not only *Noah* and his Family, all other Creatures and their Food, but even an entire Province likewiſe. *Wilkins* (in his *Eſſay towards a real Character*) and from him *Wells* (in his *Geography of the Old Teſtament*) have both enter'd into a large Detail of Things, and given us an exact and compleat Idea of the Capacity of the Ark and of its Proportion, together with what it might contain. *Le Peletier* (in his *Diſſer. ſur l' Arch de Noë*) follows another *Engliſh* Author, Biſhop *Cumberland*, who, in his *Diſcovery of the Weights and Meaſures of the* Jews, has prov'd, that the ancient Cubit of the *Jews* was the old *Derah* of *Memphis*; whereupon *Peletier* allows 1,781,377 cubical Feet of *Paris* for the whole Contents of the Ark, ſo that it might hold (as he pretends) 42,413 Tons of Lading. But a certain *anonymous* Author has publiſh'd a Diſſertation upon the ſame Principles, wherein he compares the Ark to our modern Ships, and computes its Meaſure according to the Tons it might contain, and thereupon makes it larger than 40 Ships of 1000 Tons each. *Vid.* Diſſert. Hiſt. Chron. Geograph. &c. D. II, Journal de *Paris* ſur *Janvier* 1712. Tom. 51. p. 9.

(p) Wilkins's Eſſay.

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Worm, Lizard, Frog, Toad, &c. might have ſufficient Space for their Reception, and for their Nouriſhment, in the Hold or Bottom of the Ark, which was probably three or four Feet under the Floor, whereon the Beaſts are ſuppos'd to ſtand; and that the ſmaller Creatures, ſuch as the Mouſe, Rat, Mole, &c. might find ſufficient Room in ſeveral Parts of the Ark, without having any particular Places, or Cells appointed for them: So that the Number of the ſeveral Species of Animals to be plac'd in the firſt or loweſt Story, upon the Foot of this Deduction, ſtands thus. From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

Beaſts which live on Hay.		On Fruits and Roots.	On Fleſh.	
The Horſe	Stone-buck	The Hog	The Lion	Stoat
Aſs	Shamois	Baboon	Bear	Weeſle
Camel	Antelope	Ape	Tyger	Caſtor
Elephant	Elke	Monkey	Perd	Otter
Bull	Hart	Sloth	Ounce	Dog
Urus	Buck	Porcupine	Cat	Wolf
Biſons	Rein-deer	Hedge-hog	Civet-cat	Fox
Bonaſus	Roe	Squirrel	Finet	Badger
Buffalo	Rhinoceros	Ginny-pig	Polecat	Jackall
Sheep	Camelopard	Ant-Bear	Martin	Caraguya.
Stepciſeros	Hare	Armadilla		
Broad-tail	Rabbit	Tortoiſe.		
Goat	Marmotto.			

The loweſt *Story large enough for their Reception and why.*

NOW, concerning theſe Creatures God gives *Noah* this Injunction: *(q) Of every clean Beaſt, thou ſhalt take to thee by Sevens, the Male and the Female; and of Beaſts, that are not clean, by Two, the Male and the Female.* Taking the Words then in their higheſt Acceptation, *viz.* that *Noah* was to receive into the Ark one Pair of every Species of *unclean* Animals; and ſeven Pair of every Species of *clean*; yet, conſidering that the Species of *unclean* Animals, which were admitted by Pairs only, are many, in Compariſon of the *clean*, and the Species of *large* Animals few, in Compariſon of the *ſmaller*; we cannot but perceive (as by a ſhort Calculation it will appear) that this lower Story, which was ten Cubits high, three hundred long, and fifty broad, *i. e.* 225,000 ſolid Feet in the whole, wou'd be capable of receiving, with all Manner of Conveniency, not only all the Sorts of Beaſts, that we are acquainted with, but probably all thoſe other Kinds, which are any where to be found under the Copes of Heaven.

The middle Story ſufficient to contain their Provender, and why.

'TIS a pretty general Opinion, and what ſeems to be founded on Scripture, that, before the Flood, both Men, Beaſts, and Birds fed only upon Fruits and Vegetables. *(r) Behold, I have given you every Herb*, ſays God, *bearing Seed, which is upon the Face of all the Earth, and every Tree, in which is the Fruit of a Tree yielding Seed, to you it ſhall be for Meat; and to every Beaſt of the Earth, and to every Fowl of the Air, and to every Thing, that creepeth upon the Earth, wherein there is Life, I have given every green Herb for Meat:* * Nor do there want Inſtances in Hiſtory of ſome very ravenous Creatures, that

(q) Gen. vii. 2. (r) Chap. i. 29, 30.

* It is not to be deny'd, but that ſeveral learned Men have taken great Pains to provide Fleſh for the *carnivorous* Animals ſhut up in the Ark, when it is beyond all Controverſy, that the Stomachs of ſuch Animals are fitted for the Digeſtion of Fruits and Vegetables; that ſuch Food wou'd be more ſalutary both for them and their Keepers, and wou'd create a leſs Demand of Drink, throughout the Courſe of ſo long a Confinement; and yet there is not the leaſt Foundation from the Text to ſuppoſe, that any ſuch Proviſion was made for Creatures of ſuch an Appetite, but ſeveral Inſtances in Hiſtory do ſhew, that even the moſt rapacious of them all may be brought to live upon other Diet, than Fleſh. Thus *Philoſtratus*, in his *Apollonius*, l. 5. tells us of a Lion in *Egypt*, which, though it went into the Temple conſtantly, wou'd neither lick the Blood of Sacrifices, nor eat any of the Fleſh, when it was cut in Pieces, but fed altogether on Bread and Sweat-meats: And *Sulpitius Severus* [Dial. 1. c. 7.] gives us this Account of a Monk of *Thebais*: "When we came to the Tree, whither our courteous Hoſt led us, we there perceiv'd a Lion, at the Sight of

"which,

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that have been brought to live upon other Kind of Food, than Fleſh. So that there was no Neceſſity for *Noah*'s providing ſo many *ſupernumerary* Sheep (as ſome wou'd have it) to feed the *carnivorous* Animals for a whole Year. *(s)* The ſame Divine Providence, which directed all the Animals, of whatever Country, to make towards the Ark, which took from them their *Fierceneſs*, and made them tame and gentle upon this Occaſion, might likewiſe beget in them a Loathing of Fleſh (ſuppoſing they eat it before) and an Appetite for Hay, Corn, Fruits, or any other Eatables, that were moſt obvious, in this Time of Diſtreſs. And, as they were ſhut up, and cou'd not ſpend themſelves by Motion, but might have their Stomachs pall'd with the continu'd Agitation of the Veſſel, they may well be ſuppos'd to ſtand in need of leſs Proviſion, than at other Times.

IF then (to make our Computation) we ſhould ſay, that *(t)* all the Beaſts, in the lower Story of the Ark, were equal, in their Conſumption of Food, to 300 Oxen, (which is more by a great deal, than ſome Calculations have allow'd;) that 30 or 40 Pounds of Hay is ordinarily ſufficient for an Ox for one Day; and that a ſolid Cubit of Hay, well compreſs'd, will weigh about 40 Pounds; then will this ſecond Story, being of the ſame Dimenſions with the other, *i. e.* 225,000 ſolid Feet, not only allow Space for a ſufficient Quantity of Hay, but for other Repoſitories of ſuch Fruits, Roots, and Grain, as might be proper for the Nouriſhment of thoſe Animals, that live not upon Hay; and for ſuch Paſſages, and Apertures in the Floor, as might be neceſſary for the putting down Hay, and other Provender, to the Beaſts in the lower Story.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

UPON the Whole therefore it appears, that the *middle* Story of the Ark was likewiſe large enough to hold all that was requiſite to be put therein: And as for the *third* and upper Story, there can no Manner of Doubt be made, but that it was ſufficient to hold all the Species of Birds, even tho' they were many more, than they are generally computed. The accurate Biſhop *Wilkins* * has divided them into nine Sorts, and reckons them to be an hundred and ninety-five in the Whole; but then the greateſt Part of them are ſo very ſmall, that they might well enough be kept in Partitions, or Cages, pil'd one upon another. The Food, neceſſary for their Suſtenance, wou'd not take up any great Proportion of Room, and the Remainder of the Story wou'd make a commodious Habitation enough for *Noah* and his Family, together with little Cloſets and Offices, wherein to diſpoſe of their ſeveral domeſtick Matters and Utenſils.

The upper Story ſufficient for its Purpoſe.

UPON the whole Enquiry then, ſays the ſame learned Prelate, it does, of the two, appear more difficult, to aſſign a ſufficient Number, and Bulk of neceſſary Things, to anſwer the Capacity of the Ark, than

Biſhop Wilkins's Reflection upon the Whole.

" which, I and my Guide began to tremble; but, as the holy Man went directly up to it, we, though in no ſmall " Fright, follow'd after. The Beaſt, at our Approach, modeſtly retir'd, and ſtood very quiet and ſtill, while the " good Man gather'd it ſome Branches of Apples, and, as he held them out, the Lion came up and eat them, and " ſo went off." The like Story is told us by *Phocas*, in his Deſcription of the Holy Land, *cap.* 13. of ſome Lions beyond the River *Jordan*, whom an *Anchorite*, nam'd *Iberus*, fed with Pulſe and Cruſts of Bread: And to the Animals in the Ark, feeding in this Manner, the Prophet *Iſaiah*, ſpeaking of the Times of the *Meſſiah*, [Ch. xi. 6, 7.] is ſuppos'd by our Author to allude. *The Wolf ſhall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard lie down with the Kid, and the Calf, and the young Lion, and the Fatling together; and a little Child ſhall lead them; and the Cow and the Bear ſhall feed, their young ones ſhall lie down together, and the Lion ſhall eat Straw like an Ox.* *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patr. Exer. 17.

(s) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. *ibid.* *(t)* *Wilkins*'s Eſſay, Part II. c. 5.

* The Manner of his reckoning them up is this:

1. Carnivorus Birds	66	6. Inſectivorous Birds the leſs	12
2. Phytivorous Birds of ſhort Wings	17	7. Aquatick Birds near wet Places	17
3. Phytivorous Birds of long Wings	18	8. Aquatick Fiſſipedes	16
4. Phytivorous Birds of ſhort thick Bills	16	9. Aquatick Plenipodes	18
5. Inſectivorous Birds the greater	15	In all	195

To theſe perhaps may be added ſome *exotic* Birds, but as the Number of theſe is but ſmall, ſo we may obſerve of the Carnivorous, which is the largeſt Species, that they were reputed *uncleat*, and, conſequently, but two of each Sort admitted into the Ark. *Bedford*'s Scrip. Chron. 2. 12.

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than to find ſufficient Room in it for the convenient Reception of them; and thereupon he truly, as well as piouſly concludes, *(u)* "That had the moſt ſkilful *Mathe-* "*maticians* and *Philoſophers* been ſet to "conſult, what Proportions a Veſſel, de- "ſign'd for ſuch an Uſe, as the Ark was, "ſhou'd have in the ſeveral Parts of it, "they cou'd not have pitch'd upon any "other, more ſuitable to the Purpoſe, "than theſe mention'd by *Moſes*, are; in- "ſomuch, that the Proportion of the Ark "(from which ſome weak and *Atheiſtical* "Perſons have made ſome poor Efforts to "overthrow the Authority of the ſacred "Scriptures) does very much tend to con- "firm and eſtabliſh the Truth, and Di- "vine Authority of them. Eſpecially, if "we only conſider, that, in theſe Days, "Men were leſs vers'd in Arts and Scien- "ces; at leaſt, that the Ark was, in all "Probability, the firſt Veſſel, of any Bulk, "that was made to go upon the Water: "Whence the Juſtneſs of the Proportion, "obſerv'd in its ſeveral Parts, and the "Exactneſs of its Capacity to the Uſe it "was deſign'd for, are reaſonably to be "aſcrib'd, not to bare human Invention "and Contrivance, but to the Divine Di- "rection, expreſsly given to *Noah* by God "himſelf, as the ſacred Hiſtorian ac- "quaints us."

THUS we have plac'd the ſeveral Kinds of Creatures in the Ark, and furniſh'd them with a competent Stock of Proviſion.

How the ſeveral Creatures were brought to the Ark.

AND now, if it ſhou'd be aſk'd, *How came they all thither?* the Reply in that Caſe will be this—— *(x)* That the Country of *Eden* is very reaſonably ſuppos'd by learned Men to be next adjacent to the Garden of that Name, from whence *Adam* was expell'd; and that, as all early Accounts of that Country paint it out to us, as one of the moſt fruitful and delicious Regions in the Earth (though now greatly chang'd) there is no Reaſon to imagine, that *Adam* ſought for any Habitation beyond it. *There*, according to many concurring Circumſtances, was this famous Ark built: *There* is *Gopher-Wood* (very reaſonably ſuppos'd to be Cypreſs) found in great Abundance; *there* is *Aſphaltus*, wherewith the Ark, to defend it from the Impreſſion of the Waters, was daub'd, and ſmear'd over both within and without; and not far from thence is Mount *Ararat*, where the Ark, as the Waters began to abate, is known to have reſted: And in this Situation, there is not any Reaſon to imagine, that any one Species of Animals cou'd be out of *Noah*'s Reach. *(y)* There they were all Natives of the ſame Country, and he perhaps, ſome Time before the Flood, might have tam'd ſome of every Kind, ſo that, when the Deluge came on, they might eaſily be brought to the Ark, and every one rang'd in its proper Place, before that *Noah* ſhut it up.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

How they liv'd for want of Air and Light.

BUT now, that they are all ſhut up, what ſhall we do for Air to keep them alive, or for Light, to direct them in what they are to do? Mention indeed is made of a *Window*, left in the upper Part of the Ark, but this is ſaid to be no more than a *Cubit ſquare*, and what is this in Proportion to ſo vaſt a Fabrick? Either therefore we muſt deviſe ſome Relief for them in this Exigence, or we ſhall ſoon find the poor Remains of the Creation in *utter Darkneſs*, and in the *Shadow of Death*.

(z) As the Word *Zohar*, which we render *Window*, is never mention'd in the *ſingular* Number, through the whole Compaſs of the Bible, but only this once, it perhaps may be no very eaſy Thing to find out its true Signification. Whether the LXX Interpreters underſtood the Meaning of it; whether they knew, in the *Greek* Language, any Word capable of expreſſing it; or, whether they might think it of ſo ſecret a Nature, as not proper to be publiſh'd at all; but ſo it is, that they prudently have omitted it in their Tranſlation, and will have the Precept, or Direction, which God gives *Noah* to mean no more, than that he ſhou'd finiſh the

(u) Wilkins, ibid. *(x)* Revelation Examin'd, Part I. *(y) Howell*'s Hiſtory, Vol. I. l. 1. *(z) Vid.* Bibliotheca Biblica, Vol. I. Occaſional Annot. xi.

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Ark, by cloſing it on the Top, and *compacting it well together.*

THE Word has its Original from a Verb, which ſignifies to *burn*, or *ſhine like Oil*; and indeed wherever it occurs (as it ſometimes occurs in the *dual* Number) it always ſignifies ſome *bright* and *luminous Body:* And, accordingly, ſome of the *Jewiſh* Doctors were of Opinion, that this muſt have been a Kind of precious Stone, or *Carbuncle*, which was hung up in the Midſt of the Ark, to give Light all around: And to this Purpoſe *R. Levi* tells us, that, "during the whole 12 Months, "that *Noah* was ſhut up in the Ark, he "needed neither the Light of the Sun by "Day, nor the Light of the Moon by "Night; for there was a *Jewel* belonging to him, which he hung up in the "Ark; and, as it waxed dim, he knew "that it was Day, but, as its Luſtre was "more intenſe, he knew that it was "Night." But this Opinion is not well founded; becauſe ſuch Authors, as have written beſt upon the Qualities of precious Stones, do all agree, that (whatever the *Antients* may ſay) there is no ſuch Thing as a *Night-ſhining* Carbuncle to be found in Nature.

THAT it is poſſible to make a *Self-ſhining Subſtance*, either *liquid* or *ſolid*, the *hermetical Phoſphor* of *Balduinus*, the *aërial* and *glacial Noctilucas* of Mr. *Boyle*, and ſeveral other Preparations of the like Sort, together with the Obſervations of the moſt accurate Philoſophers upon the *Production* and *Propagation* of Light, and the prodigious *Ejaculation* of *inſenſible Effluviums*, are a ſufficient Demonſtration. The moſt ſurpriſing Subſtance of this Kind was the *Pantarba* of *Jarchus*, "which ſhone in "the Day, as Fire, or as the Sun, and, "at Night, did diſcover a Flame, or "Light, as bright as Day, though not "altogether ſo ſtrong; which was, in "ſhort, of that fiery and radiant Nature, "that, if any one look'd on it in the Day-"Time, it wou'd dazzle the Eyes with "innumerable Gleams and Coruſcations:" "Nor can we well doubt, but that *Noah*, who (as *oriental* Traditions ſay) was a profound Philoſopher; who was certainly a Perſon of much longer Experience, than any later Liver can pretend to; and, (what is more) was under the peculiar Favour and Direction of God, perceiving the Neceſſity of the Thing, ſhou'd be equally able to prepare ſome *perpetual Light*, which ſhou'd *centrally* ſend forth its Rays to all Parts of the Ark, and, by its kind *Effluviums*, cheriſh every Thing, that had Life in it. Now, if this be allow'd (and this is more conſonant to the Letter of the Text, † than any other Interpretation, that has hitherto been advanc'd) then will all the Difficulties, which either *are*, or *can* be rais'd about the Manner of Subſiſtence, in a cloſe Veſſel, by Creatures of ſo many different Species, vaniſh immediately. But, if it be not allow'd, then it is impoſſible, without admitting a whole Train of Miracles, to give the leaſt Account, how Reſpiration, Nutrition, Motion, or any other Animal Function whatever, cou'd be perform'd in a Veſſel ſo cloſely ſhut up: And therefore it is the ſafeſt to conclude, that, according

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

† *P. Lamy*, to evade ſome Difficulties, that he cou'd not ſo well ſolve, tells us, that the Form of the Ark is ſo little aſcertain'd by *Moſes*, that every one is left to his own Conjectures concerning it: And therefore he ſuppoſes, that, as the Ark was divided into three Stories or Floors, and the Word *Zohar*, which we tranſlate *Window*, ſignifies *Splendor*, *Light*, *Noon*, &c. the whole ſecond Story (in which he places the Animals) were quite open all round, except ſome Parts, which were grated, to hinder the Birds from flying in and out: Otherwiſe, he cannot conceive, how they cou'd have had ſufficient Light, and Air, and a free Paſſage for it, to prevent Stagnations, and many other Inconveniences, which, upon this Suppoſition, wou'd have been remov'd. The lower Story indeed was included within wooden Walls, and well guarded with Pitch, as being all under Water; but the two upper Stories, being above Water, were either entirely open, or ſecur'd with Lattices, and Grates; and the Top, or open Parts, cover'd with Goat-Skins and Sheep-Skins, ſew'd together (as the Tabernacle afterwards was) which *Noah* cou'd eaſily let down, or roll up, according as Rain, or Storm, or a Want of Air made it neceſſary. And then, as for keeping the Beaſts clean, he ſuppoſes, that the Stalls were ſo open and ſhelving at the Bottom, that Water might have been let in, high enough to have waſh'd the Feet of the Cattle, and to have cleans'd the Stalls of itſelf. *Vid.* his Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. and *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, *cap.* 11. But all this is pure Imagination, and inconſiſtent with the Notion, which the ſacred Hiſtory gives us of it.

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according to the Divine Direction, there muſt have been ſomething plac'd in the Ark, which, by its continual Emanation, might both *purify* and invigorate the included Air; might *correct* and ſweeten all noxious Vapours and Exhalations; and, like the Sun, ſend ſuch a *vivifying* Light, that nothing ſhou'd die, that was within the Ark, *i. e.* ſo far as the Beams thereof did reach.

How in the middle Region of the Air.

THUS we have reſcu'd *Noah* and his Family from the Danger of Suffocation in their Confinement, by the Supply of a *vicarious* Light, to purify the Air, and diſpel all Vapours, as well as enable them to go about their Work; but now, that the Waves ſwell, and the Veſſel mounts on high, even above the Top of the higheſt Hills under Heaven, they run into another quite different Danger, *viz.* that of being *ſtarv'd* to Death amidſt the Colds, and extreme *Subtility* of the Air, in the *middle Region*, wherein no Creature can live. *(a)* But the middle Region of the Air, we ought to remember, is not to be look'd upon as a fix'd Point, which never either riſes or falls. It is, with reſpect to us, more or leſs elevated, according to the greater or leſs Heat of the Sun. In the Cold of Winter, it is much nearer to the Earth, than in the Warmth of Summer; or (to ſpeak more properly) the Cold, which reigns in the *middle* Region of the Air during the *Summer*, reigns likewiſe in the *lower* Region, during the *Winter*. Suppoſing the Deluge then to out-top the higheſt Mountains, it is evident, that the middle Region of the Air muſt have riſen higher, and remov'd to a greater Diſtance from the Earth, and Waters; and, on the contrary, that the lower Region muſt have approached nearer to *both*, in proportion as the Waters of the Deluge increas'd or decreas'd: So that, upon the Whole, the Ark was all along in the lower Region of the Air, even when it was carried *fifteen Cubits* above the higheſt Mountains; and the Men and Beaſts, which were enclos'd in it, breath'd the ſame Air, as they would have done on Earth, a thouſand, or twelve hundred Paces lower, had not the Deluge happen'd.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

How Noah cou'd meaſure Time.

BUT during this whole Courſe of the Ark, ſince *Noah* was ſhut up in ſo cloſe a Place, where he was not capable of making any *Obſervations*, where indeed he cou'd ſee neither Sun, Moon, nor Stars, for many Months, it may very well be wonder'd, how he cou'd poſſibly have any juſt *Menſuration* of Time, had we not Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that he certainly had, within the Ark, a *Chronometer* of one Kind or other, which did exactly anſwer to the Motion of the Heavens without. The Invention of our preſent *Horological Machines* indeed, and particularly of the *Pendulum* Watch (which is the moſt exact Corrector of Time) is but of modern Date; but it does not therefore follow, but that the ſame, or other equivalent Pieces of Art, might, in former Ages, have been perfectly known to ſome great Men. Suppoſe that Mr *Hugens*, or ſome other, was the Inventor of *Pendulums* in theſe Parts of the World, yet it is more than probable, that there was a *Pendulum-Clock* made, many Years before, at *Florence*, by the Direction of the great *Galileo*; and that, long before that, there was another at *Prague*, which the famous *Tycho Brahe* made uſe of, in his *Aſtronomical* Obſervations. And therefore, unleſs we fondly imagine, that we *Poſtdiluvians* have all the Wit and Ingenuity that ever was, we cannot but think, that *Noah*, who not only had long Experience himſelf, but ſucceeded to the Inventions of above 1600 Years (which, conſidering the Longevity of People then, were much better preſerv'd than they can be now) was provided with *horological* Pieces of various Kinds, before he enter'd the Ark. Or, if we can ſuppoſe him deſtitute of theſe, yet what we have ſaid of the *Zohar*, is enough to evince, that, by the Obſervation of that alone, there cou'd be no Difficulty in diſtinguiſhing the Nights from

(a) Vide *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Deluge*.

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from the Days, and keeping a Journal accordingly.

How the Creatures, which left the Ark, might get into the Weſt-Indies.

But now that the Flood ſubſides, and the Ark is landed, and all its Inhabitants are to diſembark, how can we ſuppoſe, that ſeveral of the Animals ſhall be able to find their Way from the Mountains of *Armenia*, into the diſtant Parts of the *Weſt-Indies*, which (as far as we can find) are join'd to no other Part of the known World, and yet have Creatures peculiar, and ſuch as cannot live in any other Climate? This is a Queſtion, that we muſt own ourſelves ignorant of, *(b)* in the ſame Manner, as we pretend not to ſay, by what Means that vaſt *Continent* was at firſt peopled. But, by what Method ſoever it was that its firſt Inhabitants came thither, whether by Streſs of Weather, or deſign'd Adventure, by long Voyages by Sea, or (ſuppoſing a Paſſage between one Continent and another) by long Journeyings by Land, it is plain that, by the ſame Means, ſome Creatures at firſt might have been convey'd thither: And, as their Number, at that Time, cou'd be but ſmall, we may ſuppoſe, that, by a promiſcuous Copulation with one another, they might beget a *ſecond* Sort, which, in Proceſs of Time, the Nature and Temperature of the Climate might ſo far alter, as to make them paſs for a quite different Species, and ſo far affect their Conſtitution, as to make them live, not ſo commodiouſly, in any other Climate. To convey either Men or Beaſts, all on a ſudden, from the warmeſt Parts of *Africa*, to the coldeſt Places in the *North*, wou'd be a probable Means to make them both periſh; but the Caſe wou'd not be ſo, if they were to be remov'd, by inſenſible Degrees, nearer to theſe Places: Nor can we ſay, that there never were ſuch Creatures in thoſe Parts of *Aſia*, where *Noah* is thought to have liv'd, as are now to be found in *America*; becauſe it is very well known, that formerly there have been many Beaſts of a particular Species in ſome Countries, ſuch as the *Hippopotomi* in *Egypt*, Wolves in *England*, and Beavers in *France*, where at preſent, there are few or none of them to be found.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

Why God made Uſe of this Method.

If after all it ſhou'd be aſk'd, why God made uſe of this, rather than any other Method, to deſtroy the Wicked, and preſerve the Righteous? the proper Anſwer is, that *whatever pleaſeth him, That hath he done, both in Heaven and in Earth*; for as his Will is not to be controul'd, ſo neither is it to be diſputed. For Argument's Sake, however, let us ſuppoſe for once, that, inſtead of drowning the World, God had been pleas'd to deſtroy by Plague, Famine, or ſome other ſore Judgment, all Mankind, except *Noah* and his Sons, who were to be Eye-Witneſſes of this terrible Execution: To live to ſee the Earth cover'd with dead Bodies, and none left to bury them, the Fields uncultivated, and the Cities lie waſte and deſolate without Inhabitants, who can conceive what the Horror of ſuch a Sight wou'd have been? And who wou'd have been content to live in ſuch a World, to converſe only with the Images of Death, and with noiſome Carcaſſes? But God, in Mercy, ſhut up *Noah* in the Ark, that he ſhou'd not ſee the Terrors and Conſternations of Sinners, when the Flood came, and he waſh'd away all the dead Bodies into the Caverns of the Earth, with all the Remains of their old Habitations. So that, when *Noah* came out of the Ark, he ſaw nothing to diſturb his Imagination, nor any Tokens of that terrible Vengeance, which had over-run the World, to offend his Sight: Only when he look'd about him, and ſaw every Thing gone, he cou'd not but fall into this Contemplation,——that *God*, when he enters into Judgment with the Wicked, *(c) will not pity, nor ſpare, nor have Mercy, but deſtroy. He will daſh them one againſt another, even Father and Son together, and (d) cauſe his Fury to reſt upon them, until his Anger be accompliſh'd.*

(b) Vid. Univerſal Hiſtory. Of this however we ſhall give the conjectures of the Learned, when we come to treat of the *Diſperſion* of Nations in our next Book. *(c)* Jer. xiii. 14. *(d)* Ezek. v. 13.

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DISSERTATION VI.

Of Mount ARARAT.

BEFORE we conclude this *Chapter*, and this *Book* together, it may not be improper to give the Reader ſome Account of the *Mountains of Ararat* in general; in what Part of the World that particular one, which is here intended, is ſaid to be ſituate; and, according to the Relations both of *antient Geographers*, and *modern Travellers*, of what Form and Magnitude this Mountain is. But in this Enquiry, ſome Difficulties will ariſe, by Reaſon of the different Traditions concerning it.

Different Opinions concerning it.

THE Author of the Verſes, * which go under the Name of the *Sibylline Oracles*, places the Mountains of *Ararat* in the Borders of *Phrygia*, not far from *Celænæ*, at the Head of the two Rivers, *Marſyas* and *Meander*; but it appears from good Authorities, that there is, in Reality, no Mountain at all in that Place, or at moſt, but a ſmall Hill, and Eminence made by Art, and not by Nature: And therefore the learned *Bochart* has happily found out the Ground of this Miſtake, when he tells us, that, not far from this City *Celænæ*, there is another Town, call'd *Apamea*, and ſirnamed Κιβωτὸς, or *the Ark*; not from any Tradition that *Noah*'s Ark ever reſted there, but purely on Account of its Situation, becauſe it is encompaſs'd with three Rivers, *Marſyas*, *Obrimas*, and *Orgas*, which give it the Reſemblance of a Cheſt or *Ark*, in the ſame Manner, that the Port of *Alexandria* was ſo call'd, by Reaſon of the Bay, which enclos'd the Ships.

SIR *Walter Raleigh (e)*, and from him, ſome later Writers *(f)* are of Opinion, that the Mountains of *Ararat* were thoſe of *Caucaſus*, towards *Bactria* and *Saga Scythia*. This, as they imagine, agrees with the general Notion, that the *Scythians* might contend for the Antiquity of their Original, with any other Nation; with the *Chaldean* Tradition, concerning the Actions of their great Man *Xiſuthrus*, who is commonly ſuppos'd to be the ſame with *Noah*; with the Language, Learning, and Hiſtory of the *Chineſe*, who are thought to be *Noah*'s immediate Deſcendants; and with the Journey, which ſome of his other Deſcendants are ſaid to have took, *viz. (g) from the Eaſt to the Land of* Shinar. A modern *Chronologer* has endeavour'd to prove, that the Place, where *Noah* built the Ark, was call'd *Cypariſſon*, not far from the River *Tigris*, and on the North-Eaſt Side of the City of *Babylon*; that, while the Flood continu'd, it ſail'd from thence to the *North-Eaſt*, as far as the *Caſpian* Sea, and when the Flood abated, the *North-Wind* brought it back by a *Southern* Courſe, and landed it upon Mount *Caucaſus*, Eaſt of *Babylon*, and about nine Degrees diſtant from it in *Longitude*; and that this Opinion, as he imagines, is more agreeable to the Courſe, which the Ark, by meeting with contrary Currents, wou'd be forc'd to make; to the Senſe of Scripture,

* The Verſes, as they are ſet down by *Gallæus de Sybillis*, p. 589. are theſe:

Ἐσ-ὶ δὲ τις Φρυγίης ἐπὶ ἠπείροιο κελαινὴς
Ἡλίβατου τανύμηκες ὄρ-ος, Ἄραρατ δὲ καλεῖται ——
Μαρσύᾳ ἔνθα φλέβες μεγάλᾳ σὺλάμοιο πέφυκαν,
Τῷ δὲ Κιβωτὸς ἔμεινεν ἐν ὑψηλοῖο καρήνῳ.

But that which ſhews the Spuriouſneſs of theſe Verſes, is this: —— That the Sibyl, ſpeaking of herſelf as contemporary with *Noah*, takes Notice of the River *Marſyas*, which, whatever Name it had at firſt, was certainly, after the Death of *Midas*, call'd the *Fountain of Midas*, and retain'd that Name, until the Time of *Marſyas*, by whom it was alter'd; and this muſt be long after the Death of this Sibyl. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, l. 2. c. 2.

(e) His Hiſtory of the World. (f) *Heylin*'s Coſmography, and *Shuckford*'s Connection, l. 2. (g) Gen. xi. 2.

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ture, in bringing the Sons of *Noah* from the *Eaſt*, and in ſettling the Children of *Shem* (who went not to *Shinar*) in this Place, and to the great Conveniency of *Noah*'s landing not too far from the Country, where he liv'd before the Flood, that thereby he might be capable of giving better Directions to his Family, how to diſperſe themſelves, and to repleniſh the new World as Occaſion did require. But, beſides that there appears little or no Authority for all this, the Obſervation of Travellers into thoſe Countries may make it be queſtion'd, whether ſuch a Veſſel, as the Ark is repreſented, drawing much Water, and very unfit for ſailing, cou'd be able to reach Mount *Caucaſus* from the Province of *Eden* (where it is generally thought to have been built) in the Space of the Flood's Increaſe, which was no more than an hundred and fifty Days. The moſt probable Opinion therefore is, that, by the Word *Ararat*, the holy Scriptures denote that Country, which the *Greeks*, and from them other Weſtern Nations do call *Armenia*. In this Senſe it is taken by the *Septuagint*, by the *Chaldee Paraphraſe*, by the *Vulgat*, by *Theodoret*, and by divers others. The learned *Bochart* has brought together a Multitude of Arguments, all tending to the ſame Concluſion: But then the Queſtion is, on what particular Mountain it was, that the Ark landed?

The moſt conſiderable.

1. The moſt prevailing Opinion, for ſome Time, was, that one of the Mountains, which divide *Armenia*, on the *South*, from *Meſopotamia*, and that Part of *Aſſyria*, which is inhabited by the *Curds* (from whence the Mountains took the Name *Curdu*) which the *Greeks* chang'd into *Gordiæi*, * and ſeveral other Names, was the Place where the Ark landed: And what makes for this Opinion is, that whereas the Deluge was in a great Meaſure occaſion'd by the Overflowing of the Ocean, as the Scriptures tell us, that Flux of Waters, which came from the *Perſian* Sea, running from the *South*, and meeting the Ark, wou'd of courſe, carry it *Northward* upon the *Gordiæan* Mountains, which ſeems to be a Voyage enough for a Veſſel of its Bulk and Structure to make, in the ſtated Time of the Flood's Increaſe. From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

The Tradition, which affirms the Ark to have reſted on theſe Mountains, muſt have been very antient, ſince it is the Tradition of the *Chaldeans* themſelves, and, in former Ages, was very little queſtion'd, till Men came to enquire into the particular Part of theſe Mountains, whereon it ſettled, and then the Authors ſeem'd to place it out of *Armenia*; *Epiphanius* on the Mount *Lubar*, between the Country of the *Armenians* and *Gordiæans*; and all the *Eaſtern* Authors, both *Chriſtian* and *Mahometan*, on Mount *Themanin*, or *Al-Judi*, which overlooks the Country of *Diar-rhabia*, or *Mouſſal*, in *Meſopotamia*.

To confirm this Tradition however, we are told, that the Remainders of the Ark were to be ſeen upon theſe Mountains. *Beroſus* and *Abydenus* both declare, that there was ſuch a Report in their Time: The *former* obſerves farther, that ſeveral of the Inhabitants thereabouts ſcrap'd the Pitch off the Planks as a Rarity, and carry'd it about them for an *Amulet*; and the *latter* ſays, that they us'd the Wood of the Veſſel againſt ſeveral Diſeaſes with wonderful Succeſs; as the Relicks of this Ark were likewiſe to be ſeen in the Time of *Epiphanius*, if we may believe him. The Town of *Themanin*, which ſignifies *eight*, ſituate at the Foot of the Mountain *Al-Judi*, was built, we are told, in Memory of the *eight* Perſons, who came out of the Ark; and formerly there was a Monaſtery, call'd the *Monaſtery of the Ark*, upon the *Curdu* Mountains, where the *Neſtorians* us'd to celebrate a *Feſtival*, on the very Spot where they ſuppos'd the Ark ſtopp'd: But, in the Year of Chriſt 776, that Monaſtery was deſtroy'd by Lightning, together with the Church, and a numerous Congregation in it; and, ſince that Time,

* The *Greek* and *Latin* Writers name them *Carduchi*, *Cardiei*, *Cordiæi*, *Cordueni*, *Gordi*, *Cordæi*, *Curdi*, &c. The *Orientals* call them likewiſe *Cardon*, *Cordyn*, *Curud*, &c. *Bochart* ſuppoſes that they are the ſame, which are call'd by Miſtake in *Joſephus Caron*. Vid. Univer. Hiſt. *and* Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 3.

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Time, the Credit of this Tradition has, in ſome Meaſure, declin'd, and given Place to another, which at preſent prevails.

2. THIS Opinion places Mount *Ararat* towards the Middle of *Armenia*, near the River *Araxes*, or *Aras*, above 280 Miles diſtant from *Al-Judi*, to the North-Eaſt. *(h)* St *Jerom* ſeems to have been the firſt, who hath given us an Account of this Tradition. "*Ararat*, ſays he, is "a Champain Country, incredibly fertile, "through which the *Araxes* flows at the "Foot of Mount *Taurus*, which extends "ſo far; ſo that, by the Mountains of "*Ararat* whereon the Ark reſted, we "are not to underſtand the Mountains of "*Armenia* in general, but the higheſt "Mountains of *Taurus*, which overlook "the Plains of *Ararat*." Since his Time, its Situation, in this Place, has been remark'd by ſeveral other Writers; and all the Travellers into theſe Places now make mention of no other Mount of *Ararat*, than what the *Armenians* call *Maſis*, from *Amaſia*, the third Succeſſor of *Haikh*, the Founder of their Nation) and what the *Mahometans* do ſometimes name *Agri-dagh* i. e. *the heavy* or *great Mountain*, and ſometimes *Parmak-dagh*, the *Finger-Mountain*, alluding to its Appearance; for, as it is ſtrait, very ſteep, and ſtands by itſelf, it ſeems to reſemble a Finger, when held up.

A Deſcription of Mount Ararat.

THE Mount *Ararat*, which the *Armenians*, as we ſaid, call *Maſis*, and ſometimes *Meſeſouſſar*, (becauſe the Ark was ſtopp'd there, when the Waters of the Flood began to abate) ſtands about twelve Leagues to the *Eaſt* (or rather *South-Eaſt*) of *Erivan* (a ſmall City ſeated in the upper *Armenia*) four Leagues from *Aras*, or *Araxes*, and ten to the North-Weſt of *Nakſcivan*; which, becauſe *Nak*, in *Armenian*, ſignifies a *Ship*, and *Schivan*, *ſtopp'd* or *ſettled*, is ſuppos'd to have its Name from the ſame Occaſion. This Mountain is encompaſs'd by ſeveral little Hills, and on the Top of them are found many Ruins, which are thought to have been the Buildings of the firſt Men, who might fear, for ſome Time, to go down into the Plains. It ſtands by itſelf, in the Form of a Sugar-Loaf, in the midſt of one of the greateſt Plains that is to be ſeen, and ſeparated from the other Mountains of *Armenia*, which make a long Chain. It conſiſts of two Hills, whereof the leſs is more ſharp and pointed; but the large (which is that of the Ark) lies North-Eaſt of it, and rears its Head far above the neighbouring Mountains. It ſeems ſo high and big indeed, that, when the Air is clear, it does not appear to be above two Leagues from *Erivan*, and yet may be ſeen ſome four or five Days Journey off; but, from the Middle to the Top, it is always cover'd with Snow, and, for the Space of three or four Months in the Year, has its upper Part commonly hid in the Clouds.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

THE *Armenians* have a Tradition, that, on the Summit of this Mountain, there is ſtill a conſiderable Part of the Ark remaining, but that it is impoſſible to get up to the Top of it. *(i)* For they tell us of one Traveller, a Perſon of ſingular Piety, who endeavour'd to do it, and had advanc'd as far as the Middle of the Mountain; when, being thirſty, and wanting Water, he put up a Prayer to God, who caus'd a Fountain to ſpring out of the Ground for him, and ſo ſav'd his Life; but, at the ſame Time, he heard a Voice, ſaying, *Let none be ſo bold, as to go up to the Top of this Mountain.*

HOW difficult the Aſcent of this Mountain is (without any particular Revelation) we may inform ourſelves from the following Account which Mr *Tournefort* gives us of it.

Tournefort's *Account of it*

"ABOUT two o'Clock in the After-"noon, *(k) ſays he*, we began to aſcend "the Mountain *Ararat*, but not without "Difficulty. We were forc'd to climb "up in looſe Sand, where we ſaw no-"thing, but ſome *Juniper* and *Goats-"Thorn*. The Mountain, which lies "*South*, and *South-South-Eaſt* from *Ei-"miadzim*, or *the three Churches*, is one "of

(h) In Iſaiah xxxvii. *(i)* *La Boulaye*'s Voyages. *(k)* *Vide* his Voyages into the *Levant*, Letter VII.

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" of the moſt ſad and diſagreeable Sights " upon Earth; for there are neither Trees, " nor Shrubs upon it, nor any Convents " of *Religious*, either *Armenians*, or *Franks*. " All the Monaſteries are in the Plain, " nor can I think the Place inhabitable in " any Part, becauſe the Soil of the Moun- " tain is looſe, and moſt of it cover'd with " Snow.

" FROM the Top of a great Abyſs, " (as dreadful an Hole as ever was ſeen) " oppoſite to the Village of *Akurlu* (from " whence we came) there continually fall " down Rocks of a blackiſh hard Stone, " which make a terrible Reſound. This, " and the Noiſe of the Crows, that are " continually flying from one Side to the " other, has ſomething in it very fright- " ful; and, to form any Notion of the " Place, you muſt imagine one of the " higheſt Mountains in the World open- " ing its Boſom, only to ſhew one of the " moſt horrid Spectacles that can be thought " of. No living Animals are to be ſeen, " but at the Bottom, and towards the " Middle of the Mountain. They who " occupy the loweſt Region are poor Shep- " herds, and ſcabby Flocks. The ſecond " Region is poſſeſs'd by Crows and Ty- " gers, which paſs'd by, not without " giving us ſome Dread and Uneaſineſs. " All the reſt of it, *i. e.* half of it, has " been cover'd with Snow, ever ſince the " Ark reſted there, and theſe Snows are " cover'd half the Year with very thick " Clouds.

" NOTWITHSTANDING the Amaze- " ment, which this frightful Solitude caſt " us into, we endeavour'd to find out the " Monaſtery, we were told of, and en- " quir'd whether there were any *Religious* " in Caverns. The Notion they have in " the Country, that the Ark reſted here, " and the Veneration, which all the *Arme-* " *nians* have for this Mountain (for they " kiſs the Earth, as ſoon as they ſee it, " and repeat certain Prayers, after they " have made the Sign of the Croſs) have " made many imagine, that it muſt be " fill'd with *Religious*. However, they " aſſur'd us, that there was only one for- " ſaken Convent, at the Foot of the Gulf; " that there was no Fountain throughout " the whole Mount; and that we cou'd " not go, in a whole Day, to the Snow, " and down again to the Bottom of the " *Abyſs*; that the Shepherds often loſt " their Way; and that we might judge, " what a miſerable Place it was, from the " Neceſſity they were under to dig the " Earth, from Time to Time, to find a " Spring of Water, for themſelves and " their Flocks; and, in ſhort, that it " wou'd be Folly to proceed on our Way, " becauſe they were ſatisfy'd our Legs " wou'd fail us, nor wou'd they be oblig'd " to accompany us, for all the Treaſures " of the King of *Perſia*.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

" WHEN we conſider'd what the Shep- " herds had told us, we adviſ'd with our " Guides; and they, good Men, unwil- " ling to expoſe themſelves to the Danger " of dying for Thirſt, and having no Cu- " rioſity, at the Expence of their Legs, " to meaſure the Height of the Moun- " tain, were, at firſt, of the ſame Senti- " ments with the Shepherds; but after- " wards concluded that we might go to " certain Rocks, which were more pro- " minent and viſible than the reſt, and ſo " return by Night to the Place where we " were; and, with that Reſolution, we " went to Reſt. In the Morning, after " that we had eat and drank very plenti- " fully, we began to travel towards the " firſt Ridge of Rocks with one Bottle " of Water, which, to eaſe ourſelves, we " carry'd by Turns; but, notwithſtand- " ing we had made Pitchers of our Bellies, " in two Hours Time, they were quite " dry'd up; and, as Water ſhook in a " Bottle is no very pleaſant Liquor, our " Hopes were, that, when we came to " the Snow, we ſhou'd eat ſome of it to " quench our Thirſt.

" IT muſt be acknowledg'd, that the " Sight is very much deceiv'd, when we " ſtand at the Bottom, and gueſs at the " Height of a Mountain; and eſpecially " when it muſt be aſcended thro' Sands,

" as

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" as troubleſome as the *Syrtes* of *Africa*.
" 'Tis impoſſible to take one firm Step
" upon the Sands of Mount *Ararat*: In
" many Places, inſtead of aſcending, we
" are oblig'd to go back again, to the
" Middle of the Mountain, and, in order
" to continue our Courſe, to wind, ſome-
" times to the Right, and ſometimes to
" the Left.

" To avoid theſe Sands, which fa-
" tigu'd us moſt intolerably, we made our
" Way to the great Rocks, which were
" heap'd one upon another. We paſs'd
" under them, as through Caverns, and
" were ſhelter'd from all the Injuries of
" the Weather, except *Cold*, which was
" here ſo keen and intenſe, that we were
" forc'd to leave the Place, and come into
" a very troubleſome Way, full of large
" Stones, ſuch as Maſons make uſe of in
" Building, and were forc'd to leap from
" Stone to Stone, till I, for my Part, was
" heartily weary, and began to ſit down,
" and repoſe myſelf a little, as the reſt of
" the Company did.

" After we had reſted ourſelves, we
" came about Noon, to a Place, which
" afforded us a more pleaſing Proſpect.
" We imagin'd ourſelves ſo near, that we
" cou'd have even touch'd the Snow (we
" thought) with our Teeth; but our Joy
" laſted not long, for, what we had taken
" for Snow, prov'd only a *Chalk Rock*,
" which hid from our Sight a Tract of
" Land, above two Hours Journey diſtant
" from the Snow, and which ſeem'd to
" have a new Kind of Pavement, made
" of ſmall Pieces of Stones, broke off by
" the Froſt, and whoſe Edges were as
" ſharp as Flints. Our Guides told us,
" that their Feet were quite bare, and
" that ours, in a Short Time, wou'd be ſo
" too; that it grew late, and we ſhou'd
" certainly loſe ourſelves in the Night, or
" break our Necks in the Dark, unleſs
" we wou'd chuſe to ſit down, and ſo be-
" come a Prey to the Tygers. All this
" ſeem'd very feaſible; and therefore we
" aſſur'd them, that we wou'd go no far-
" ther than the Heap of Snow, which we
" ſhew'd them, and which, at that Di- From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.
" ſtance, appear'd hardly bigger than a
" *Cake*; but, when we came to it, we
" found it more than we had Occaſion for;
" the Heap was above thirty Paces in Dia-
" meter. We every one eat as much as
" we had a mind for, and ſo, by Conſent,
" reſolv'd to advance no farther. It can-
" not be imagin'd, how much the Eating
" of Snow revives and invigorates: We
" therefore began to deſcend the Mountain
" with a great deal of Alacrity; but we
" had not gone far, before we came to
" Sands, which lay behind the *Abyſs*, and
" were full as troubleſome as the former,
" ſo that, about ſix in the Afternoon, we
" found ourſelves quite tired out and ſpent.
" At length, obſerving a Place cover'd
" with *Mouſe-Ear*, whoſe Declivity ſeem'd
" to favour our Deſcent, we made to it
" with all Speed, and (what pleas'd us
" mighty well) from hence it was that our
" Guides ſhew'd us (tho' at a conſiderable
" Diſtance) the Monaſtery, whither we
" were to go to quench our Thirſt. I
" leave it to be gueſs'd what Method *Noah*
" made uſe of to deſcend from this Place,
" who might have rid upon ſo many Sorts
" of Animals, which were all at his Com-
" mand: But as for us, we laid ourſelves
" upon our Backs, and ſlid down for an
" Hour together upon this green Plat, and
" ſo paſs'd on very agreeably, and much
" faſter, than we cou'd have gone upon
" our Legs. The Night, and our Thirſt
" were a Kind of Spurs to us, and made
" us make the greater Speed. We conti-
" nu'd therefore ſliding in this Manner,
" as long as the Way wou'd permit; and,
" when we met with ſmall Flints, which
" hurt our Shoulders, we turn'd and ſlid on
" our Bellies, or went backwards on *all four*.
" Thus by Degrees we gain'd the Mona-
" ſtery; but ſo diſorder'd and fatigu'd by
" our Manner of travelling, that we were
" not able to move Hand or Foot."

I have made my Quotation from this learned *Botaniſt*, and moſt accurate Traveller, the longer, not only becauſe it gives us a full Idea of the Mountain, ſo far as

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he aſcended; but ſome Diſtruſt likewiſe of the Veracity *(l)* of a certain *Dutch* Voyager, who ſeems to aſſure us, that he went five Days Journey up Mount *Ararat* to ſee a *Romiſh* Hermit; that he paſs'd through three Regions of the Clouds, the firſt dark and thick, the next cold and full of Snow, and the third colder ſtill; that he advanc'd five Miles every Day, and when he came to the Place, where the Hermit had his Cell, he breath'd a very ſerene and temperate Air; that the Hermit told him, he had perceiv'd neither Wind nor Rain, all the five and twenty Years that he had dwelt there; and that, on the Top of the Mountain, there ſtill reign'd a greater Tranquillity, which was a Means to preſerve the Ark without Decay or Putrefaction.

An Objection ſtated and anſwer'd.

There is one Objection, which may be made to all that we have ſaid concerning the Situation of this famous Mountain, and that is,——Whereas the *Sons of Noah*, when they quitted the Country where the Ark reſted, are ſaid to *(m) journey from the Eaſt into the Land of* Shinar, it is plain, that, if they remov'd from any Part of *Armenia*, they muſt have gone from the North, or North-Weſt; but this we ſhall take Occaſion to examine, when we come to Treat of their Migration. In the mean Time, 'tis worthy our Obſervation, and ſome Argument of our being in the right, *(n)* that the Situation of *Ararat*, as we have ſuppos'd it, whether it be Mount *Maſis*, or the Mountain of *Cardu*, was very convenient for the Journey of the Sons of *Noah*, becauſe the Diſtance is not very great, and the Deſcent eaſy, eſpecially from the latter, into the Plains of *Meſopotamia*, whereof *Shinar* is a Part. Nor ſhould we forget, that the Neighbourhood, which the ſacred Hiſtory, by this Means, preſerves between the Land of *Eden*, where Man was created; that of *Ararat*, where the Remains of Mankind were ſav'd; and that of *Shinar*, where they fix'd the Center of their Plantations, is much more natural, and ſeems to have a better Face and Appearance of Truth, than to place theſe Scenes at ſo vaſt a Diſtance, as ſome *Commentators* have done. From Gen. vi 12. to ix. 20.

That there were Mountains before the Deluge.

One Enquiry more, not concerning Mount *Ararat* only, but every other Mountain, that is diſpers'd over the whole Earth, is this,——Whether they were in Being before the Induction of the Flood. The ingenious Author of the *Theory*, ſo often quoted, is clearly of Opinion, that *(o)* the *Face of the Earth, before the Deluge, was ſmooth, regular, and uniform, without Mountains, and without a Sea*; and that the Rocks and Mountains, which every where now appear, were made by the violent Concuſſions, which then happen'd, and are indeed nothing elſe but the Ruins and Fragments of the old World. But all this is confuted by the Teſtimony of *Divine Wiſdom*, who declaring her own Preexiſtence, *(p) I was ſet up from everlaſting*, ſays ſhe, *from the Beginning, or ever the Earth was; when there was no Depth, I was brought forth; when there were no Fountains abounding with Water, before the Mountains were ſettled, before the Hills was I brought forth; while, as yet, God had not made the Earth, nor the Fields, nor the higheſt Part of the Duſt of the World.* So that, according to this Declaration, not only the *Fountains of Waters*, which we ſee upon the Face of the Earth, but even Mountains (which ſome have accounted its greateſt Deformities) and all Hills were Part of the original Creation, and contemporary with the firſt Foundations of the Earth: And though a Deluge can ſcarce be ſuppos'd to over-ſpread the Globe, without making ſome Tranſmutation in it; yet, that it could not ſhock the *Pillars* of the round World, or cauſe a total Diſſolution in Nature, we have the ſame Divine Teſtimony, aſſuring us, that, at the Time of the firſt Creation, *(q) God laid the Foundation of the Earth ſo ſure, that it ſhould not be remov'd for ever.*

Their Uſe and Pleaſantneſs.

'Tis a groundleſs Imagination then, to aſcribe the Origin of Mountains, and other lofty Eminences, to a certain Diſruption of

(l) Struys's Voyages, Chap. xvii. *(m)* Gen. xi. 2. *(n)* Univerſ. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 1. p. 110. *(o) Burnet's* Theory, l. 1. c. 5. *(p)* Prov. viii. 23, &c.

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of the Earth, in the Time of the Deluge; when God, from the very firſt Beginning, deſign'd them for ſuch excellent Purpoſes. For, beſides that ſeveral of theſe Rocks and Mountains (as well as the *broad Sea*) are really an awful Sight, and fill the Mind with juſt Notions of God's tremendous Majeſty, which a ſmall River, or a ſmooth Surface does not do ſo well; and beſides that, they yield Food for ſeveral Animals, form'd by Nature to live upon them, and ſupply us from *without* with many wholeſome Plants, and from *within* with many uſeful Metals; by condenſing the Vapours, and ſo producing Rain, Fountains, and Rivers, they give the very Plains and Valleys themſelves the Fertility, which they boaſt of. For this ſeems to be the Deſign of Hills, *ſays (r) a learned Enquirer into the Original of Springs and Fountains*, "That their Ridges, being plac'd through "the midſt of the *Continent*, might ſerve, "as it were, for *Alembicks*, to diſtil freſh "Water for the Uſe of Man and Beaſt; "and their Heights, to give a Deſcent to "thoſe Streams, which run gently, like "ſo many Veins of the *Microcoſm*, to be "the more beneficial to the Creation."

(s) NAY, we may appeal to the Senſe of Mankind, whether a Land of Hills and Dales has not more Pleaſure and Beauty both, than any uniform *Flat*, which then only affords Delight, when it is view'd from the Top of an Hill. For what were the *Temples of Theſſaly*, ſo celebrated in antient Story for their unparallel'd Pleaſantneſs, but a Vale, divided by a River, and terminated with Hills? Are not all the Deſcriptions of *Poets* embelliſh'd with ſuch Ideas, when they wou'd repreſent any Places of *ſuperlative* Delight, any bliſsful Seats of the *Muſes* and *Nymphs*, any ſacred Habitations of *Gods* and *Goddeſſes?* They will never admit, that a wild *Flat* can be pleaſant, no not in the * *Elyſian* Fields: They too muſt be diverſify'd. Swelling Deſcents, and declining Valleys are their chief Beauties; nor can they imagine * even Paradiſe, a Place of Pleaſure, or Heaven itſelf * to be Heaven without them. So that ſuch a Place, as our preſent Earth is, diſtinguiſh'd into Mountains, Rivers, Vales, and Hills, muſt, even in Point of Pleaſure, claim a Pre-eminence before any other, that preſents us with no more than a ſingle Scene, and, in one continu'd *plain* Superficies, muſt of Neceſſity pall the Proſpect. But then, if we conſider farther, the Riches that are repoſited in theſe Mountains, the Gold and precious Stones, the Coal, the Lead, the Tin, and other valuable Minerals, that are dug out of their Bowels, all uſeful in their Kinds, and fitted for the Accommodation of human Life, we ſhall be apt to over-look the *fantaſtical* Pleaſantneſs of a ſmooth Outſide, and to think with *Moſes*, the Man of God, that *(t) Bleſſed of the Lord is* any *Land, for the chief Things of the antient Mountains, and for the precious Things of the laſting Hills.*

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

(r) Dr *Halley*.

(s) *Bentley*'s Sermons at *Boyle*'s Lectures.

* At Pater Anchiſes penitus convalle virenti.
Hoc ſuperate jugum — & tumulum capit. VIR. *Æn.* 6.

* Flowers worthy of Paradiſe, which not wiſe Art,
In Beds and curious Knots, but Nature boon,
Pour'd forth profuſe, on Hills, and Dale, and Plain.

* For Earth hath this Variety from Heav'n
Of Pleaſure, ſituate on Hill, or Dale.
MILTON's Paradiſe Loſt, Book IV.

(t) Deut. xxxiii. 13, 15.

The End of the Firſt Book.



Hauldt Sculp.

THE HISTORY OF THE BIBLE.

BOOK II.

Containing an Account of Things from the Flood *to the Call of* ABRAHAM. In all 426 Years, and ſix Months.

CHAP. I.

The Remainder of what is recorded of Noah, *to his Death.*

The HISTORY.

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Noah's Sacrifice, and the Promiſes and Grants, which God gives him.

AS ſoon as *Noah* and his Family were landed, and all the Creatures, committed to his Charge, were come ſafe out of the Ark, he ſelected ſome of every Kind, both Beaſts and Birds, but ſuch only as were *clean*, NUMB. XIV. and, by God's Appointment, proper for Sacrifice; and, having build the firſt Altar, that were read of, reſtor'd the antient Rite of Divine Worſhip, and † offer'd Burnt-Sacrifices thereon. And this he did with ſo grateful a Senſe of the Divine Goodneſs, and ſo reverential a Fear of the Divine

From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

† *Joſephus* tells us, that *Noah*, in a Perſuaſion that God had doom'd Mankind to Deſtruction, lay under a mortal Dread for fear of the ſame Judgment over again, and that it wou'd end in an *Anniverſary* Inundation; ſo that he preſented

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Majeſty, as procur'd him a gracious Acceptance, and, in Teſtimony of that Acceptance, ſeveral Grants and Promiſes.

From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

Gods *Promiſes* were, that, ‡ though Mankind were naturally wicked, and apt to go aſtray from the very Womb, yet, be their Iniquities ever ſo great, he wou'd not any more deſtroy the Earth † by a general Deluge, or diſturb the Order of Nature, and ‡ the ſeveral Seaſons of the Year, and their regular Viciſſitudes: And in Confirmation of this, he appointed the *Rainbow* for a *Token*, which (whether it us'd to appear before the Flood, or no) was now to be the Ratification of the Truth of his Promiſe, and *his faithful Witneſs in* Heaven.

The *Grants* which God gave *Noah* and his Sons were, not only * the ſame Dominion, which our firſt Parents, before the

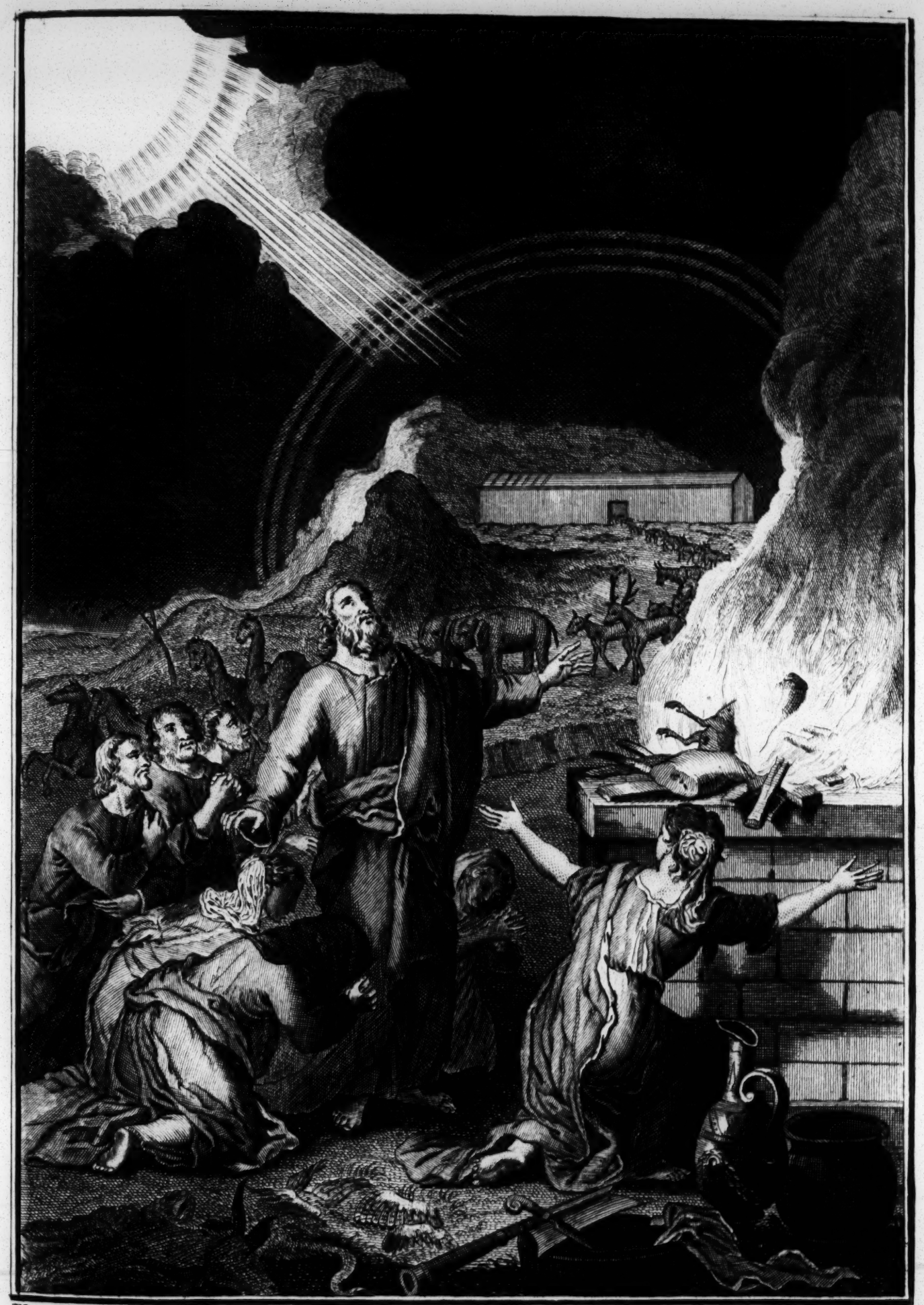
ſented himſelf before the Lord with Sacrifices and Prayers, " humbly beſeeching him, in Mercy, to preſerve the Order " of the World in its Frame; to puniſh the Guilty, and ſpare the Lives of the Innocent; and not to proceed with " Rigour, for the Wickedneſs of ſome Particulars, to the Deſtruction of the Whole; otherwiſe, the Survivors of this " Calamity wou'd be more wretched, than thoſe that were waſh'd away in the common Ruin, if, after having ſuf- " fer'd Horror of Thought, and the Terror of ſo diſmal a Spectacle, they ſhou'd only be deliver'd from one Calamity, " to be conſum'd by another." *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 4. But that this ſhou'd be the Purport of his Prayer is not very likely, becauſe we find no ſuch Indications of Terror, in *Noah*, who knew the great and criminal Cauſes of the Deluge to be ſuch, as cou'd not happen every Year, and who, having found Favour in the Eyes of God, and a miraculous Preſervation from a general Deſtruction, can hardly be ſuppos'd to have *caſt away his Confidence* in him ſo ſoon, and, inſtead thereof, to be poſſeſs'd with an abject and ſervile fear: And therefore we may conclude, that the Nature of his Prayer and Sacrifice was *euchariſtical*, and not *deprecatory*. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Exercit. 19.

‡ The Words in our Tranſlation are, *I will not again curſe the Ground any more for Man's Sake, for the Imagination of Man's Heart is Evil*; which is certainly very injuriouſly render'd, becauſe it makes the ſacred Author ſpeak quite contrary to what he deſign'd, and is an Affront to the Juſtice, Goodneſs, and Wiſdom of God, who, by this Tranſlation of *for*, inſtead of *tho'*, might ſeem to bleſs Man for his evil Imaginations. *Eſſay for a New Tranſlation.*

† For particular Inundations there have been at ſeveral Times, in divers Places, whereby Towns and Countries have been overwhelm'd with all their Inhabitants. *Pool*'s Annotations.

‡ All the Verſions do manifeſtly, in this Place, confound *the four Seaſons* of the Year, which *Moſes* exactly diſtinguiſhes. For the *Hebrew* Word *Kor*, which they render *Cold*, ſignifies the *Winter*, becauſe of the Cold that then reigns. The Word *Chom*, which they render *Heat*, ſignifies the *Spring*, becauſe of the Heat, which abounds in *Judea* about the End of the Spring, in the Months of *May* and *June*, which are the Harveſt-Time in that Country. The Word *Kajts*, which they render *Summer*, does indeed ſignify ſo; but then the Word *Choroph*, which they term the *Winter*, ſhou'd be render'd *Autumn*, which is the Time of ploughing and cultivating the Ground, as may be ſeen *Prov.* xx. 4. So that the whole Sentence, which contains the Promiſe of God, *Gen.* viii. 22. if render'd juſtly, ſhould run thus, ——— *While the Earth remaineth, Seed-Time and Harveſt, Winter and Spring, Summer and Autumn, Day and Night, ſhall not ceaſe.* An Eſſay for a New Tranſlation. We cannot but obſerve however, that this Viciſſitude of Times and Seaſons, which is here promis'd as a Bleſſing to Mankind, is a full Computation of the Dreams of ſuch Writers, as are apt to fancy, " That in the *primordial* Earth there was every where a perpetual Spring and Equi- " nox; that all the Parts of the Year had one and the ſame Tenor, Face, and Temper; and that there was no Winter " or Summer, Seed-Time or Harveſt, but a continual Temperature of the Air, and Verdure of the Earth;" which, if it were true, wou'd make this Promiſe of God a Puniſhment, rather than a Bleſſing to Mankind. Vid. *Burnet*'s Theory, l. 2. c. 3. and *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Exercit. 19.

* A learned and right Reverend Author, to ſhew the Renovation of the Earth after the Deluge, and its Deliverance from the Curſe, inflicted upon it by reaſon of *Adam*'s Tranſgreſſion, runs the Parallel betwen the Bleſſings and Privileges, granted to *Adam*, ſoon after his Creation, and thoſe reſtor'd to *Noah* and his Poſterity, ſoon after the Flood. To our firſt Parents it is ſaid, *Have Dominion over the Fiſh of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and over every living Thing, that moveth on the Earth*, Gen. i. 28. To *Noah* and his Sons it is ſaid, *The Fear of you, and the Dread of you ſhall be upon every Beaſt of the Earth, and upon every Fowl of the Air, and upon all that moveth upon the Earth, and upon all the Fiſhes of the Sea, into your Hand are they delivered*, Gen. ix. 2. To *Adam* and *Eve* are granted for Food *every Herb, bearing Seed* ——— *and every Tree, in the which is the Fruit of the Tree, yielding Seed*, Gen. i. 29. But *Noah* and his Sons have a larger Charter, ——— *Every moving Thing, that liveth, ſhall be Meat to you, even, as the green Herb, have I given you all Things*, Gen. ix. 3. The Bleſſing upon the Earth, at the Creation was, ——— *Let the Earth bring forth Graſs, and Herb yielding Seed, and the Fruit-Tree yielding Fruit after his Kind*, Gen. i. 11. The Bleſſing after the Flood is, ——— *While the Earth remaineth, Seed-Time and Harveſt ſhall not ceaſe*, Gen. viii. 22. In the Beginning, *the Lights in the Firmament were appointed to divide the Day from the Night, and to be for Seaſons, and for Days, and Years*, Gen. i. 14. After the Flood, the new Bleſſing is, ——— *That Spring and Autumn, Summer and Winter, and Day and Night, ſhall not ceaſe*, Gen. viii. 22. Whereupon our Author aſks, what is beſtow'd in the firſt Bleſſings, that is wanted in the ſecond? What more did *Adam* enjoy in his happieſt Days? What more did he forfeit in his worſt, with reſpect to this Life, than that which is contain'd in theſe Bleſſings? If he neither had more, nor loſt more, all theſe Bleſſings you ſee expreſsly reſtor'd to *Noah* and his Poſterity: And, from all this laid together, he concludes, that the old Curſe upon the Ground was, after the Deluge, finiſh'd and compleated. *Uſe and Intent of Prophecy*, *p.* 91.*



Pl.11 page 142.

Noah buildeth an Altar to the Lord, and took of every clean Beast, &
of every clean Fowl, and offered Burnt Offerings on ye Altar. Gen. C.8. v. 20.

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H. Gravelot



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the Fall, had over the Animal-Creation, and a full Power to keep them in Submiſſion and Subjection; but a Privilege likewiſe to kill any of theſe Creatures for Food; only with this Reſtriction, that they were not to † put them to unneceſſary Torture, or to eat any Part of their Blood, which might be a Means to introduce the ſhedding of human Blood. The human Kind, notwithſtanding their *Apoſtacy*, did ſtill retain ſome *Lineaments* of the Divine Similitude, and, therefore, whoſoever murther'd any of them, did thereby deface the *Image of God*; and whether it were Man † or Beaſt, Stranger or near Relation, was appointed by the *Magiſtrate* to be put to Death: And, with theſe Grants and Promiſes, he gave them Encouragement (as he did our firſt Progenitors) to *be fruitful and multiply, and repleniſh the Earth*, which was now left almoſt deſtitute of Inhabitants.

BUT how much ſoever the Deluge might deprive the Earth of its inhabitants, it had not ſo totally deſtroy'd the Trees, and Plants, and other Vegetables, but that in a ſhort Time, they began to appear again; and, being encourag'd by the kindly Warmth of the Sun, diſcover'd their ſeveral *Species*, by the ſeveral *Fruits* they bore. *Noah* before the Flood † had apply'd himſelf to *Huſbandry*, and now, upon the Recovery of the Earth again, took himſelf to the ſame Occupation. Among his other Improvements of the Ground, he had planted a Vineyard, and, perhaps was the firſt Man, who invented a Preſs, to ſqueeze the Juice out of the Grape, and ſo make Wine. Natural Curioſity might tempt him to taſte the Fruit of his own Labour; but, being either unacquainted with the Strength of this Liquor, or through Age and Infirmity, unable to bear it, ſo it was, that, drinking a little too freely, he became quite intoxicated with it; and ſo falling aſleep in his Tent, lay with his Body uncover'd, and, in a very indecent Poſture, was expos'd to the Eyes of his Children.

From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

HAM, who eſpy'd his Father in this Condition, inſtead of concealing his Weakneſs, proclaim'd it aloud, and to his other two Brothers, *Shem* and *Japhet*, made him the Subject of his Scorn and Deriſion: But, ſo far were they from being pleas'd with his Behaviour in this Reſpect, that, taking a Garment, and laying it upon both their Shoulders, they went backward, till, coming to their Father, they dropt the Garment upon him, and ſo cover'd the Nakedneſs which their pious Modeſty wou'd not permit them to behold. Nor is it improbable, that, to prevent the like Indecency, they watch'd him, during the remaining Time of his Sleep, and might poſſibly, upon his awaking, acquaint him with

Ham's *Immodeſty to his Father* Noah.

† The Words in the Text are—*But Fleſh with the Life thereof, which is the Blood thereof, ſhall you not eat.* This the *Hebrew* Doctors generally underſtand to be a Prohibition to cut off any Limb of a living Creature, and to eat it, while the *Life, i. e.* the Blood, was in it; *dum adhuc vivit, & palpitat, ſeu tremit*, as a modern Interpreter has truly explain'd their Senſe. And in this they are follow'd by ſeveral *Chriſtians*, who think (as *Maimonides* did) that there were ſome People, in the old World, ſo ſavage and barbarous, that they did eat raw Fleſh, while it was yet warm from the Beaſt, out of whoſe Body it was cut *Piece-meal*. *Plutarch* tells us, that it was cuſtomary, in his Time, to run red hot Spits through the Bellies of live Swine, to make their Fleſh more delicious; and I believe ſome among us have heard of *whipping* Pigs, and torturing other Creatures to Death for the ſame Purpoſe. Now theſe Things cou'd not be committed, if ſuch Men thought themſelves bound in Conſcience to abſtain from all unneceſſary Cruelties to the Creatures, and to bleed them to Death, with all the Diſpatch they cou'd, before they touch'd them for Food. Vid. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Revelation Examin'd*, Vol. II. p. 20.

† If it here ſhou'd be aſk'd, How any Beaſt, that is neither capable of Virtue or Vice, can be deem'd culpable, in caſe it ſhou'd chance to kill any Man? The Anſwer is,———That this Law was ordain'd for the Benefit of Men, for whoſe Uſe all Beaſts were created. For, *1ſt*. ſuch *Owners*, as were not careful to prevent ſuch Miſchiefs, were hereby puniſh'd. *2dly*, Others were admoniſh'd by their Example to be cautious. *3dly*, God thereby inſtructed them, that Murther was a moſt grievous Crime, whoſe Puniſhment extended even to Beaſts; and, *4thly*, the Lives of Men were hereby much ſecur'd, when ſuch Beaſts, as might do the like Miſchief another Time, were immediately diſpatch'd, and taken out of the Way. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Anciently the greateſt Men eſteem'd nothing more honourable, and worthy their Study, than the Art of Agriculture. *Nihil homine libero dignius*, nothing more becoming a Gentleman, was the Saying of the *Roman Orator*; and for the Truth of this the *Fabii*, the *Cato*'s, the *Varro*'s, the *Virgil*'s, the *Pliny*'s, and other great Names, are ſufficient Witneſſes. *Biblioth. Biblica*, Vol. I. p. 251.

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with what had happen'd: Whereupon, perceiving how unworthily his Son *Ham* had serv'd him, † he curs'd his Race in the Person of *Canaan* his Grandson, and reflecting how respectfully his other two Sons had behav'd, he rewarded their pious Care with each one a Blessing, which, in Process of Time, was fulfill'd in their Posterity.

And Noah's *Death.*

THIS is all that the Scripture informs us of concerning *Noah*, only we are given to understand, that he liv'd 350 Years after the Deluge, in all 950; and, if we will believe the Tradition of the *Orientals*, he was bury'd in *Mesopotamia*, where, not far from a Monastery, call'd *Dair-Abunah*, i. e. *the Monastery of our Father*, they shew us, in a Castle, a large Sepulchre, which, they say, belong'd to him: But, as for the common Opinion of his dividing the World among his three Sons before his Death, giving to *Shem*, *Asia*, to *Ham*, *Africa*, and to *Japhet*, *Europe*, there is no Manner of Foundation for it, either in Scripture, or Tradition.

From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

The OBJECTION.

"BUT how short soever this *Post-diluvian* Part of *Noah*'s History "may be thought, 'tis long enough, we "find, to contain many more Absurdities, "and Misrepresentations of Things, than "can easily be digested. It might be the "Opinion of the *Heathen* World, per-"haps, that their Gods were pleas'd with "the Smell of Incense, and (as one *(b)* "expresses it) *wou'd leave their ordinary* "*Diet of Nectar and Ambrosia, to snuff* "*up the Smoak and fat of Sacrifices*; "yet, surely it gives us too gross and car-"nal a Notion of the great God of Hea-"ven and Earth, that he shou'd be so far "delighted with the *sweet Savour* of any "Oblation, as to have his Heart atten-"der'd, his Relentings kindled, and him-"self drawn into a hasty Resolution, *never* "*to destroy the Earth any more*, when it "is apparent, that since that Time, he "has brought upon it several *Inundations*, "and, at the End, is resolv'd to consume "it with a general *Conflagration*.

"THE Rainbow indeed may be ac-"counted a very beautiful Sight in the "Heavens; but, as it proceeds from a "natural Cause, *(c)* from the *Reflection* "and *Refraction* of the Rays of the Sun "from innumerable Drops of Rain in a "Cloud, it can be no proper Token of a "*Covenant* commencing at that Time. "As there was a Sun and Clouds before "the Flood, the same *Phænomenon* must "have frequently appear'd, and conse-"quently lost its *Validity*; nor can we "suppose, that God shou'd ever be so *un-*"*mindful of his Covenant*, as to stand in "need of so slight, so common a Re-"membrancer.

"THE Permission of *Animal-Food* to "*Noah* and his Posterity may be thought "perhaps a *peculiar* Privilege; but, *(d)* "when we read of the same Dominion "over all Creatures, and the same Di-"stinction of clean and unclean Beasts, in "the Times before the Flood, that we "find in the Times of *Noah*, either we "must suppose the Distinction to be fri-"volous, and the Dominion given to Man "more extensive, after he had sinn'd, than "it was before, or we must allow, that "this

† 'Tis a Tradition among the *Eastern* Writers, that *Noah*, having curs'd *Ham* and *Canaan*, the Effect of his Curse was, that not only their Posterity were made subject to their Brethren, and born, as we may say, in Slavery, but that likewise, all on a sudden, the Colour of their Skin became black: (For they maintain, that all the *Blacks* descended from *Ham* and *Canaan*;) that *Noah*, seeing so surprising a Change, was deeply affected with it, and begg'd of God, that he wou'd be pleas'd to inspire *Canaan*'s Masters with a tender and compassionate Love for him; and that his Prayer was heard. For, notwithstanding we may still, at this Day, observe the Effect of *Noah*'s *Curse*, in the Servitude of *Ham*'s Posterity; yet we may remark likewise the Effect of his *Prayer*, in that this Sort of black Slaves is sought for, and made much of in most Places. *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Ham*.

(b) Lucin. de Sacrif. Vol. I. p. 306. *(c) Saurin*'s Dissertation. *(d) Heidegger*'s Hist. Patriar. Exer. 15.

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" this is a Privilege no more, than what " all *Antediluvians* had, and, conſequent- " ly, that it is a Miſrepreſentation to call " it a *new Grant*.

" MAN, in his State of Innocence, and " while the Image of God ſhone radiantly " about him, held all other Creatures un- " der a voluntary Subjection: But, the " many ſad Accidents, which we read of " continually, are too ſure a Teſtimony, " that this Part of the *Grant* is, in a Man- " ner, quite withdrawn, and that *the Fear " of us, and the Dread of us*, is ſo little " impreſs'd upon ſeveral Kinds of Beaſts, " that on ſundry Occaſions, they turn " upon their Maſters, and rebel.

" THE Lord and Sovereign of the *Poſt- " diluvian* World was the Patriarch " *Noah*, who muſt, conſequently, be a Man " of Buſineſs, as having the chief Govern- " ment of Affairs devolv'd upon him; " and yet, after this Period of Time, we " hear no Manner of Tidings of him, " except it be in one ſcurvy Story of his " planting a Vineyard, getting ſcandalouſ- " ly drunk, and expoſing himſelf to the " Scorn and Deriſion of all about him. " 'Tis ſomewhat ſtrange, that, in all the " *Antediluvian* Ages, the Uſe of the Vine " ſhou'd not be found out, or, that *Noah*, " who was now about 600 Years old, " ſhou'd not be acquainted with its intoxi- " cating Quality; but, if he was not, " the more he was to be pity'd, and *Moſes*, " (one wou'd think) ſhou'd have imitated " his two dutiful Sons, and, in Compaſ- " ſion to his Infirmity, caſt the kind Veil " upon his Nakedneſs. But, inſtead of " that, to repreſent this Favourite of God, " and grave Sire of Mankind, lying in " his Tent in the ſhameful Manner, that " he does, and then, as ſoon as he awakes " from his Wine, to give him the *Spirit " of Prophecy*, and ſet him a venting his " Curſes and his Bleſſings at random, looks " as if he were acting the Part of *Ham*, " and expoſing a weak Man's Failings to " the Publick. For, according to this " Repreſentation, what other Reaſon can " we aſſign for the ſeveral notorious Blun- " ders that he makes; *(e)* for his miſ- " taking the Name of *Canaan* (who ſeems " to be innocent in the whole Affair) in- " ſtead of that of his guilty Son *Ham*, in " the *Curſe*; for preferring his younger " Son *Shem*, before the firſt-born *Japhet*, " in the *Bleſſing*; and for the many un- " accountable Reveries of *enlarging* Ja- " phet, *making him dwell in the Tents of* " Shem, and *Ham* to become the *Servant " of Servants?* What Account can we " give for theſe Extravagancies, I ſay, but " that of ſuppoſing that the good old *Pa- " triarch* was not yet got out of his *Cups*, " and return'd to his Senſes?"

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'TIS a ſad Perverſion of the Uſe of human Underſtanding, and no ſmall Token of a ſecret Inclination to *Infidelity*, when Men make the Condeſcenſions of Scripture an Argument againſt its divine Authority; and, from the *Figures* and *Alluſions*, which it employs, in Accommodation to their Capacities, draw Concluſions, unworthy of its ſacred Penman, and unbecoming the Nature of God.

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing why Noah's *Sacrifice was accepted.*

IN relation to Sacrifices, we find God declaring himſelf very fully in theſe Words: *(f) Hear, O my People, and I will ſpeak; I will teſtify againſt thee, O* Iſrael, *for I am God, even thy God. I will not reprove thee, becauſe of thy Sacrifices, or for thy Burnt-Offerings, becauſe they were not always before me. I will take no Bullock out of thine Houſe, or He-Goats out of thy Fold: —for thinkeſt thou that I will eat Bull's Fleſh, or drink the Blood of Goats? Offer unto God Thankſgiving, and pay thy Vows unto the Moſt High, and call upon me in the Time of Trouble, ſo will I hear thee, and thou ſhalt praiſe me.* So that it is not the *Oblation* itſelf, but the grateful Senſe and Affections of the Offerer, that are acceptable to God, and which, by an eaſy Metaphor, may be ſaid to be as grateful to him, *(g)* as Perfumes, or *ſweet Odours* are to us.

AND indeed, if either the Senſe of Gratitude or Fear, if either the Apprehenſion

(e) Vid. Gen. ix. 25, 26, 27. *(f)* Pſal. l. 7, &c. *(g) Patrick's* Commentary.

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of God's peculiar Kindneſs, or of his wrathful Indignation againſt Sin did ever produce a ſincere Homage, *(b)* it muſt have been upon this Occaſion, when the *Patriarch* call'd to Remembrance the many Vows he had made to God *in the Bitterneſs of his Soul*, and in the Midſt of his Diſtreſs; when, coming out of the Ark, he had before his Eyes the Ruins of the old World, ſo many dreadful Objects of the Divine Vengeance; and, at the ſame Time, ſaw himſelf ſafe amidſt his little Family, which muſt have all likewiſe periſh'd, had they not been preſerv'd by a miraculous Interpoſition. And, with ſuch Affections of Mind, as this Scene cou'd not but excite, it wou'd be injurious not to think, that his Prayers and Oblations were anſwerably *fervent*, and his Joy and Thankſgiving ſuch, as became ſo ſignal a Deliverance.

But it was not upon Account of theſe only, that his Service found ſo favourable a Reception. Sacrifices, *(i)* (as we ſhewed before) were of Divine Inſtitution, and prefigurative of that great *Propitiation*, which God, in due Time, wou'd exhibit in the Death of his Son. Whatever Merit they have, they derive from Chriſt, *(k) who gave himſelf for us, as an Offering, and a Sacrifice to God for a ſweet-ſmelling Savour.* 'Twas in the Senſe of this therefore, that *Noah* approach'd the Altar, which he had erected; and while he was offering his appointed Sacrifices, fail'd not to commemorate *this Lamb of God, which was ſlain from the Foundation of the World*, and ſo found his *Acceptance in the Beloved*; for he is the *(l) Angel, which comes, and ſtands at the Altar, having a golden Cenſer, and to whom is given much Incenſe, that he may offer it with the Prayers of the Saints, upon the golden Altar, which is before the Throne.*

That the Covenant hereupon reſtrain'd God, neither from particular Inundations.

We miſtake the Matter however very much, if we imagine, that the Merit of *Noah*'s Sacrifice, (even when purify'd with the Blood of *Chriſt*) was the *procuring* Cauſe of the *Covenant* here mention'd. The Covenant was in the Divine Counſel *from everlaſting*, and God only here takes an Occaſion to acquaint *Noah* with it: But then we may obſerve, that he expreſſes himſelf in ſuch Terms, as lay no Reſtraint upon him from ſending a Judgment of Waters, or from bringing a general *Conflagration* upon the World at the laſt Day. He binds himſelf only *never to ſmite any more every living Thing in the Manner he had done*, i. e. with an univerſal Deluge; but, if any Nation deſerves ſuch a Puniſhment, and the Situation of their Country well admits of it, he may, if he pleaſes, without Breach of this Covenant, bring a *local* Inundation upon them; though it muſt be acknowledg'd, that, whenever we find him threatning any People with his *(m) ſore Judgments*, he never makes mention of this.

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Nor the general Conflagration.

It was a general Tradition among the *Heathens*, that the World was to undergo a double Deſtruction, one by *Water* and the other by *Fire*. The Deſtruction by Fire St *Peter* has given us a very lively Deſcription of. *(n) The Heavens and the Earth, which are now*, ſays he, *are kept in Store, reſerv'd unto Fire, againſt the Day of Judgment*; for then *ſhall the Heavens paſs away with a great Noiſe, and the Elements melt with fervent Heat, and the Earth alſo, and the Works that are therein, ſhall be burnt up.* But all this is no Infraction upon the Covenant made with *Noah*, which relates to the Judgment of a Flood: And, though this *Cataſtrophe* will certainly be more terrible than the other, yet it has this great Difference in it, *(o)* that it is not ſent as a *Curſe*, but as a *Bleſſing* upon the Earth, not as a Means to deface and deſtroy, but to renew and refine it; and therefore the ſame Apoſtle adds, *(p) Nevertheleſs we, according to his Promiſe, look for new Heavens and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth Righteouſneſs.*

Thus

(b) Saurin's Diſſertations. *(i)* Vid. p. 76, &c. *(k)* Eph. v. 2. *(l)* Revel. viii. 3. *(m) Vid.* Ezek. xiv. 21. *(n)* 2 Pet. iii. 7, 10. *(o) Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. I. Exer. 19. *(p)* 2 Pet. iii. 13.

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That the Rainbow, *the Sign of the Covenant, did not exiſt before the Flood.*

THUS the Covenant of God ſtandeth ſure: But then, in Relation to the *Sign*, or *Sacrament* of it, whether it was *previous*, or *ſubſequent* to the Deluge, this has been a Matter much debated among the Learned. It cannot be deny'd indeed, but that * this curious Mixture of Light and Shade, diſcernable in the *Rainbow*, ariſes naturally from the Superficies of thoſe Parts, which conſtitute a Cloud, when the Rays of the Sun, from the adverſe Part of the *Hemiſphere*, are darted upon it; and, for this Reaſon, *(q)* whenever there is the like Diſpoſition of the Sun to the Cloud, it may be imagin'd, that the ſame *Phænomenon* may be ſeen, and, conſequently, at certain Times, has been ſeen, not from the Deluge only, but from the firſt Foundation of the World. *(r)* But, as this Opinion has nothing in Scripture to enforce it, ſo are there no Grounds in Nature to give it any Sanction, unleſs we will aſſert this manifeſt Untruth,——That every *Diſpoſition* of the Air, and every *Denſity* of a Cloud is fitly qualify'd to produce a Rainbow.

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THIS *Meteor* (as the Scripture informs us) * was appointed by God to be a Witneſs of his Covenant with the new World, and a Meſſenger to ſecure Mankind from Deſtruction

* The learned *Heidegger* has given an Account of the Nature and Colours of the Rainbow, and by what different Cauſes they are produc'd, in Words ſo very expreſſive, that I chuſe to give them in the Original, rather than run the Hazard of injuring their *Emphaſis* by a bad Tranſlation. " Efficit Iridem potiſſimum Sol, ſeu Radius Solaris in vaporem " receptus, inque eo refractus propter diverſa Receptacula; unum rarius, area; alterum denſius, vaporem; qui & ſola- " rem recipit Radium, & in Oculum reflectit: Ita ut in Iride ſit partim ἀνάκλασις, ſive radii luminoſi, in Profunditate va- " poris, Refractio; partim διάκλασις, ſeu Radii ejus ad Oculum Reflectio, quæ non poſſent ſociari niſi in nube roridâ, & " in pluvias jam reſolvendâ; quippe in tantum ratâ, ut eum aliquantum Radius Solaris penetret, & in tantum etiam " denſâ, ut ubi Radius ſeſe paululum inſinuarit, eundem repercutiat. Circularis & arcuata eſt ejus figura ob figuram " Solis ipſius, quia ſemper Iris apparet ex adverſo Solis, repercuſſis ejus Radiis ab oppoſitâ nube. Colores Iridis, ex variâ " Lucis & umbrarum Mixturâ, ſunt tres poſſimum; φοινίκεος, *puniceus & rubicundus*; πράσινος, *porraceus*, ſive viridis, & " ἀλυργος *cæruleus*. Cum enim Solares Radii primum ſubeunt Nubem, quia minus tranſitur opaci, Color eſt *rubicundus*, " ſeu *puniceus*: Ubi paulo magis penetrârit, impeditur aliquantum Coloris Ardor, atque ſic fit *viridis*; at in profun- " dum Vaporis admiſſus, uſque ad infimam Arcûs Curvaturam, ob Opacitatem remittit Color, eſtque *cæruleus*. Ex- " excit. 19." This Deſcription is pretty lively, and gives us ſome Idea of this ſtrange Phænomenon; and yet we muſt own, that the Nature of *Refraction*, on which the Colours of the *Rainbow* do depend, is one of the abſtruſeſt Things, that we meet with in the Philoſophy of Nature. Our renown'd *Boyle*, who wrote a Treatiſe on the ſubject of *Colours*, after a long and indefatigable Search into their Natures and Properties, was not able ſo much as to ſatisfy himſelf *what Light is*, or (if it be a Body) what Kind of *Corpuſcles*, for Size and Shape, it conſiſts of, or how theſe inſenſible *Corpuſcles* cou'd be ſo differently, and yet withal ſo regularly refracted; and he freely acknowledges, that however ſome Colours might be plauſibly enough explain'd, in the general, from Experiments he had made, *yet whenſoever he would deſcend to the minute and accurate Explication of Particulars, he found himſelf very ſenſible of the great Obſcurity of Things.* Dr *Halley*, the great Ornament of his Profeſſion, makes the ſame Acknowledgment; and, after having, from the *given* Proportion of Refraction, accounted both for the Colours and Diameter of the Rainbow, with its ſeveral Appearances, he cou'd hence diſcern (as he tells us) farther Difficulties laying before him: Particularly, from whence aroſe the *refractive Force of Fluids*, which is a Problem of no ſmall Moment, and yet deſervedly to be plac'd among the Myſteries of Nature, *nondum Senſibus, aut Ratiociniis noſtris objecta:* and the noble *Theoriſt of Light* himſelf, after his many ſurpriſing Diſcoveries, built even upon vulgar Experiments, found it too hard for him to reſolve himſelf in ſome Particulars about it; and notwithſtanding all his prodigious Skill in Mathematicks, and his dexterous Management of the moſt obvious Experiments, he concludes it at laſt to be a Work too arduous for human Underſtanding, abſolutely to determine *what Light is, after what Manner refracted, and by what Modes and Actions it produceth in our Minds the Phantaſſes of Colours.* Biblioth. Biblica, Vol. II. Occaſional Annot. 2. in the Appendix.

(q) Vid. *Brown*'s Pſeudodoxia Epidemica. *(r)* Dr *Jackſon* upon the Creed, l. 1. c. 16.

* That this *Rainbow* was thought to be of ſomewhat more than mere *natural* Extraction, the *phyſical Mythology* of the antient Heathens ſeems to teſtify, and 'tis not improbable, that from the Tenor of God's Covenant here, made with *Noah*, which might be communicated to them by Tradition, *Homer*, the great Father of *Ethnick* Poetry, does, by an eaſy and lively Fiction, bring in *Jupiter*, the King of Heaven, ſending *Iris*, his Meſſenger, with a peremptory command to *Neptune*, the Prince of Waters, to deſiſt from any farther aſſiſting the *Grecians*, and annoying the *Trojans*; and, at the ſame Time that *Iris* is ſent with this Meſſage to the watery Deity, the Poet has ſo contriv'd the Matter, that *Apollo*, or the Sun, which is the Parent, and efficient Cauſe of the Rainbow, be ſent with another Meſſage to *Hector*, and the *Trojans*, in order to encourage them to take the Field again, and renew their Attack. The Meaning of all which fine Machinery is no more than this,——That, after a great deal of Rain, which had caus'd an Inundation, and thereby made the *Trojan* Horſe uſeleſs, the Sun began to appear again, and the Rainbow in a Cloud oppoſite to the Sun, which was a ſure Prognoſtick of fair Weather. *Bibliotheca Biblica*, Vol. I. *Occaſional Annot.* 2. in the Appendix.

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Deſtruction by Deluges; ſo that, had it appear'd before the Flood, the Sight of it afterwards wou'd have been but a poor Comfort to *Noah* and his Poſterity, whoſe Fear of an Inundation was too violent, ever to be taken away by a common and ordinary Sign.

For, ſuppoſe that God Almighty had ſaid to *Noah*; (s) "I make a Promiſe to "you, and to all living Creatures, that "the World ſhall never be deſtroy'd by "Water again; and, for Confirmation of "this, behold, *I ſet the Sun in the Firmament*;" Would this have been any ſtrengthening of *Moſes*'s Faith, or any Satisfaction to his Mind? "Why, *ſays Noah*, "the Sun was in the Firmament, when "the Deluge came, and was a Spectator "of that ſad Tragedy; and, as it may be "ſo again, † what Sign, or Aſſurance in "this, againſt a ſecond Deluge?" But now, if we ſuppoſe, on the other Hand, that the Rainbow firſt appear'd to the Inhabitants of the Earth after the Deluge, nothing cou'd be a more proper and appoſite Sign for Providence to pitch upon, in order to confirm the Promiſe, made to *Noah* and his Poſterity, that the World ſhou'd no more be deſtroy'd by Water. The Rainbow had a ſecret Connection with the Effect itſelf, and ſo far was * a *natural* Sign; and, as it appear'd *firſt* after the Deluge, and was form'd in a thin, watry Cloud, there is, methinks, a great Eaſineſs and Propriety of its Application for ſuch a Purpoſe. For, if we ſuppoſe, that while God Almighty was declaring his Promiſe to *Noah*, and what he intended for the Sign of it, there appear'd at the ſame Time, in the Clouds, * a fair Rainbow, that marvellous and beautiful *Meteor*, which *Noah* had never ſeen before, it cou'd not but make a moſt lively Impreſſion upon him, quickening his Faith, and

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(s) *Burnet*'s Theory.

† When God gives a Sign, in the Heavens, or on the Earth, of any Prophecy or Promiſe to be fulfill'd, it muſt be by ſomething *new*, or by ſome Change wrought in Nature, whereby he teſtifies to us, that he is able and willing to ſtand to his Promiſe. Thus God puts the Matter to *Ahaz*, *Aſk a Sign of the Lord, aſk it either in the Depth, or in the Height above:* And when *Ahaz* wou'd aſk no Sign, God gives him one unaſk'd; *Behold a Virgin ſhall conceive, and bear a Son.* Thus when *Abraham* aſk'd a Sign, whereby he might be aſſur'd of God's Promiſe, that his Seed ſhou'd inherit the Land of *Canaan*, 'tis ſaid, that *when the Sun went down*, and it was dark, *behold a ſmoaking Furnace, and a burning Lamp paſs'd between the Pieces of the Beaſts* which he had cut aſunder, *Gen.* xv. 17. And, in like Manner, in the Sign given to *Hezekiah* for his Recovery, and to *Gideon* for his Victory; in the former Caſe, the Shadow *went back ten Degrees in* Ahaz's *Dial.* Iſa. xxxviii. 8. and, in the latter, *the Fleece was wet, and all the Ground about it dry*; and then (to change the Trial) *it was dry, and all the Ground about it wet*, Judg. vi. 38, 39. Theſe were all Signs, proper, ſignificant, and ſatisfactory, having ſomething new, ſurpriſing, and extraordinary in them, denoting the Hand, and Interpoſition of God: But where every Thing continues to be as it was before, and the Face of Nature, in all its Parts, the very ſame, it cannot ſignify any Thing *new*, nor any new Intention of the Author of Nature; and, conſequently, cannot be a Sign or Pledge, a Token or Aſſurance of the Accompliſhment of any new Covenant, or Promiſe made by him. *Burnet*'s Theory, l. 2. c. 5.

* Common Philoſophy teaches us, that the Rainbow is a *natural* Sign, that there will not be much Rain after it appears, but that the Clouds begin to diſperſe. For as it never appears in a thick Cloud, but only in a *thin*; whenever it appears, after Showers, which come from thick Clouds, it is a Token that they now grow thin; and therefore the God of Nature made Choice of this Sign, rather than any other, to ſatisfy us, that he wou'd never ſuffer the Clouds to thicken again to ſuch a Degree, as to bring another Deluge upon the Earth. *Patrick*'s Commentary. "Fit Iris ab ad-"verſo Sole, mittente Radios in nubem non denſum; ſignificat ergo naturaliter, quod & juſſu Dei, Imbrem nunquam "obruturum mundum: Quî enim poſſit, cum neque cœlum totum obductum nubibus ſit, neque, quæ adſunt, ſunt "valde denſæ?" *Valeſius* de S. Philoſ. c. 9.

* The ingenius *Marcus Marci* is of Opinion, that the *Rainbow*, which firſt appear'd to *Noah* after the Flood, and was ſo particularly dignify'd by God, as to be conſecrated for a Divine Sign, was not the common one, but a *great* and *univerſal Iris*, inimitable by Art, which he has defin'd by *a Segment of a Circle, diſſected into ſeveral Gyrations* or Rounds) *by the Diverſity of the Colours, differing one from another, begotten by the Sun-beams refracted in the Atmoſphere, and terminated with an opaque Superficies.* But whether this ſerves to explain the Matter any better, or whether the common Rainbow be not an Appearance illuſtrious enough to anſwer the Purpoſe for which it was intended, we leave the Curious to enquire; and ſhall only obſerve further, that, whether it was an ordinary, or extraordinary Bow, which appear'd to *Noah*, 'tis the Opinion of ſome, that the Time of its firſt appearing, was not immediately after he had ſacrific'd (as is generally ſuppos'd) but on the 150th Day of the Flood, *when God remember'd* Noah, upon which very Day of the Year they likewiſe calculated the Birth of *Chriſt* (as pretypified thereby) to have exactly fallen out, and that even *the Glory of the Lord*, which *ſhone round about the Shepherds*, was a gracious Phænomenon, correſponding with this *Sign of the Covenant*. Bibliotheca Biblica, *ibid.*

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and giving him Comfort and Aſſurance, that God wou'd be ſtedfaſt to his Purpoſe.

And for whoſe Sake *it was appointed.*

FOR God did not *ſet this Bow in the Clouds for his own Sake*, to engage his Attention, and revive his Memory, whenever he *look'd on it* (though that be the Expreſſion, which the Holy Spirit, ſpeaking after the Manner of Men, has thought fit to make uſe of) but for *our Sakes* was it plac'd there, as an illuſtrious Symbol of the Divine Mercy and Goodneſs, and to confirm our Belief and Confidence in God: And therefore, whenever *(t) we look upon the Rainbow*, we ſhou'd do well to *praiſe him, who made it*; *for very beautiful is it in the Brightneſs thereof. It compaſſeth the Heaven with a glorious Circle, and the Hands of the Moſt High have bended it.*

That Fleſh *was not eat before the Flood.*

AND as the Goodneſs of God was very conſpicuous to *Noah* and his Poſterity, in giving them a *new Sign* for the Confirmation of his *Promiſes*; ſo was it no leſs remarkable in the *new Charter* which he granted them, for the Enlargement of their *Diet*. That our firſt Parents, * in their State of Integrity, had not the Liberty of eating Fleſh, is very evident, becauſe they were limited by that Injunction, which appoints Herbs and Fruits for their Food: *(u) Behold I have given you every Herb, bearing Seed, which is upon the Face of the Earth, and every Tree, in the which is the Fruit of the Tree, yielding Seed; to you it ſhall be for Meat.* Nay, ſo far was Mankind from being indulg'd the Liberty of eating Fleſh at that Time, that we find *the Beaſts of the Field*, Creatures, that, in their Nature, are voracious, *and the Fowl of the Air, aud every Thing that creeped upon the Earth*, under the ſame Reſtraint, as having nothing allow'd them for their Food, but the *Herbage* of the Ground; becauſe it was the *Almighty's* Will, that, in the State of Innocence, no Violence ſhou'd be committed, nor any Life maintain'd at the Loſs and Forfeiture of another's.

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THIS was the original Order and Appointment, and ſo it continu'd after the Fall; for we can hardly ſuppoſe, that God wou'd allow a greater Privilege to Man, after his Tranſgreſſion, than he did before. On the contrary, we find him *(x) curſing the Ground* for Man's Sake, and telling him expreſsly, that *in Sorrow he ſhou'd eat of it all the Days of his Life*; and, though it ſhou'd bring forth *Thorns* and *Thiſtles* to him, yet here the Reſtriction is ſtill continu'd, *Of the Herbs of the Field thou ſhalt eat*, which is far from implying a Permiſſion to make Uſe of living Creatures for that Purpoſe.

NAY, farther we may obſerve, that ſuch a Permiſſion had been inconſiſtent with God's Intention of puniſhing him by impoveriſhing the Earth; ſince, had God indulg'd him the Liberty of making uſe of what Creatures he pleas'd for his Food, he might eaſily have made himſelf an Amends for the Unfruitfulneſs of the Earth, by the many good Things which Nature had provided for him. The *Dominion* therefore, which God at firſt gave Mankind over Brute-Animals, cou'd not extend to their ſlaying them for Food, ſince another Kind of Diet was enjoin'd them; nor cou'd the Diſtinction of *Clean* and *Unclean* reſpect them as Things to be *eaten*, but as Things to be *ſacrific'd*. The firſt Per-

(t) Eccleſiaſticus, xliii. 11, 12.

* This Notion the Pagan *Poets* and *Philoſophers* had receiv'd: For *Ovid*, in his Deſcription of theſe Times, gives us to underſtand, that they fed on no Fleſh, but liv'd altogether on Herbs and Fruits, when he introduces *Pythagoras*, a great Enquirer into the antient and primitive Practices of the World, expreſſing himſelf in this Manner:

At vetus illa ætas, cui fecimus *Aurea* nomen,
Fœtibus arboreis, &, quas humus educat, herbis
Fortunata fuit; nec polluit ora Cruore.
Tunc & Aves tutæ movere per aëra pennas,
Et Lepus impavidus mediis erravit in arvis;
Nec ſua Credulitas piſcem ſuſpenderat hamo.
Cuncta ſine Inſidiis, nullamque timentia fraudem,
Plenaque Pacis erant. *Met.* l. 15.

Porphyry, in his Book *de Abſtinentiâ*, aſſerts the ſame Thing, *viz.* That, in the Golden Age, no Fleſh of Beaſts was eaten, and he is to be pardon'd in what he adds afterwards, *viz.* That War and Famine introduc'd this Practice. He was not acquainted with *Geneſis*; he knew not, that God's Order to *Noah*, after the Flood, was, that *every living Creature ſhou'd be Meat for him*. *Edwards's* Survey of Religion, Vol. I. p. 117.

(u) Gen. i. 29, 30. *(x)* Ch. iii. 17, 18.

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miſſion to eat them was given to *Noah* and his Sons, and is plainly a diſtinct Branch of Power, from what God grants, when he tells them, *(y) The Fear of you, and the Dread of you ſhall be upon every Beaſt of the Earth*, &c.

Why it was granted to Noah *and his Poſterity.*

If it be aſk'd, for what Reaſon God ſhou'd indulge *Noah* and his Poſterity in the eating of Fleſh after the Flood, which he had never permitted before it; the moſt probable Anſwer is,——That he therefore did it, becauſe the Earth was corrupted by the Deluge, and the Virtue of its Herbs, and Plants, and other Vegetables, ſadly impair'd by the Saltneſs, and long Continuance of the Waters, ſo that, they cou'd not yield that wholeſome and ſolid Nutriment, which they did before: Tho' others rather think, that God indulg'd them in this, *(z) becauſe of the Hardneſs of their Hearts*; and that, perceiving the Eagerneſs of their Appetites towards carnal Food, and deſigning withal to abbreviate the Term of human Life, he gave them a free Licence to eat it; but knowing, at the ſame Time, that it was leſs *ſalutary*, than the natural Products of the Earth, he thence took Occaſion to accompliſh his Will and Determination, of having the Period of human Life made much ſhorter. Nor is the Reaſon, which *(a) Theodoret* aſſigns, for God's changing the Diet of Men from the Fruits of the Earth, to the Fleſh of Animals, much amiſs, *viz.* "That, "foreknowing, in future Ages, they wou'd "idolize his Creatures, he might aggra- "vate the Abſurdity, and make it more "ridiculous ſo to do, by their conſuming "at their Tables, what they ſacrific'd at "their Altars; ſince nothing is more ab- "ſurd, than to worſhip what we eat."

From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

That Man's Dominion *over Brute-Creatures ſtill continues.*

It cannot be deny'd indeed, but that the Grant of Dominion, which God gave *Adam*, in his State of Innocence, is now much impair'd; and that the Creatures, which to him were ſubmiſſive through Love, by us muſt be us'd with Severity, and ſubjected by Fear: But ſtill it is no ſmall Happineſs to us, that we know how to ſubdue them; that the Horſe and the Ox patiently ſubmit to the Bridle and the Yoke; and ſuch Creatures, as are immorigerous, we have found out Expedients to reclaim. For, though Man's Strength be comparatively ſmall, yet is there no Creature in the Earth, Sea, or Air, but what, * by ſome Stratagem or other, he can put in Subjection under him.

But *(b) canſt thou draw out* Leviathan *with an Hook? or his Tongue with a Cord which thou letteſt down? Canſt thou put an Hook into his Noſe? or bore his Jaw thro' with a Spear? Will he make many Supplications unto thee? Will he ſpeak ſoft Words unto thee? Wilt thou take him for a Servant for ever?* All theſe Queſtions, how expreſſive ſoever of the ſeveral Qualities of this *portentous* Creature, may, nevertheleſs, be anſwer'd in the *Affirmative*, *viz.* That how large ſoever in Bulk, and how tremendous ſoever in Strength this Animal may be, yet the *Greenland* Fiſhermen, who every Year return with its Spoils, do literally perform what our Author ſeems to account impoſſible; they *(c) fill his Skin with barbed Irons, and his Head with Fiſh-Spears*, and ſo they *play with him, as with a Bird*; *they bind him for*

(y) Gen. ix. 2. *(z)* Matth. xix. 8. *(a)* In Gen. Quæſt. 55. p. 44.

* This Superiority of Man, over all other Creatures, his holding them in Subjection, and making them ſubſervient to his Uſes, we find elegantly deſcrib'd by *Oppianus*, in the following Verſes:

——— ὐ γάρ τι πίλει Καθυπέρτερον ἀνδρῶν,
Νόσφι Θεῶν· μήνισι δ' ὑπείξομεν ἀθανάτοισιν.
Ὅσσους μὲν κατ' ὄρεσφι βίην ἄτρεστον ἔχοντας
Θῆρας ὑπερφιάλους βροτοὺς ἴσβισιν; ὅσσα δὲ φῦλα
Οἰωνῶν πεφίληκε καὶ ἠέρι δινεύοντα
Εἶλε, χαμαιζηλόν περ ἔχων δίμας; οὐδὲ λίνοιο
Ῥύσαι' ἀγκυρίη δμηθήμεναι· οὐδ' ἰσάωσιν
Αἰολὸν ἠμάεις πλεκτύγαν ῥόθον. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰδὲν
Θῆρα κιλαινόρρινον ὑπέρβιον ἄχθος ἀνάγκη
Κλῖναι ἐπιβρίσαντες, ὑπὸ ζυγλῆσι δ' ἔθηκαν
Οὐρῆας ταλαεργὸν ἔχειν πόνον ἰλυσπῆα. Lib. 5. Halieutican. ver. 10, &c.

(b) Job xli. 1, &c. *(c)* Ver. 5, &c.

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for their Maidens, and part him among their Merchants.

IN ſhort, God has implanted, in all Creatures, a Fear and Dread of Man. *(d)* This is the Thing, which keeps Wolves out of our Towns, and Lions out of our Streets; and tho' the Sharpneſs of Hunger, or Violence of Rage, may, at certain Times, make them forget their natural *Inſtinct* (as the like Cauſes have ſometimes diveſted Man of his *Reaſon)* yet, no ſooner are theſe Cauſes remov'd, but they return to their ordinary Temper again, without purſuing their Advantage, or combining with their Fellow-Brutes to riſe up in Rebellion againſt Man, their Lord and Maſter.

Why Moſes *makes ſo little Nention of* Noah *after the Flood.*

(e) SOME modern Writers of no ſmall Note are clearly of Opinion, that the *Ararat*, where the Ark reſted, was Mount *Caucaſus*, not far from *China*, where *Noah* and ſome Part of his Family ſettled, without travelling to *Shinar*, or having any Hand in the Building of *Babel*; and the Arguments they alledge for the Support of this Opinion, are ſuch as theſe, —— That the *Moſaick* Hiſtory is altogether ſilent, as to the peopling of *China* at the Diſperſion, and wholly confines itſelf within the Bounds of the then known World; that the *Chineſe* Language and Writing are ſo entirely different from thoſe among us, (introduc'd by the Confuſion at *Babel)* that it cannot well be ſuppos'd, they were ever deriv'd from them; and that (taking their firſt King *Fohi* and *Noah* to be the ſame Perſon) there are ſeveral *(f)* Traditions, relating to them, wherein they ſeem to agree, that the Reign of *Fohi* coincides with the Times of *Noah*, and the Lives of his Succeſſors correſpond with the Men of the ſame Ages recorded in Scripture; and from hence they infer, that the true Reaſon why *Moſes* makes ſo little mention of *Noah*, in the Times ſubſequent to the Flood, is this, ——That he liv'd at too great a Diſtance, and had no Share in the Tranſactions of the Nations round about *Shinar*, to whom alone, after the Diſperſion of Mankind, he is known to confine Hiſtory. This indeed is ſolving the Difficulty at once: But then, as this Opinion is only *conjectural*, the Hiſtories and Records of *China* are of a very uncertain and precarious Authority, and ſuch as are reputed *genuine*, of no older Date, than ſome few Centuries before the Birth of Chriſt, the major Part of the learned World has ſuppos'd, either that *Noah*, ſettling in the Country of *Armenia*, did not remove from thence, nor had any Concern in the Work of *Babel*, and ſo falls not under the Hiſtorian's Conſideration; or that, if he did remove with the reſt, into the Plains of *Shinar*, being now *ſuperannuated*, and unfit for Action, the Adminiſtration of Things was committed to other Hands, which made his Name and Authority the leſs taken Notice of.

From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

Why he records the Account of his Drunkenneſs.

IT muſt be acknowledg'd however, that the Deſign of the *ſacred* Penman is, to be very ſuccinct in his Account of the Affairs of this *Period*, becauſe he is haſtening to the Hiſtory of *Abraham*, the great Founder of the *Jewiſh* Nation, and whoſe Life and Adventures he thinks himſelf concern'd, upon that Account, to relate more at large. However this be, 'tis certain, from the Tenor of his Writing, that he is far from leading us into any Suſpicion of his having a private Malignity to *Noah*'s Character. He informs us, that, amidſt the Corruption of the *Antediluvian* World, he preſerv'd himſelf immaculate, and did therefore *find Favour in the Sight of God*, and was admitted to the Honour of his immediate Converſe: that, to preſerve him from the general Deſtruction, God

(d) *Miller*'s Hiſtory of the Church, l. 1. c. 1. *(e)* Dr *Alix*, in his Reflections on the Books of the Holy Scriptures. Mr *Whiſton*, in his Chronology of the Old Teſtament. *Shuckford*, in his Connection, and *Bedford*, in his Scripture Chronology. *(f)* Thus, in the *Chineſe* Hiſtory, *Fohi* is ſaid to have had no Father, which agrees well enough with *Noah*, becauſe the Memory of his Father might be loſt in the Deluge; that *Fohi*'s Mother conceiv'd him, as ſhe was encompaſs'd with a Rainbow, which ſeems to allude to the Rainbow's firſt appearing to *Noah* after the Flood; and that *Fohi* carefully bred up *ſeven* Sort of Creatures, which he us'd to ſacrifice to the ſupreme Spirit of Heaven and Earth, which is an imperfect Tradition of *Noah*'s taking into the Ark, of every *clean Beaſt by ſevens*, and of his making uſe of none but theſe, in all his Burnt-Offerings. *Shuckford*'s Connection, *Lib.* 2.

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God inſtructed him how to build a Veſſel of Security, undertook the Care and Conduct of it himſelf, and, amidſt the Ruins of a ſinking World, landed it ſafe on one of the Mountains of *Armenia*; that, as ſoon as the Deluge was over, God accepted of his Homage and Sacrifice, and not only renew'd to him the ſame *Charter*, which he had originally granted to our firſt Progenitor, but, over and above that, gave him an Enlargement of his *Diet*, which he had not granted to any before; and with him made *an everlaſting Covenant*, never to deſtroy the World by Water any more, whereof he conſtituted his *Bow* in the Clouds to be a glorious *Symbol*. In this Point of Light it is that *Moſes* has, all along, plac'd the Patriarch's Character; and therefore, if, in the Concluſion of it, he was forc'd to ſhade it with one Act of *Intemperance*, this, we may reaſonably conclude, proceeded from no other Paſſion, but his Love of Truth; and, to every impartial Reader, muſt be * a ſtrong Argument of his *Veracity*, in that he has interſpers'd the Faults with the Commendations of his *Worthies*, and, through his whole Hiſtory, drawn no one Character ſo very fair, as not to leave ſome Blemiſhes, ſome Inſtances of human Frailty ſtill abiding on it. And indeed, if we conſider the Thing rightly, we ſhall find it an Act of ſingular Kindneſs, and Benefit to us, that God has order'd the Faults and Miſcarriages of his Saints ſo conſtantly to be recorded in Scripture; ſince *they are written for our Inſtruction*, to remind us of our Frailty, and to alarm our Caution and Fear.

NOAH, we read, had eſcap'd the Pollutions of the *old* World, and approv'd his Fidelity to God in every trying Juncture; and yet we ſee him here falling of his own Accord, and ſhamefully overcome in a Time of Security and Peace, when he had no Temptations to beſet him, nor any boon Companions to allure him to Exceſs: And therefore his Example calls perpetually upon *(g) him, that thinketh he ſtandeth, to take head leſt he fall.* More eſpecially it informs us, that *(h) Wine is a Mocker, ſtrong Drink is raging, and, whoſoever is deceived thereby, is not wiſe*; and therefore it exhorts, in the Words of the *wiſe Man, (i) Look not thou upon Wine, when it is red, when it giveth its Colour in the Cup, when it moveth itſelf aright. At the laſt it will bite like a Serpent, and ſting like an Adder. Thine Eyes ſhall behold ſtrange Women, and thine Heart ſhall utter perverſe Things; yea, thou ſhalt be as he that lieth down in the midſt of the Sea, and as he, that lieth upon the Top of a Maſt.* From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

THERE is not however all the Reaſon that is imagin'd, to ſuppoſe, that *Noah* was drunk to any ſuch exceſſive Degree. The ſame Word, which is here us'd, occurs *(k)* in another Place in this Book of *Geneſis*, where we read, that *Joſeph*'s Brethren *drank, and were merry with him*; and yet the Circumſtances of the Entertainment will not ſuffer us to think, that they indulg'd themſelves in any Exceſs, in the Preſence of him, whom, as yet, they knew to be no other, than the Governor of *Egypt*. And, in like manner, if we may be allow'd to take the Word here in an innocent Senſe, its Import will only be, that *Noah* drank of the Wine *plentifully* perhaps, but not to a Debauch, and ſo fell aſleep. For we muſt obſerve, that *Moſes*'s Deſign is, not to accuſe *Noah* of Intemperance, but only to ſhew, upon what Occaſion it was, that the *Canaanites*, whom the People under his Command were now going *And in what Senſe it may be underſtood.*

* To confirm, in ſome Meaſure, the Truth of this Account of *Moſes*, we have an Heathen Story which ſeems to have ſprung from ſome Tradition concerning it; for it tells us, that, on a certain Day, *Myrrha*, Wife, or (as others ſay) Nurſe to *Hammon*, and Mother of *Adonis*, having her Son in her Company, found *Cyniſtas* ſleeping in his Tent, all uncover'd, and in an undecent Poſture. She ran immediately, and inform'd *Hammon* of it; he gave Notice of it to his Brothers, who, to prevent the Confuſion which *Cyniſtas* might be in, to find himſelf naked, cover'd him with ſomething. *Cyniſtas*, underſtanding what had paſs'd, curs'd *Adonis*, and purſu'd *Myrrha* into *Arabia*; where, after having wander'd nine Months, ſhe was chang'd into a Tree, which bears Myrrh. *Hammon* and *Ham* are the ſame Perſon, and ſo are *Adonis* and *Canaan*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Ham*.

(g) 1 Cor. x. 12. (h) Prov. xx. 1. (i) Ch. xxiii. 31, &c. (k) Ch. xliii. 34.

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going to engage, were accurs'd, and reprobated by God, even from the Days of *Noah*, and, conſequently, in more likelihood to fall into their Hands.

WITHOUT perplexing ourſelves therefore to find out ſuch Excuſes, as ſeveral Interpreters have devis'd; as, that *Noah* was unacquainted with the Nature of the Vine in *general*, * or with the Effects of This in *particular*, or that the Age and Infirmity of his Body, or the deep Concern and Melancholy of his Mind, made him liable to be overcome with a very little; we may adventure to ſay, that he drank *plentifully*, without impeaching his *Sobriety*; and that, while he was aſleep, he chanc'd to be *uncover'd*, without any Stain upon his *Modeſty*. There is a great deal of Difference between *Satiety* and *Intemperance*, between refreſhing *Nature*, and debauching it; and, conſidering withal, that the Faſhion of Men's Habits was at that Time *looſe*, (as they were likewiſe in ſubſequent Ages, before the Uſe of Breeches was found out) ſuch an Accident might have eaſily happen'd, without the Imputation of any Harm.

Why Noah *curs'd* Canaan, *and not* Ham.

(l) THE *Jewiſh* Doctors are generally of Opinion, that *Canaan*, * having firſt diſcover'd his Grandfather's Nakedneſs, made himſelf merry therewith, and afterwards expos'd it to the Scorn of his Father. Whoever the Perſon was, 'tis certain, that he is call'd *(m)* the *younger*, or *little* Son of *Noah*, which cannot well agree with *Ham*, becauſe he was neither *little*, nor his *younger* Son, but the ſecond, or middlemoſt, as he is always plac'd; *(n)* nor does it ſeem ſo pertinent to the Matter in Hand, to mention the Order of his Birth, but very fit (if he ſpeaks of his Grandſon) to diſtinguiſh him from the reſt. So that, if it was *Canaan*, who treated his Grandſire in this unworthy Manner, the Application of the Curſe to him, who was firſt in the Offence, is far from being a Miſtake in *Noah*. 'Tis no random *Anathema*, which he let fly at all Adventures, but a cool, deliberate Denunciation, which proceeded, not from a Spirit of *Indignation*, but of *Prophecy*. The Hiſtory indeed takes Notice of this Malediction immediately upon *Noah*'s awaking out of his Sleep, and being inform'd of what had happen'd; but this is occaſion'd by its known *Brevity*, which (as we have often remark'd) relates Things, as inſtantly *ſucceſſive*, when a conſiderable Space of Time ought to interfere. In all Probability, theſe Predictions of *Noah*, which point out the different Fates of his Poſterity, were ſuch, as *(o)* we find † *Jacob*

From Gen. viii. 20 to the End of Ch. ix.

* It is a *Jewiſh* Tradition or *Allegory*, that the Vine, which *Noah* planted, was not of ordinary, terreſtrial Growth, but was carry'd down the River out of *Paradiſe*, or at leaſt out of *Eden*, and found by him: And, as ſome have imagin'd, that the *Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil* was a Vine; ſo, by the Deſcription given thereof, and the fatal Conſequences attending it, there ſeems to be a plain Alluſion to it, and ſome Reaſon to believe, that it was one and the ſame Tree, by which both the Nakedneſs of *Adam* and *Noah* was expos'd to Deriſion. *Targ. Jonath.*

(l) *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Canaan*.

* Interpreters have invented ſeveral other Reaſons, why the Curſe, which properly belong'd to *Ham*, was inflicted on his Son *Canaan*; as *1ſt*, when *Canaan* is mention'd, *Ham* is not exempted from the Malediction, but rather more deeply plung'd into it, becauſe Parents are apt to be more affected with their Childrens Misfortunes, than their own; eſpecially, if themſelves brought the Evil upon them by their own Fault or Folly. *2dly*, God having bleſs'd the three Sons of *Noah*, at their going out of the Ark, it was not proper, that *Noah*'s Curſe ſhou'd interfere with the Divine Bleſſing, but very proper, that it ſhou'd be transferr'd to *Canaan*, in regard to the future Extirpation of the People, which were to deſcend from him. But, *3dly*, Some imagine, that there is here an *Ellipſis*, or Defect of the Word *Father*, ſince ſuch relative Words are frequently omitted, or underſtood in Scripture. Thus *Matth.* iv. 21. *James* of *Zebedee*, for *the Son of Zebedee*; John xix. 25. *Mary of Cleopas*, for *the Wife of Cleopas*; and *Acts* vii. 16. *Emmor of Sychem*, for *the Father of Sychem*, which our Tranſlation rightly ſupplies; and, in like Manner, *Canaan* may be put for *the Father of Canaan*, as the *Arabick* Tranſlation has it, *i. e. Ham*, as the *Septuagint* here render it. And, tho' *Ham* had more Sons, yet he may here be deſcrib'd by his Relation to *Canaan*, becauſe in him the Curſe was more fix'd and dreadful, reaching to his utter Extirpation, whilſt the reſt of *Ham*'s Poſterity, in After Ages, were bleſs'd with the ſaving Knowledge of the Goſpel. *Pool*'s Annotations.

(m) Gen. ix. 24. *(n)* *Patrick*'s Commentary. *(o)* Gen. xlix.

† That which may confirm us in this Opinion, is,—That *Jacob*, when he calleth his Children together, acquaints them, that his Purpoſe is *to tell them that which ſhall befal them in the laſt Days*; and that he does not always preſage Bleſſings,

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pronouncing over his Sons, a little before his Death; and 'tis not unlikely, that the common Opinion, of *Noah*'s dividing the Earth among *his*, might take its Original from theſe *laſt* Words, that we read of him, which were certainly accompliſh'd in their Event.

The Curſe *veriſy'd.*

THE Curſe upon *Canaan* is, that he ſhou'd *be a Servant to* Shem: And, *(p)* about 800 Years after this, did not the *Iſraelites*, Deſcendants of *Shem*, take Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan*, ſubdue thirty of its Kings, deſtroy moſt of its Inhabitants, lay heavy Tributes upon the Remainder, and, by Oppreſſions of one Kind or other, oblige ſome to flee into *Egypt*, * others into *Africa*, and others into *Greece*? He was doom'd likewiſe to be a *Servant to* Japhet; and did not the *Greeks* and *Romans*, deſcended from *Japhet*, utterly deſtroy the Relicks of *Canaan*, who fled to *Tyre*, built by the *Sidonians*; to *Thebes*, built by *Cadmus*; and to *Carthage*, built by *Dido*? For who has not heard of the Conqueſts of the *Romans* over the *Africans*?

The Bleſſing *upon* Japhet.

THE Bleſſing upon *Japhet* is, that his Territories ſhou'd be *enlarg'd: (q)* And can we think otherwiſe, when (as we ſhall ſhew anon) not only all *Europe*, and the *Leſſer Aſia*, but *Media* likewiſe, and Part of *Armenia*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, and the vaſt Regions towards the *North*, which antiently the *Scythians*, but now the *Tartars* inhabit, fell to the Share of his Poſterity? It was likewiſe declar'd, that he ſhou'd *dwell in the Tents of* Shem; and is it not notorious, that the *Greeks* and *Romans* invaded, and conquer'd that Part of *Aſia*, where the Poſterity of *Shem* had planted themſelves; that both *Alexander* and *Cæſar* were Maſters of *Jeruſalem*, and made all the Countries thereabout tributary? "You, "ſays *(r) Juſtin Martyr*, (ſpeaking to "*Trypho* the *Jew* concerning his Nation) "who are deſcended from *Shem*, accord- "ing as God had appointed, came into "the Land of the Children of *Canaan*, "and made it your own; and, in like "Manner, according to the Divine De- "cree, the Sons of *Japhet* (the *Romans*) "have broke in upon you, ſeiz'd upon "your whole Country, and ſtill keep Poſ- "ſeſſion of it. Thus the Sons of *Shem*, "*ſays he*, have over-power'd, and reduc'd "the *Canaanite*; and the Sons of *Japhet* "have ſubdu'd the Sons of *Shem*, and "made them their Vaſſals; ſo that the "Poſterity of *Canaan* are become, in a "literal Senſe, *Servants of Servants*".

From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

And upon Shem, *veriſy'd.*

THERE is ſomething peculiar in the Bleſſing which *Noah* gives *Shem*; for *(s)* *bleſſed*, ſays he, *be the Lord God of* Shem; But why the God of *Shem*, and not the God of *Japhet*? As to the Behaviour of theſe two Sons towards their Father, it was the ſame. They join'd in the pious Office done to him; ſo that in this reſpect they were equal, and equally deſerving of a Bleſſing. Nay, if any Preference was due to either from the Father, it was to *Japhet*, his *Firſt-born*; for ſo he was, tho' commonly laſt nam'd, when the Sons of *Noah* are mention'd together. Now this being the Caſe, how comes *Shem* to be preferr'd? And what is the Bleſſing conferr'd on him? A temporal Bleſſing it cou'd not be; for that was before confirm'd with all the Sons of *Noah*. Day and Night, Summer and Winter, Seed-Time and Harveſt, were a common Gift to the World, and beſtow'd (as our Saviour obſerves,

Bleſſings, but ſometimes ill Luck to their Poſterity, and (in the ſame Manner that *Noah* does) now and then drops a Note of his Diſpleaſure, according as their Behaviour has been: For thus he ſays of *Simeon* and *Levi*, in regard to the Slaughter of the *Shechemites*, *Curſed be their Anger, for it was fierce; and their Wrath, for it was cruel*, Gen. xlix. 7.

(p) *Patrick*'s Comment. in Locum.

* *Procopius* [de Bello Vendal. l. 2. c. 10.] tells us, that, in the Province of *Tingitana*, and in the very antient City of *Tingis*, which was founded by them, there are two great *Pillars* to be ſeen, of white Stone, erected near a large Fountain, with an Inſcription in *Phœnician* Characters, to this Purpoſe, *We are People preſerv'd by Flight from that Rover* Joſus, *the Son of* Nave, *who purſu'd* us. And, what makes it very probable, that they bent their Flight this Way, is the great Agreement, and almoſt Identity of the *Punick*, with the *Canaaniticſh* or *Hebrew* Language. *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Canaan*.

(q) *Patrick*'s Commentary. *(r)* Dial. contra Tryp. Jud. p. 288. *(s)* Gen. ix. 26.

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obſerves) *on the Evil, as well as on the Good.* We may therefore preſume, that the Bleſſing, here given to *Shem*, was of a different Kind, founded upon *(t)* a *better Covenant*, and *eſtabliſhed upon better Promiſes*, than any temporal Grant can be. And, accordingly, we may obſerve, that the ſame Promiſe, which was given to *Adam* after the Fall, *viz.* that the *Seed of the Woman* ſhould finally prevail, was renew'd to *Noah* before the Flood; for *(u) with thee will I eſtabliſh my Covenant*, ſays God; and therefore, as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* tells us of this Patriarch, *(x) that he was Heir of the Righteouſneſs, which is by Faith*; he certainly foreſaw, that, in *Seth*'s Family, God wou'd ſettle his Church; that of his Seed Chriſt ſhou'd be born *according to the Fleſh*; and, that the Covenant, which ſhou'd reſtore Man to himſelf and to his Maker, ſhou'd be convey'd through his Poſterity. And this accounts for the Preference given to *Shem*; for *Noah* ſpake not of his own Choice, but declar'd the Counſel of God, who had now, as he frequently did afterwards, *choſen the Younger before the Elder.*

From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix

THUS it appears upon Enquiry, that theſe Prophecies of *Noah* were not the Fumes of indigeſted Liquor, but *(y) the Words of Truth and Soberneſs:* And tho' their Senſe was not ſo apparent at the Time of their being pronounc'd, yet their Accompliſhment has now explain'd their Meaning, and verify'd that Obſervation of the Apoſtle (which very probably alludes to the very Predictions now before us) *No Prophecy is of any private Interpretation; for the Prophecy came not of old Time by the Will of Men, but holy Men of God ſpake, as they were mov'd by the Holy Ghoſt.*

DISSERTATION I.

Of the Prohibition of Blood.

The Meaning of the Prohibition.

THE Grant, which God was pleas'd to give *Noah* and his Poſterity, to eat the Fleſh of all living Creatures, has this remarkable Reſtriction in it, *(z) But Fleſh, with the Life thereof, which is the Blood thereof, ſhall you not eat.* Whether this Prohibition related to the Eating of *Things ſtrangled*, and ſuch as *died of themſelves*, in which the Blood was ſettled, (as *(a)* ſome will have it) or to the Eating of the Fleſh of Creatures, reeking in Blood, and their Limbs cut off, while they themſelves were yet alive, (as others *(b)* imagine) is not ſo material here to enquire; ſince the *former* was prohibited by *ſubſequent* Laws, both *(c)* in the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Church, and the *latter* was a Practice too abhorrent to human Nature, one wou'd think, to need any Prohibition at all. Whether therefore it be Blood congeal'd, or Blood mingled in the Fleſh, that is here primarily intended, the Injunction muſt at leaſt equally extend to Blood *ſimple* and *unmixt*; nor can any Interpretation imaginable be more natural, and obvious than this:—— "Though I "give you the Fleſh of every Creature, "that you ſhall think proper to make uſe "of for Food, yet I do not, at the ſame "Time, give you the Blood with it. *The* "*Blood is the Life*, or the Vehicle and "chief Inſtrument of Life, in every Crea-"ture; it muſt therefore be reſerv'd for "another Uſe, and not be eaten.

The Queſtion thereupon,

THIS is the true Senſe of the Prohibition, compar'd with theſe Parts of the *Levitical* Law, wherein we find it re-injoin'd: But then the Queſtion is, whether this Injunction be obligatory upon us now, under the Diſpenſation of the Goſpel; or whether

(t) Heb. viii. 6. *(u)* Gen. vi. 18. *(x)* Heb. xi. 7. *(y)* Acts xxvi. 25. *(z)* Gen. ix. 4.
(a) St *Chryſoſtom*, and *Ludovicus* de Dieu. *(b)* *Maimonides*, and our *Selden* de Jure Gentium. *(c)* *Vid.* Lev. xvii. 12. *and* Acts xv. 20.

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whether the Goſpel, which is *the Law of Liberty*, has ſet us free from any ſuch Obſervance? And a Queſtion it is, that ought the rather to be determin'd, becauſe ſome have made it a Matter of no ſmall Scruple to themſelves, whilſt others have paſs'd it by with Neglect, as a Law of temporary Duration only, and now quite abrogated.

That therefore the Reader may, in this Matter, chiefly judge for himſelf, I ſhall fairly ſtate the Arguments on both Sides; and, when I have done this, by a ſhort Examination into the Merits of each Evidence, endeavour to convince myſelf, and others, on which Side of the Queſtion it is, that Truth preponderates; and, conſequently, what ought to be the Practice of every good Chriſtian, in relation to this Law.

The Arguments for the Eating of Blood

Those who maintain the Lawfulneſs of eating Blood, do not deny, but that this Prohibition oblig'd *Noah* and his Poſterity, *i. e.* all Mankind, to the Time of the Promulgation of the Law; do not deny, but that, at the giving of the *Law*, this Prohibition was renew'd, and more *explicit* Reaſons were given for the Obſervation of it; nay, do not deny, but that under the *Goſpel* it was enjoin'd by a very competent Authority, to ſome particular Chriſtians at leaſt, for ſome determinate Time. But then they contend, that, during theſe ſeveral Periods, there cou'd be no *Moral Obligation* in the Injunction, but that, (ſetting aſide the Divine Authority) *(d) neither if they did eat, were they the worſe, neither if they did not eat, were they the better.*

For, if there was any moral *Turpitude* in the Act of eating Blood, or Things commix'd with Blood, how comes it to paſs, *ſay they*, that, though God prohibited his own People the *Jews*, yet he ſuffer'd other Nations to eat *(e) any Thing that died of itſelf*, and, conſequently, had the Blood ſettled in it? *If (f) Meat commendeth us to God*, the ſame Providence, which took care to reſtrain the *Jews (g) (for is he the God of the* Jews *only*; *is he not alſo of the* Gentiles?) from what was deteſtable to him, as well as abhorrent to human Nature, wou'd have laid the ſame Inhibition upon all Mankind; at leaſt he wou'd not have enjoin'd his own People *to give* to a *Proſelyte* of the Gate, or *to ſell to an Alien*, or Heathen, ſuch Meat, as wou'd neceſſarily inſnare them in Sin.

From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

The Law therefore, which enjoin'd *Noah* and his Children to abſtain from *Blood*, muſt neceſſarily have been a Law peculiar to that Time only. *(h) Cain*, in the firſt Age of the World, had ſlain *Abel*, while there were but few Perſons in it: God had now deſtroy'd all Mankind, except eight Perſons; and, to prevent the Fate of *Abel* from befalling any of them, he forbids Murther under a capital Puniſhment; and, to this Purpoſe, forbids the Uſe of Blood, as a proper Guard upon human Life, in the Infancy of the World. Under the *Moſaick* Covenant he renews this Law indeed, but then he eſtabliſhes it upon another Foundation, and makes Blood *therefore* prohibited, becauſe he had appointed it *(i) to be offer'd upon the Altar, and to make an Atonement for Mens Souls*; *for it is the Blood*, ſaith he, *that maketh an Atonement for the Soul*; and what was reſerv'd for religious Purpoſes was not at that Time convenient to be eat. But now, that theſe Purpoſes are anſwer'd, and theſe Sacrifices are at an End, the Reaſon of our Abſtinence has ceas'd, and, conſequently our Abſtinence itſelf is no longer a Duty.

Blood, we allow, had ſtill ſomething more ſacred in it: It was a Type of the Sacrifice of *Chriſt*, who was to be offer'd upon the Altar of his Croſs; but, that Oblation being now made, the Reaſon of its Appropriation, and being with-held from common Uſe, is now no more. And, though the Council at *Jeruſalem* made a Decree, even ſubſequent to the Sacrifice of *Chriſt*, that the *Brethren, who were of the Gentiles, ſhou'd abſtain from Things ſtrangled, and from Blood*; yet, before we can determine any Thing from this Injunction,

(d) 1 Cor. viii. 8. (e) Deut. xiv. 21. (f) 1 Cor. viii. 8. (g) Rom. iii. 29.
(h) Miſcellanea Sacra, Vol. II. (i) Lev. xvii. 11.

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Injunction, the Occaſion, Place, Time, and other Circumſtances of it, muſt be carefully look'd into.

THE *Occaſion* of the Decree was this, ——while *Paul* and *Barnabas* were preaching the Goſpel at *Antioch*, certain Perſons, converted from *Judaiſm*, came down from *Jeruſalem*, and, very probably, pretending a Commiſſion from the Apoſtles, declar'd it their Opinion, that, whoever embrac'd the Chriſtian Religion, was oblig'd, at the ſame Time, to be circumcis'd, and obſerve the whole Law.

THE *Place* where the Queſtion aroſe, was *Antioch*, where (as *Joſephus* tells us) there was a famous *Jewiſh* Univerſity, full of *Proſelytes of the Gate*, (as they were call'd) and who, in all Probability, were converted by the Men of *(k) Cyprus* and *Cyrene*, who were among thoſe, that were diſpers'd, at the firſt Perſecution, which immediately enſu'd the Martyrdom of *Stephen*.

THE *Perſons*, who mov'd this Queſtion, were *(l) ſome of the Sect of the Phariſees*, converted to Chriſtianity; but ſtill ſo prejudic'd in Favour of their old Religion, or at leaſt of the Divine Rite of *Circumciſion*, that they thought there was no coming to *Chriſt*, without entering in at that Gate.

THE Perſons, to whom the Queſtion related, *(m)* were *Proſelytes of the Gate*, i. e. *Gentiles* by Birth, but who had renounc'd the *Heathen* Religion, as to all Idolatry, and were thereupon permitted to live in Paleſtine, or wherever the *Jews* inhabited; and had ſeveral Privileges allow'd them, upon Condition, that they wou'd obſerve the Laws of Society, and conform to certain Injunctions, that *(n) Moſes* had preſcrib'd them.

THE *Time*, when this Queſtion aroſe, was not long after the Converſion of *Cornelius*; ſo that, this Body of *Proſelytes* was, very probably, the firſt large Number of *Gentiles*, that were receiv'd into the Chriſtian Church, and this the firſt Time that the Queſtion was agitated.—— "Whether "the *Proſelytes of the Gate*, who (as the "Zealots pretended) cou'd not ſo much "as live among *Jews* without Circum-"ciſion, cou'd be allow'd to be a Part of "the Chriſtian Church without it?" From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

UNDER theſe Circumſtances the Council at *Jeruſalem* conven'd, and accordingly made their Decree, and the *Proſelytes of the Gate* (for 'tis Perſons of this Denomination only, which their Decree concerns) *ſhould (o) abſtain from the Meats offer'd to Idols, and from Blood, and from Things ſtrangled, and from Fornication*; the very Things, which, *(p)* according to the Law of *Moſes*, they engag'd themſelves to abſtain from, when they were firſt admitted to the Privilege of ſojourning among the *Jews*. So that, in Effect, the Decree did no more than declare the Opinion of thoſe, who made it, to thoſe to whom it was ſent, *viz.* that Chriſtianity did not alter the Condition of the Proſelytes, in Reſpect of their *civil* Obligations, but that, as they were bound by theſe Laws of *Moſes* before their Converſion, ſo were they ſtill; and conſequently, that the Senſe of St *Paul* is the ſame with the Senſe of the Council at that Time *(q) let every one abide in the Calling*, i. e. in the civil State and Condition, *wherein he is called*. But, ſuppoſing the Decree to extend farther than the Proſelytes of *Antioch*, yet there was another Reaſon why the Council at *Jeruſalem* ſhou'd determine in this Manner, and that was——the ſtrong Averſion, which, they knew, the *Jewiſh* Converts wou'd have conceiv'd againſt the *Gentiles*, had they been indulg'd the Liberty of eating Blood; and therefore to compromiſe the Matter, they laid on them this prudent Reſtraint, from the ſame Principle, that we find St *Paul* declaring himſelf in this Manner: *(r) Though I am free from all Men, yet have I made myſelf a Servant unto all, that I might gain the more. Unto the* Jew, *I became as a* Jew, *that I might gain the* Jew; —— *to the Weak, became I as weak,*

(k) Acts xi. 20. (l) Ch. xv. 5. (m) Miſcellanea Sacra, Vol. II. (n) Lev. xvii. (o) Acts xv. 29. (p) *Vid.* Lev. xvii. *and* xviii. (q) 1 Cor. vii. 20. (r) Ch. ix. 19, 20, 22.

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that I might gain the Weak. I am made all Things to all Men, that I might by all Means ſave ſome.

NAY, admitted the Decree was not made with this View, yet, being founded on Laws, which concern'd the *Jewiſh Polity* only, it cou'd certainly laſt no longer than that Government laſted; and conſequently, ever ſince the Temple-Worſhip has expir'd, and the *Jews* have ceas'd to be a *political* Body, it muſt have been repeal'd; and accordingly, if we look into the Goſpel, *ſay they*, we may there find a Repeal of it in full Form. For therein we are told, *(s)* that *the Kingdom of God is not Meat and Drink, but Righteouſneſs, and Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghoſt*; *(t)* that *Meat commendeth us not unto God*; *(u)* that *what goeth into the Mouth defileth not the Man*; *(x)* that *to the Pure, all Things are pure*; and *(y)* that *there is nothing unclean of itſelf, but only to him, that eſteemeth it to be unclean, it is unclean*; for *every Creature of God is good, and nothing is to be refus'd, if it be receiv'd with Thankſgiving, for it is ſanctify'd with the Word of God and Prayer (z)*: And therefore we are order'd, *(a)* that *whatever is ſold in the Shambles*, even though it be a Thing *offer'd to Idols, that to eat, aſking no Queſtions for Conſcience ſake*; and are told, that *(b) whoever commandeth us to abſtain from Meats, which God has created to be receiv'd with Thankſgiving of them that believe, and know the Truth*, ought to be rank'd in the Number of *Seducers*.

IN a Word, the very Genius of the Chriſtian Religion, *ſay they*, is a Charter of Liberty, and a full Exemption from the Law of *Moſes*. It debars us from nothing, but what has a *moral* Turpitude in it, or at leaſt, what is too baſe and abject for a Man, that has the Revelation of a glorious and immortal Life in the World to come: And, as there is no Tendency of this Kind in the eating of Blood, they therefore conclude, that this Decree of the Apoſtles, either concern'd the *(c) Jewiſh Proſelytes* only, who, in Virtue of the Obedience they ow'd to the *Civil* Laws of *Paleſtine*, were to abſtain from Blood; or oblig'd none, but the *Gentiles* of *Antioch*, *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, to whom it was directed; was calculated for a certain Seaſon only, either to prevent giving Offence to the *Jews* who were then *captious*, or to reconcile *Gentile* and *Jewiſh* Converts, who were then at ſome Variance; but was to laſt no longer, than till the *Jews* and *Gentiles* were form'd into one Communion. So that now, the Prohibition given by God to *Noah*, the Laws given by *Moſes* to the *Iſraelites*, and the Decree ſent by the *Apoſtles* to the Chriſtians at *Antioch*, are all repeal'd and gone, and a full Licence given us to eat Blood with the ſame Indifference, as any other Food; if ſo be we thereby *(d) give no Offence* to our weaker Brethren, *for whom* Chriſt *died*.

From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

THOSE, who maintain the contrary Opinion, *viz.* That the eating of Blood, in any Guiſe whatever, is wicked and unlawful, found the chief of their Arguments upon the Limitation of the Grant given to *Noah*, the Reaſons that are commonly deviſ'd for the Prohibition, and the literal Senſe of the *Apoſtolick* Decree.

The Arguments againſt the eating of Blood.

(e) WHEN Princes give Grants of Lands to any of their Subjects, *ſay they*, they uſually reſerve ſome Royalties (ſuch as the Mines, or Minerals) to themſelves, as Memorials of their own Sovereignty, and the others Dependance. If the Grant indeed be given without any Reſerve, the Mines and Minerals may be ſuppos'd to be included in it; but when it is thus expreſsly limited, "You ſhall have ſuch and ſuch "Lordſhips and Manors, but you ſhall "not have the Mines and Minerals with "the Lands, for ſeveral good Reaſons ſpe-"cify'd in the Patent;" it muſt needs be an odd Turn of Thought to imagine, that the *Grantee* has any Title to them; and yet this is a parallel Caſe. For, when God has thus declar'd his Will to the Children of Men, —— "You ſhall have the Fleſh of

(s) Rom. xiv. 17. *(t)* 1 Cor. viii. 8. *(u)* Matth. xv. 11. *(x)* Tit. i. 15. *(y)* Rom. xiv. 14. *(z)* 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5. *(a)* 1 Cor. x. 25, 28. *(b)* 1 Tim. iv. 1, 3. *(c)* Miſcellanea Sacra, Vol. II. *(d)* 1 Cor. viii. 11, &c. *(e)* *Vid.* Revelation Examin'd, Vol. II.

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"of every Creature for Food, but you "ſhall not eat the Blood with it;" it is every whit as ſtrange an Inference, to deduce from hence a general Right to eat Blood.

THE Commandment given to *Adam*, is—— *(f) Of every Tree in the Garden thou ſhalt freely eat; but of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, thou ſhalt not eat.* This is the firſt Law: And the ſecond is like unto it, *(g) Every moving Thing, that moveth, ſhall be Meat for you; even as the green Herb, have I given you all Things; but Fleſh, with the Life thereof, which is the Blood thereof, ſhall you not eat.* *This*, upon his Donation both to *Adam* and *Noah*, God manifeſtly reſerves to himſelf, as an Acknowledgment of his Right, to be duly paid; and when it was relax'd or repeal'd, *ſay they*, we cannot tell.

NAY, ſo far from being repeal'd, that it is not only in his Words to *Noah*, that God has declar'd this Inhibition, but in the Law deliver'd by his Servant *Moſes*, he has explain'd his Mind more fully concerning it. *(h) Whatſoever Man there is, of the Houſe of* Iſrael, *or of the Strangers, that ſojourn among you, that eateth any Manner of Blood, I will even ſet my Face* againſt that Soul, *and will cut him off from among his People.* This is a ſevere Commination, *ſay they*; and therefore obſerve, how oft, in another Place, he reiterates the Injunction, as it were, with one Breath. *(i) Only be ſure, that thou eat not the Blood, for the Blood is the Life, and thou mayeſt not eat the Life with the Fleſh. Thou ſhalt not eat it; thou ſhalt pour it upon the Earth, as Water; thou ſhalt not eat it, that it may go well with thee, and thy Children after thee.*

NOW there are ſeveral Reaſons, *continue they*, why God ſhou'd be ſo importunate in this Prohibition. For, having appointed the Blood of his Creatures to be offer'd for the Sins of Men, he therefore requires, that it ſhou'd be religiouſly ſet apart for that Purpoſe; and, having prohibited the Sin of Murther under a ſevere Penalty, he therefore guards againſt it, by previouſly forbidding the eating of Blood, leſt that ſhou'd be an Inlet to Savageneſs and Cruelty. From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Chap. ix.

THE *Scythians* (as *(k) Herodotus* aſſures us) from drinking the Blood of their Cattle, proceeded to drink the Blood of their Enemies; and were remarkable for nothing ſo much, as their horrid and brutal Actions. The Animals that feed on Blood, are perceiv'd to be much more furious, than others that do not; and thereupon they obſerve, that Blood is a very hot, inflaming Food; that ſuch Foods create Choler, and that Choler eaſily kindleth into Cruelty. Nay, they obſerve farther, that eating of Blood gave Occaſion to one Kind of early Idolatry, among the *Zabii*, in the *Eaſt*, viz. the Worſhip of *Dæmons*, whoſe Food, as they imagin'd, was Blood; and therefore they, who ador'd them, had Communion with them by eating the ſame Food. Good Reaſon therefore, ſay they, had God in the *Goſpel*, as well as the *Law*, to prevent a Practice, which he cou'd not but foreſee wou'd be attended with ſuch pernicious Effects.

FOR the Apoſtolick Decree, *as they argue farther*, did not relate to one Sect of People only, *the Proſelytes of the Gate*, who were lately converted to Chriſtianity; nor was it directed to ſome particular Places only, and with a Deſign to anſwer ſome particular Ends, the Prevention of *Offence*, or the Reconciliation of contending Parties; to ſubſiſt for a determinate Time, and then to loſe all its Obligation: But it concern'd all Chriſtians, in all Nations, and in all future Ages of the Church; was enacted for a general Uſe and Intent; and has never ſince been repeal'd: And, to ſupport theſe Aſſertions, they proceed in this Method.

BEFORE the paſſing of this Decree, *ſay they*, St *Paul* preach'd Chriſtianity to the whole Body of the *Gentiles* at *Antioch*. For he had not long preach'd in the *Synagogues*, before the *Gentiles (l) beſought* him, that

(f) Gen. ii. 16, 17. *(g)* Ch. ix. 3, 4. *(h)* Lev xvii. 10. *(i)* Deut xii. 23, &c.
(k) Lib. IV. *(l)* Acts xiii. 42, &c.

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and that *Meat commendeth us not unto God*; he muſt be underſtood in a *comparative* Senſe, *viz.* That it neither conſiſts in, nor commendeth us ſo much, as Holineſs and Purity of Life. When he declares, *That every Creature of God is good*, that *nothing is unclean of itſelf*, and that *to the Pure, all Things are pure*, &c. he muſt neceſſarily be underſtood with this reſtraining Clauſe,——*In caſe there be no particular Statute to the contrary*; for where there is one, all the Sanctity in the World will not give a Man a Toleration to break it. And when he complains of ſome Mens *commanding us to abſtain from certain Meats*, as an Infringement upon our Chriſtian Liberty, and a Branch of the *Doctrine of Devils*; the Meats, which they forbad, muſt be ſuppos'd to be *lawful* in their Kind, and under no divine Prohibition; otherwiſe, we bring the *Apoſtles*, who inhibited the Uſe of Blood, under the like Imputation.

It cannot be deny'd indeed, that *(p)* St *Paul* allows Chriſtians to eat *Things offer'd to Idols*, which may ſeem to invalidate this *Apoſtolick* Decree. But the Anſwer to this is,——*(q)* That the plain Intention of the Council at *Jeruſalem*, in commanding to abſtain from Meats offer'd to Idols, was to keep *Chriſtians* from Idolatry, or, as St *James* expreſſes it, *from Pollutions of Idols*; and the true Way to effect this, they knew, was by prohibiting all Communion with Idols, and Idolators in their Feaſts, which were inſtituted in Honour of their Idols, and were always kept in their Temples: But how is this Command defeated by St *Paul*'s permitting the *Corinthians* to eat any Part of a Creature, *ſold in the Shambles*, or *ſet before them* in private Houſes, (though that Creature might chance to have been ſlain in Honour to an *Idol*) ſince the *Chriſtian*, who eat it in this Manner, did not eat it in Honour to the *Idol*, but merely as common Food?

To illuſtrate this by a parallel Inſtance. Suppoſe that the Apoſtolick Decree had commanded *Chriſtians* to abſtain from *Things ſtolen*. Wou'd not any one conceive, that the Deſign of this Command was to prohibit Theft, and all Communion with Thieves in their Villainy? Yes, ſurely:——Suppoſe then, that any one of the *Council* ſhou'd, after this, tell the People, whom he preach'd to, that they might buy any Meat, publickly *ſold in the Shambles*, or ſet before them in private Houſes, *aſking no Queſtions for Conſcience ſake*, tho' poſſibly the Butcher, or the Hoſt might have ſtolen the Meat; wou'd any one think, that this Permiſſion was intended to invalidate the Decree of abſtaining from *Things ſtolen?* And if ſuch a Conſtruction wou'd be abſurd in the one Caſe, why ſhou'd it not be deem'd ſo in another? Eſpecially, when St *Paul* himſelf ſo expreſly, ſo ſolemnly deters *Chriſtians* from all Participation in *idolatrous* Feaſts; *(r) The Things, which the* Gentiles *ſacrifice*, ſays he, *they ſacrifice to Devils, not to God; and I wou'd not that ye ſhou'd have Fellowſhip with Devils. Ye cannot drink the Cup of the Lord and of Devils; ye cannot be Partakers of the Lord's Table, and of Devils.*

From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

In a Word, *ſay they*, whatever the Senſe of certain Paſſages in St *Paul*'s Writings may ſeem to be, they cannot be ſuppos'd to contradict the Decree at *Jeruſalem:* a Decree, to which himſelf conſented, nay, which he himſelf principally occaſion'd, and which he himſelf actually carry'd about, and depoſited with the ſeveral Churches. For to imagine, that with his own Hands he depoſited the Decree in one Church, under the Sanction of a *Canon* ratify'd by the Spirit of God, and then immediately went to another, and preach'd againſt that very *Canon*, and decried it as inconſiſtent with Chriſtian Liberty, is to charge the Apoſtle with ſuch an Inconſiſtency of Behaviour, Folly, and Prevarication, as but badly comports with the Character of an *Ambaſſador of Jeſus Chriſt*. And therefore, unleſs we are minded to impair the Authority, and ſap the

(p) 1 Cor. x. 27. *(q)* Revelation Examin'd, Vol. II. p. 66. *(r)* 1 Cor. x. 20, 21.

A. M. 1657, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 2347, &c.

the Fountain of Reveal'd Religion, we muſt allow the Decree to be ſtill in Force; and the Command, which prohibits the Eating of Blood, ſtill chargeable upon every Man's Conſcience. A Command, given by God himſelf to *Noah*, repeated to *Moſes*, and ratify'd by the Apoſtles of *Jeſus Chriſt*: Given immediately after the Flood, when the World, as it were, began anew, and the only one given on that Occaſion; repeated, with awful Solemnity, to *the People*, whom God had ſeparated from the Reſt of the World to be his *own*; repeated with dreadful Denunciations of Divine Vengeance upon thoſe, who ſhou'd dare to tranſgreſs it; and ratify'd by the moſt ſolemn and ſacred Council, that was ever aſſembled upon Earth, acting under the immediate Influence of the Spirit of God; tranſmitted, from that ſacred Aſſembly, to the ſeveral Churches of the neighbouring Nations, by the Hands of no meaner Meſſengers, than two Biſhops, and two Apoſtles; aſſerted by the beſt Writers, and moſt philoſophick Spirits of their Age, the *Chriſtian Apologiſts*, and ſeal'd with the Blood of the beſt Men, the *Chriſtian Martyrs*; confirm'd by the unanimous Conſent of the Fathers, and reverenc'd by the Practice of the whole *Chriſtian* Church for above 300 Years, and of the *Eaſtern* Church, even to this very Day.

The Deciſion of the Queſtion.

THESE are ſome of the chief Arguments on both Sides of the Queſtion: And, to form a Judgment hereupon, we may obſerve, —— That, tho' this Prohibition of eating Blood can hardly be deem'd a Commandment of *moral* Obligation, yet is it a poſitive Precept, which cannot but be thought of more Weight and Importance, for being ſo oft, and ſo ſolemnly enjoin'd; that, tho' the Reaſons, alledg'd for its Injunction, are not always ſo convincing, yet the Prevention of Cruelty and Murder, which is immediately mention'd after it, will, in all Ages, be ever eſteem'd a good one; and tho' the Liberty granted in the Goſpel ſeems to be great, yet can it hardly be underſtood without ſome Reſtriction. From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

IT *ſeem'd* once *good to the Holy Ghoſt*, among other *neceſſary Things*, to preſcribe an Abſtinence from Blood; and when it ſeem'd *otherwiſe* to him, we are no where, that I know of, inſtructed. Cou'd it be made appear indeed, that this Preſcription was *temporary* and *occaſional*, deſign'd to bind one Set of Men only, or calculated for the Infant-State of the Church, the Queſtion wou'd be then at an End: But ſince there are no proper Marks in the Apoſtle's Decree, to ſhew the temporary Duration of it; and the Notion of *Proſelytes of the Gate*, to whom alone it is ſaid to be directed (how commodious ſoever it may be to ſolve all Difficulties) upon Examination is found to be groundleſs or uncertain, the Obligation, I fear, lies upon every good Chriſtian ſtill. But as this is not every one's Sentiment; *(s) as one believeth that he may eat all Things, and another thinketh it* the ſafe Side of his Duty *to abſtain, ſo let not him that eateth, deſpiſe him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth; but judge this rather, that no Man put a Stumbling-Block, or an Occaſion to fall, in his Brother's Way.*

(s) Rom. xiv. 2, 3, 13.

CHAP.

A. M. 1757, &c. Ant. Chrif. 2247, &c.

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

CHAP. II.

Of the Confuſion of Languages.

The History.

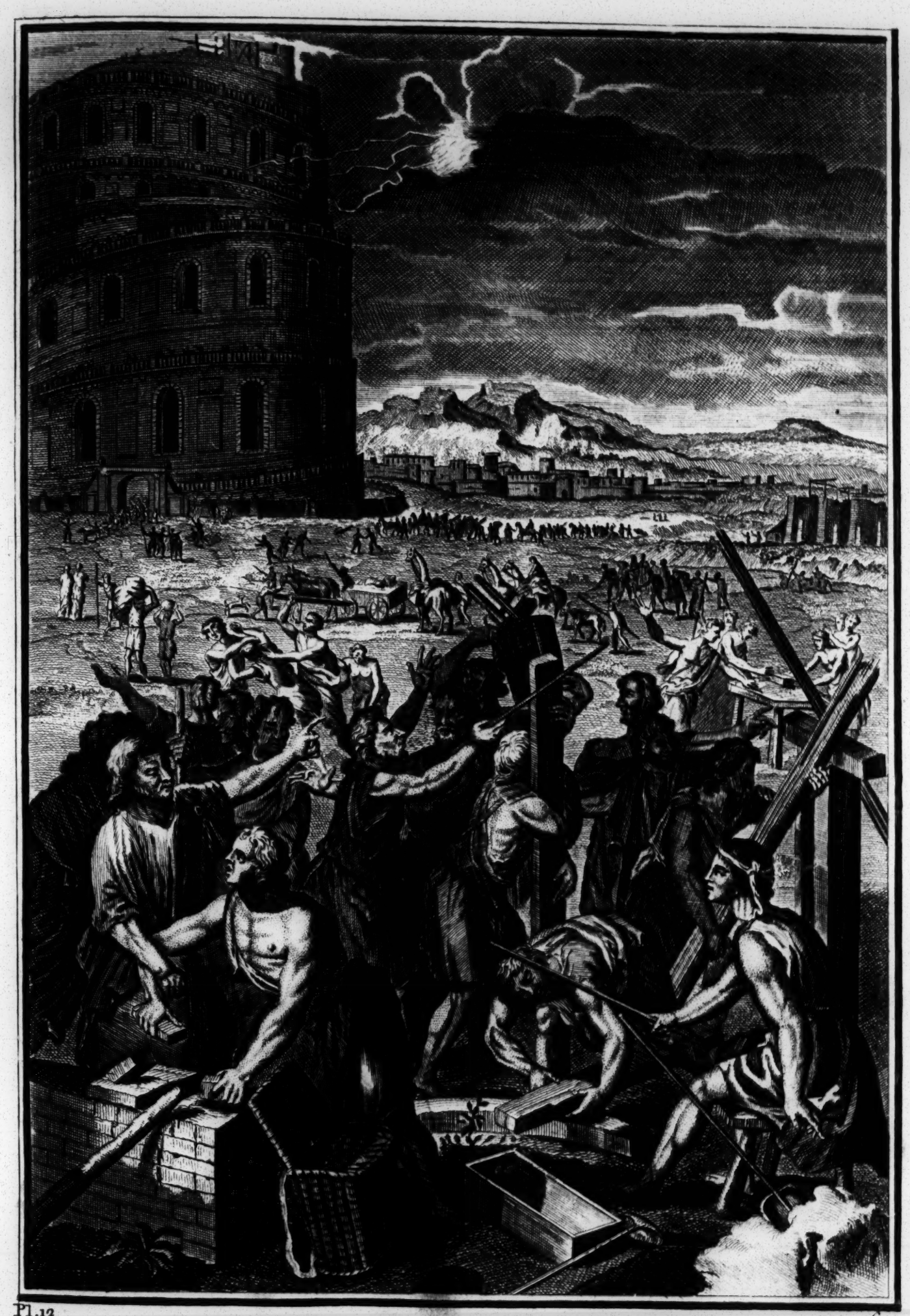
FOR ſome Years after the Flood, 'tis highly probable, that *Noah* and his Family liv'd in the Neighbourhood of the Mountains of *Armenia*, where the Ark reſted: That, as they began to multiply and ſpread, they thence remov'd into the Countries of *Syria*; then croſſing the *Tygris* into *Meſopotamia*, and ſo ſhaping their Courſe *Eaſtward*, came at length to the pleaſant Plain of *Babylon*, on the Banks of the River *Euphrates*. The Fertility of the Soil, the Delightfulneſs of the Place, and the Commodiouſneſs of its Situation made them reſolve to ſettle there, and to build a City, which ſhou'd be the *Metropolis* of the whole Earth, and in it a vaſt high *Tower*, which ſhou'd be the *Wonder* of the World; for the preſent Uſe, a Kind of *Pharos*, or Land-mark, and, to future Ages, a Monument of their great Power and Might.

Reaſons for building the Tower of Babel.

By this Project they promis'd themſelves mighty Matters; but that which chiefly ran in their Heads, was, their keeping together in one Body, that by their united Strength and Counſels, as the World encreas'd, they might bring others under their Subjection, and make themſelves *univerſal Lords:* But one great Diſcouragement to this their Project, was, —— That in the Place, which they had choſe for the *Scene* of all their Greatneſs, there was no Stone to build with. Perceiving, however, that there was Clay enough in the Country, whereof to make Bricks, * and Plenty of a pitchy Subſtance, call'd *Bitumen*, which wou'd ſerve inſtead of Mortar; with one Conſent they went to work, and, in a ſhort Time, every Hand was employ'd in making Bricks, building the City, and laying the Foundation of a prodigious *Pile*, which they purpos'd to have carry'd up to an immenſe Height; and had already made a conſiderable Progreſs in the Work, when God, diſſatisfied with their Proceedings, thought proper to interpoſe, and, at the Expence of a Miracle, quaſh'd all their Project at once; inſomuch, that this firſt Attempt of their Vanity and Ambition became the Monument of their Folly and Weakneſs.

The

* The Word, which our Tranſlators make *Slime*, is in *Hebrew Hhemar*, in *Greek* ἄσφαλτος, in *Latin Bitumen*; and that this *Plain* did very much abound with it, which was of two Kinds, *liquid* and *ſolid*; that liquid Bitumen here ſwam upon the Waters; that there was a Cave and Fountain, which was continually caſting it out; and that this famous *Tower*, at this Time, and the no leſs famous Walls of *Babylon* were afterwards built with this Kind of Cement, is confirm'd by the Teſtimony of ſeveral profane Authors. For thus *Strabo* tells us, "In Babyloniâ Bitumen multum "naſcitur, cujus duplex eſt Genus, Authore *Eraſtethene*, liquidum & aridum. *Liquidum* vocant *Naphtam*, in Suſiano "Agro naſcens, *aridum* vero, quod etiam congeleſcere poteſt, in Babyloniâ, Fontè propinquo Naphtæ," *Lib.* 16. Thus *Juſtin*, ſpeaking of *Semiramis:* "Hæc Babyloniam condidit, *ſays he*, Murumque Urbis cocto Latere circumde-"dit, Arenæ vice Bitumine interſtrato, quæ Materia in illis Locis paſſim è Terris exæſtuat," *Lib.* 1. And thus *Vitruvius*, who is elder than either, "Babylone Locus eſt ampliſſimâ Magnitudine, habens ſupranatans liquidum Bitu-"men, quo Bitumine, & Latere teſtaceo Structum Murum Semiramis Babyloni circumdedit," *Lib.* 8. To theſe we may add ſome modern Teſtimonies, which tell us, that theſe Springs of Bitumen are called *Oyum Hit*, the *Fountains of Hit*; and that they are much celebrated by the *Perſians* and *Arabs*. All Modern Travellers, except *Rauwolf*, who went to *Perſia* and the *Indies* by the Way of *Euphrates*, before the Diſcovery of the *Cape of Good Hope*, mention theſe Fountains, as a very ſtrange and wonderful Thing. *Vid.* Biblioth. Biblica, Vol. I. p. 281. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patr. Exercit. 21. *and* Univerſ. Hiſt. Lib. 1. c. 2.



Pl.12

page 164.

And they said go to, let us build us a City and a Tower, whose top may reach unto Heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scatterd abroad upon the face of the whole Earth. *Gen. 11. v. 4.*

G. Moor. del.



A. M. 1757, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 2247, &c.

And for the Confuſion of Languages.

THE Bleſſing, which God had given *Noah* and his Sons, *to increaſe and multiply, and repleniſh the Earth*, had now, for above an hundred Years exerted itſelf to good Purpoſe; but, tho' the Number of their Deſcendants was very large, yet the Language, which they all ſpake, was but *one*, the ſame which had deſcended to them † from their great Progenitor, *Adam*, and, very probably, was pronounc'd in the ſame common Manner. To fruſtrate their Undertaking therefore, God determin'd with himſelf † to *confound their Language*; by which Means it came to paſs, that, though their Tongues ſtill retain'd the Faculty of Speech, yet, having loſt the Pronunciation of their Native Language, on a ſudden they were ſo chang'd, and *modified* to the Expreſſion of another, (which was of a Sound quite different) that the next *Stander-by* cou'd not comprehend what his Neighbour meant, and this, in a ſhort Time, ran them into the utmoſt Diſorder and Confuſion. For theſe different Dialects produc'd different Ideas in the Minds of the Builders, which, for want of underſtanding one another, they employ'd to improper Objects, and ſo were oblig'd to deſiſt from their Enterprize. And not only that, but, being by this Means depriv'd of the Pleaſure and Comfort of mutual Society, (except with ſuch as ſpake the ſame Language) all thoſe, who were of one Dialect, join'd themſelves together, and leaving the devoted Place, (as they then thought it) departed in *Tribes*, † as their Choice, or their Chance led them, to ſeek out freſh Habitations. Thus God not only defeated their Deſign, but likewiſe accompliſh'd his own, of having the World more generally, and more ſpeedily peopled, than it otherwiſe wou'd have been: And, to perpetuate the Memory of ſuch a miraculous Event, the Place, which was firſt call'd *Babel*, and with ſmall Variation, afterwards *Babylon*, from this *Confuſion* of Languages, receiv'd its Denomination.

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

THIS Confuſion of Tongues (if not Diſperſion of the People is ſuppos'd by moſt Chronologers to have fallen 101 Years after the Flood; for *Peleg*, the Son of *Eber* (who was Great Grandſon to *Shem*) was certainly born in that Year, and is ſaid to have had the Name *Peleg* given him, becauſe *that in his Time the Earth was divided.*

† That the Children of *Noah* did ſpeak the ſame Language with *Adam*, is very manifeſt; becauſe *Methuſelah*, the Grandfather of *Noah*, liv'd a conſiderable Time with him, and queſtionleſs ſpake the ſame Language. And that this Language was no other than the *Hebrew*, is very probable from this Argument,—That *Shem*, the Son of *Noah*, was for ſome Time contemporary with *Abraham*, who deſcended from him, and whoſe Family continued the ſame Language that they both ſpake, until the Time of *Moſes*, who recorded the Hiſtory of his own Nation in his native Language; ſo that, what we have now in the *Pentateuch*, according to the Opinion of all *Hebrew*, and moſt *Chriſtian* Writers, is the very ſame with what God taught *Adam*, and *Adam* his Poſterity. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Some Commentators, from the Word *Confound*, are ready to infer, that God did not make ſome of the Builders ſpeak new, different Languages, only that they had ſuch a confus'd Remembrance of the original Language, they ſpake before, as made them ſpeak it in a quite different Manner: So that by the various Inflections, Terminations, and Pronunciations of divers Dialects, they cou'd no more underſtand one another, than thoſe, who underſtand *Latin*, can comprehend thoſe, who ſpeak *French*, *Italian*, or *Spaniſh*, though theſe Languages do certainly ariſe from it. But this we conceive to be a great Miſtake, not only becauſe it makes all Languages extant to be no more than ſo many different Dialects of the ſame Original, and conſequently reducible to it; but becauſe, upon Examination, it will appear, that there are certain Languages in the World ſo intirely different from each other, that they agree in no one eſſential Property whatever, and muſt therefore, at this Time, have been of immediate Infuſion.

† The Diſperſion of *Noah*'s Sons was ſo order'd, that each Family, and each Nation dwelt by itſelf; which cou'd not well be done (as Mr *Mede* obſerves) but by directing an orderly Diviſion, either by caſting of Lots, or chuſing according to their Birthright, after that Portions of the Earth were ſet out, according to the Number of their Nations and Families; otherwiſe, ſome wou'd not have been content to go ſo far *North*, as *Magog* did, whilſt others were ſuffer'd to enjoy more pleaſant Countries.

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From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

The OBJECTION.

"BUT upon the Suppoſition, that "the Ark reſted on the Mountains "of *Armenia*, and the Family of *Noah*, "for ſome Time, continu'd in that Coaſt; "how can they, with any tolerable Pro- "priety, be ſaid to have *journey'd from the* "*Eaſt*, into the *Land of Shinar*, when, "by *Shinar* we are to underſtand the "Land of *Chaldea*, or *Babylon*, every Map "will inform us, that the Mountains of "*Armenia* lie in a Manner quite *North*, of "*Babylon*, and conſequently they muſt "have travell'd from the *North*, and not "from the *Eaſt*, to have arriv'd at that "Place?

"BUT *Moſes* perhaps might not be ſo "good at *Geography*, as he is at the *Mul-* "*tiplication* of Mankind. According to "the *Hebrew* Computation (which is "reckon'd true) the new World had now "ſubſiſted much about an hundred Years; "and can we ſuppoſe, that the Deſcendants "of no more than three *Couple* (for *Noah* "we may now ſuppoſe was become *effete*, "and unable to beget Children) were, in "ſo ſhort a Time, a Number ſufficient to "ſet about the Building of a City, which "was to be the *Metropolis* of the whole "World, and of a *Tower*, *whoſe Top was* "*to reach up to Heaven?*

"DESIGNS of this Nature are gene- "rally attempted by vaſt, extenſive Em- "pires, that are overſtock'd with People, "and have Multitudes of idle Hands to "employ; but, to ſuppoſe a ſmall Tribe of "Men, (and who of Neceſſity muſt ſome "of them be buſied in other Occupations) "and, much more, to ſuppoſe a *Colony*, "or Detachment only of them (as moſt "*Commentators* will have it) to have had "the Hardineſs to enterprize ſo prodigious "a Fabrick, as the Tower of *Babel* is re- "preſented, is ſomething ſo *Romantick*, "that it puts one in Mind of that fabulous "Stuff of the Giants piling one Mountain "upon another, to ſcale Heaven, and wage "War with the Gods.

"BUT, ſuppoſing the Story to be true; "yet where would the Harm be in Build- "ing a Town to dwell in, and a Tower "for its Ornament or Defence? 'Tis a "laudable Ambition, one wou'd think, "for a People to deſire to perpetuate their "*Name*; and for *a City to be at Unity* "*with itſelf*, how joyful a Thing is it! "What then can we conceive ſhou'd be "the Reaſon, that God ſhou'd be ſo high- "ly offended at theſe Builders, as himſelf "to interpoſe in diſappointing their De- "ſign? But to interpoſe in the Manner he "did, by ſubducting the *old*, and infuſing "*new* Languages, ſo as to make them un- "intelligible to one another, this is a "Thing ſo unaccountable, that it wou'd "tempt one to think, that there was a "Miſtake ſomewhere in our Tranſlation.

"THE *Hebrew* Word *Shaphah*, which "we render *Language*, (or *Lip*, as it is "in the Marginal Note) has, doubtleſs, "very frequently that Signification; nor "is it to be deny'd, but that one univer- "ſal Language was ſpoken by *Noah*'s Fa- "mily. But then it appears from ſeveral "Paſſages in Scripture (particularly from "*Iſa.* xix. 18.) that the Word does notſo "properly denote *Languages*, as it does "an *Agreement* in *Sentiments* and *Incli-* "*nations*, which ſeems every whit as ne- "ceſſary for the Building of a City, as "the greateſt *Similitude* of Dialect can "be. Now, taking the Word in this "Senſe, it may be, that, what we call "*confounding their Language*, may mean "confounding their *Minds*, and raiſing "a Spirit of Diſcord among them, which "might make them abandon their En- "terprize, and diſperſe into different "Countries; and then, tho' they might "ſpeak all the ſame Language at parting, "a conſiderable Diverſity wou'd *naturally*, "and without the Intervention of a Miracle, "in a ſhort Time enſue.

"WE ſee, in a thouſand Years, what "Alterations and Deviations have been

"made

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" made from the *Latin*, in *France*, *Italy*,
" *Spain*, and the *Subalpine* Countries.
" In *France*, the *Gaſcon* and *Provencial*
" Dialects are hardly underſtood at *Paris*:
" In *Spain*, beſides the *Caſtilian*, there
" are two large Idioms, the *Portugueſe*
" and the *Catalan*, neither of which are
" readily intelligible by a Perſon, that has
" always liv'd at *Madrid*; and a Man may
" know all the reſt of the Dialects, which
" are deriv'd from the *Latin*, and yet be
" wholly to ſeek in the *Griſons* Language.
" ——All theſe Tongues however, we
" certainly know, have ſprung from the
" *Latin*, within theſe twelve hundred Years,
" and the Nations, who ſpeak them, have
" conſtantly maintain'd a mutual Com-
" merce and Intercourſe together. If then
" ſuch Alterations are actually viſible in
" Dialects, (which have been form'd from
" Languages, ſtill extant,) in ſo few Years,
" what may we reaſonably ſuppoſe to have
" been the Fate of Languages, that exiſt-
" ed above three thouſand Years ago? E-
" ſpecially, when Men were ſo totally di-
" vided from one another, as we may
" imagine the firſt Inhabitants of this
" Globe were, after this great Diſperſion.
" In ſhort, *(a)* the Cauſe of the Variety
" of Languages in the World is ground-
" ed in Reaſon and Nature; in the Diffe-
" rence of Climates, in the unſettled Tem-
" per of Mankind, the neceſſary Muta-
" bility of human Things, the Riſe and
" Fall of States and Empires, and Change
" of Modes and Cuſtoms, which neceſſa-
" rily introduce a proportionable Change
" in Language: And therefore, ſuppoſing
" the *Hebrew* to be the *primitive* Lan-
" guage, in a proper Period of Time after
" ſuch a Diſperſion, all other Languages
" will be found as naturally ſpringing from
" it, as ſo many Branches from the ſame
" Stock. 'Tis in vain then to have Re-
" courſe to Miracles, when the Buſineſs
" may as well be done without it; when
" it is but ſuppoſing, that all Languages
" now extant, ſprung originally from one
" common *Root*, and that they are no
" more than different Forms and *Dialects*
" of it, which the Force of Time, aſſiſted
" with ſome incidental Cauſes, without
" the Intervention of any ſuperior Power,
" naturally produces; otherwiſe, we can
" hardly imagine, how *Dialects*, that are
" ſo near a-kin, came to be plac'd ſo nearly
" to one another."

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing the proper Situations of Ararat, *from whence the People ſojourn'd.*

THOSE, who have undertaken to ſettle the *Geography* of the Holy Scriptures, tell us, that the Land of *Shinar* was all that Valley, which the River *Tygris* runs along, from the Mountains of *Armenia Northwards* to the *Perſian Gulph*; or, at leaſt, to the *Southern* Diviſion of the common Channel of the *Tygris* and *Euphrates*. *(b)* So that the Country of *Eden* was Part of the Land of *Shinar*: And as *Eden* was probably ſituate on both Sides of the aforemention'd Channel, ſo it is not unlikely, that the Valley of *Shinar* did extend itſelf on both Sides (but on the *Weſtern* Side, without all Doubt) of the River *Tygris*.

NOW the Mountains of *Armenia*, according to the Account of moſt Geographers, lie *North*, and not *Eaſt* from *Shinar* and *Aſſyria*; but then it may be ſuppos'd, *(c)* either that *Moſes*, in this Place, follow'd the *Geographical* Stile of the *Aſſyrians*, who call'd all, that lay beyond the *Tygris*, the *Eaſt Country*, tho' a great Part of it, towards *Armenia*, was really *Northward*; or (as ſome *(d)* others will have it) that, as Mankind multiplied, they ſpread themſelves in the Country *Eaſtward* of *Ararat*; and ſo making ſmall *Removes*, (from the Time of their Deſcent from the Mount, to the Time of their journeying into the Land of *Shinar*) they might probably enough be ſaid to have begun their Progreſs from the *Eaſt*. But, without the Help of theſe Solutions, and taking *Moſes* in a *literal* Senſe, he is far from being miſtaken. *(e)* Moſt Geographers indeed have drawn the Mountain of *Ararat* a good Way out of its Place, and Hiſtorians and Commentators, taking the Thing

(a) Vid. Sentimens de quelque Theologiens ſur l'Hiſtorie Critique, *p.* 435. and a Letter to Dr. *Waterland*, p. 28, 29.
(b) Wells's Geography, Vol. I. p. 210. *(c) Bochart*'s Phaleg. l. 1. c. 7. *(d) Kercher*'s Turris Babel, *p.* 12.
(e) Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 2.

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Thing for Fact, have been much perplex'd to reconcile this Situation with its Deſcription in Scripture: Whereas, by the Accounts of all Travellers for ſome Years paſt, the Mountain, which now goes under the Name of *Ararat*, lies about two Degrees more *Eaſt*, than the City of *Shinar*, or *Senjar*, from whence the Plain, in all Probability, takes its Name: And therefore, if the Sons of *Noah* enter'd it on the *North* Side, they muſt of Neceſſity have *journey'd from the Eaſt*, or, which is the ſame Thing, have travell'd *Weſtward* from the Place, where they ſet out, in order to arrive at the Plain of *Babylon*.

And that all Mankind were engag'd in the Building of Babel.

Historians indeed, as well as *Commentators*, have generally given in to the common Opinion, that *Shem* and his Family were not concern'd in this Expedition, but for what Reaſon we cannot conceive, ſince there is no Fact, in all the *Moſaick* Account, more firmly eſtabliſh'd, than this: —— That the whole Race of Mankind, then in Being, were actually engag'd in it.

As ſoon as *Moſes* has brought the three Sons of *Noah* out of the Ark, he takes Care to inform us, that *(f) of them was the whole Earth overſpread:* After he has given us the Names of their Deſcendants, at the Time of their Diſperſion, he ſubjoins, and *(g) by theſe were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood:* And then, proceeding to give us an Account of this memorable Tranſaction, he tells us, that *(h)* the *whole Earth was of one Language, and of one Speech*; and that as *they*, namely the whole Earth, *(i) journey'd from the Eaſt, they found a Plain in the Land of* Shinar, *and dwelt there*; &c. *(k)* ſo that, from the Beginning to the End of this Tranſaction, the Connection between the *Antecedent* and *Relative* is ſo well preſerv'd, that there is no Room to ſuppoſe, that any leſs, than all Mankind, were gather'd together on the Plain of *Shinar*, and aſſiſted in the Building of *Babel:* Nor ſeems it improbable, that *Moſes* has made theſe unuſual Repetitions, to inculcate the Certainty of that Fact, and to take away all Ground for ſuppoſing, that any other Branch of *Noah*'s Poſterity was in any other Part of the Earth, at that Time. From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

What the Number of them might then probably be.

The Time indeed, when this Tranſaction happen'd, is very differently computed by Chronologers, according as they follow the LXX *Interpreters*, who make it 531; the *Samaritan* Copy, which makes it 396; or the *Hebrew*, which allows it to be no more than 101 Years from the Flood to the Confuſion of Tongues, and leſs, we may ſuppoſe, to the firſt Beginning to build the *Tower*. If we take either of the former *Computations*, the Thing anſwers itſelf: Upon a moderate Multiplication, there will be Workmen more than enough, even without the Poſterity of *Shem:* But, if we ſubmit to the *Hebrew* Account of Time, we ſhall find ourſelves ſtraiten'd, if we part with one Third of our *Compliment*, in ſo laborious a Work. There is no Neceſſity however to ſuppoſe, (*l*) with ſome, that every one of theſe Progenitors, as ſoon as marry'd, (which was very early) had every Year *Twins* by his Wife, which, according to Arithmetic Progreſſion, wou'd amount to no leſs than 1554420 Males and Females, in the ſhorteſt Period *given*. Half the Number wou'd be ſufficient to be employ'd on this Occaſion; and *(m)* half the Number will be no unreaſonable Suppoſition, conſidering the Strength of Conſtitution Men had then, and the additional Bleſſing, which God beſtow'd upon them, and whereby he intereſted his peculiar Providence, *Ut ad Incrementum ſobolis humanæ, ad orbis vaſtitatem inſtaurandam, præcipua quædam in illis Fœcunditas ineſſet, quæ juſtam alioquin ætatem anteverteret; ut vel à pueris ipſis, quod nonnulli ſuſpicantur, probabile eſſet, generandi vim illis & uſum potuiſſe ſuppetere*; *(n)* as *Petavius* elegantly expreſſes it.

But, after all, there ſeems to be no Occaſion for ſuppoſing an extraordinary Increaſe of People, or for confining the firſt Undertaking of this great Building to the Compaſs of one hundred Years after the

(f) Gen. ix. 19. *(g)* Ch. x. 32. *(h)* Ch. xi. 1. *(i) Ibid.* Ver. 2. *(k)* Univerſ. Hiſt. l. 1, c. 2.
(l) Temporarius in Demonſt. Chronol. l. 2. *(m) Uſher*'s Chron. Sacra, p. 27. *(n)* Doct. Temp. l. 9. c. 4.

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the Flood. In the tenth Chapter of *Geneſis* 'tis ſaid indeed, that *unto* Eber *were born two Sons, and that the Name of one was* Peleg, which being deriv'd from an *Hebrew* Word, that ſignifies *to divide*, has this Reaſon annex'd to it, *for in his Days was the Earth divided*. Now by the ſubſequent Account of *Peleg*'s Anceſtors we find, that he was born in the 101ſt Year after the Flood; from whence it is concluded, that the Earth began to be divided at his Birth. But this is a Concluſion, that, by no Means, reſults from the Text, which only ſays, that *in his Days was the Earth divided*; Words, which can, with no Manner of Propriety, imply, that this Diviſion began at his Birth.

HIS Name indeed was call'd *Peleg*; but it does not therefore follow, that this Name was given him at his Birth. It might have been given at any Time after, from his being a principal *Agent* among his own Family, in the *Diviſion* made in his Days; as ſeveral Names have, throughout all Ages, been given upon the like Accidents, not only to private Perſons, but to whole Families. Or ſuppoſe the Name to be given at his Birth, yet no Reaſon can be aſſign'd, why it might not be given *prophetically*, as well as that of *Noah*, from an Event, then foreſeen, tho' it might not come to paſs for ſome conſiderable Time after the Name was given.

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

(o) SINCE *Peleg* then, according to the ſacred Account, liv'd two hundred and thirty-nine Years, and his younger Brother *Jocktan*, and his Sons, were a conſiderable Colony in the Diſtribution of the World; it is much more rational to ſuppoſe, that this Diſtribution did not begin till a good Part of *Peleg*'s Life was expended. Suppoſe it however to be no more than an hundred Years after his Birth; yet we may ſtill retain the *Hebrew* Computation, and have Time and Hands enough for the carrying on the great Work of *Babel*, before this Diſtribution, ſince Mankind might very well be multiply'd to ſome Millions, in the Compaſs of two hundred Years.

Why God diſlik'd and defeated their Undertaking.

PUTTING all theſe Conſiderations together then, we can hardly imagine, that there wanted a ſufficient Number of Men to go upon an Enterprize, which, though not ſtrictly chargeable with Sin, becauſe there was no previous Command forbidding it, yet, in the Senſe of God himſelf, bold and preſumptuous enough: (p) *Behold the People is one, and they have all one Language, and now this they begin to do*; this is their firſt Attempt, and, after this, *nothing* ‡ *will be reſtrained from them*; they will think themſelves competent for any Thing, that they ſhall have a Fancy to do. For though God cou'd have no Reaſon to apprehend † any Moleſtation from their Attempts, (as the *Poets* make

(o) Revelation Examin'd, Vol. II. Diſſert. III.

(p) Gen. xi. 6.

‡ The common Verſions ſay of the Builders of the Tower of *Babel*, *And now nothing* will, or ſhall, *be reſtrain'd from them, which they have imagin'd to do.* But this is falſe in Fact; becauſe God ſoon put a Stop to their Deſign by confounding them, and *ſcattering them abroad from thence, over the Face of the Earth.* We may obſerve therefore, that the ſame *Particle*, which is indeed ſometimes taken *negatively*, is evidently here to be taken *interrogatively*, and is equal to the moſt expreſs *Affirmation*: And therefore the Text ſhou'd thus be tranſlated, *Shall they not be reſtrain'd in all they imagine to do?* Yes, they ſhall; which accordingly was immediately executed. *Eſſay for a New Tranſlation.*

† What their Attempts were, the Hiſtorian has repreſented in their own Words: *And they ſaid, Go to, let us build us a City, and a Tower, whoſe Top may reach unto Heaven*, Gen. xi. 4. But far be it from any one to imagine, that theſe Builders cou'd be ſo ſtupidly ignorant, as ever to think by this Means to climb up to Heaven, or that they wou'd not have choſen a Mountain, rather than a Plain, or a Valley, for this, if they cou'd once have entertain'd ſo groſs an Imagination. 'Tis a common Hyperbole this in the ſacred Writings, to ſignify any great and lofty Building, as may be ſeen in *Deut.* i. 18. *Dan.* iv. 8. and in ſeveral other Places; nor is the like Manner of Expreſſion unuſual among profane Authors likewiſe: For *Homer*, ſpeaking of the Iſland of *Calypſo*, tells us, that in it was a Place:

——— ὄθι δένδρεα μακρὰ πεφύκει
Κληθρη, αἴγειροσ, ἰλάλη τ' ἦν εὐρανομήκης. Odyſſ. ι. Ver. 238.

By a literal Interpretation of the *Hebrew* Idiotiſm however, it is a common Thing, for the greateſt Abſurdities to be receiv'd by the Unwary for Realities; and not at all a Wonder, that the Miſunderſtanding the Text ſhou'd give Riſe to what we are told of the Giants in the Fable attempting to ſcale Heaven, and of the Expedition of *Coſigna* and his Companions, who had contriv'd Ladders for that End; hoping, that *ſo* they might make their nearer Addreſſes to the Queen of Heaven. And thus even the ſilleſt of the Pagan Tales may be trac'd up to their Original; for there is generally ſome Foundation for them in Truth, either miſunderſtood, or miſapplied. Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. *Voſſ.* Hiſt. Græc. Lib. 1. cap. 3. & Bibliotheca Biblica ad Locum.

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Heaven all in an *Uproar* upon the Invaſion of the *Giants)* yet, ſince they were contrary to his gracious Deſign of having the Earth repleniſh'd, it was an Act highly conſiſtent with his infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs to ſee them diſappointed.

The Divine Purpoſe was, that Men ſhou'd not live within the Limits of one Country only, and ſo be expos'd to perpetual Contentions, while every one wou'd pretend to make himſelf Maſter of the neareſt and moſt fertile Lands; but that, poſſeſſing themſelves of the Whole, and cultivating almoſt every Place, they might enjoy a proportionable Increaſe of the Fruits of the Earth. *(q)* Thorns and Briars were ſpringing up every where; Woods and Thickets ſpreading themſelves around; wild Beaſts increaſing; and all this while the Sons of *Noah* gathering together in a Cluſter, and deſigning ſo to continue; ſo that it was highly ſeaſonable for God to confound their miſ-tim'd Projects, and diſperſe them.

Their Purpoſe was to *make themſelves a Name* by enſlaving others: But God foreſaw, *(r)* that abſolute Power and univerſal Empire were not to be truſted in any *mortal* Hand; that the firſt Kings wou'd be far from being the beſt Men; but, as they acquir'd a Superiority by Fraud and Violence, ſo they wou'd not be backward to maintain it by Oppreſſion and Cruelty: And therefore, to remedy ſuch publick Grievances, he determin'd with himſelf, that there ſhou'd be a *Diverſity* of Governments in the World; that if the Inhabitants of any Place chanc'd to live under a *tyrannical* Power, thoſe, that were no longer able to endure the Yoke, might flee into other Countries and Dominions, (which they cou'd not do if *the Whole* was one entire *Monarchy)* and there find a Shelter from Oppreſſion. And as he knew, how conducive the bad Example of Princes wou'd be towards a general Corruption of Manners, he therefore took Care to provide againſt this Malady, by appointing ſeveral diſtinct Kingdoms, and Forms of Government, at one and the ſame Time; that if the Infection of Vice got Aſcendency, and prevail'd in one Place, Virtue and Godlineſs, and whatever is honourable and Praiſe-worthy, might find a ſafe Retreat, and flouriſh in another. Thus all the Miſchiefs, which might poſſibly ariſe from an *univerſal Monarchy*, and all the Advantages, that do daily accrue from *ſeparate* and *diſtinct* Governments, were in the Divine Foreſight and Conſideration, when he put a ſurpriſing Stop to the Building of theſe Men, and their ambitious Schemes of Empire together.

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

For in what Manner ſoever it was that he effected this; † whether it was by diſturbing their *Memories*, or perverting their

That this Defeat was immediately his Work.

(q) *Waterland*'s Scripture Vindicated, Part I. *(r)* *Le Clerc*'s Diſſertation.

† Since *Moſes* has no where acquainted us, *ſays the learned Heidegger*, (in his Hiſt. Patr. Lib. 1. Exercit. 211.) in what Manner the Confuſion of Languages was effected, every one is left to follow what Opinion he likes beſt, ſo long as that Opinion contains nothing incongruous to the receiv'd Rule of Faith: Nay, it may not be inconvenient to produce ſeveral Opinions upon this Subject, to the Intent that every one may embrace that, which ſeems to him moſt conformable to Truth. And therefore he inſtances in the Opinions of ſeveral learned Men, but in thoſe, more particularly, of *Julius Scaliger*, who aſcribes this Event to a Confuſion of Notions, which God miraculouſly ſent among the Builders; and that of *Iſaac Caſaubon*, who will needs have all the different Languages, now extant, to be no more than Derivatives from the *Hebrew*. *Scaliger*'s Words, as *Heidegger* quotes them, are theſe, "*Sic enim aiunt* (Hebræi "ſcilicet) *quo impii propoſiti Opus illud interciperetur atque prohiberetur, factum à Deo optimo maximo, ut Lapidem petenti "alius Calcem, alius Sabulum, alius Maltham, alius Bitumen, alius Aquam, ferret. Fortaſſe etiam non defuiſſe arbitror, "qui ſibi dictam putarent Contumeliam, atque propterea Manum conſererent, ubi maxima intercedit Occaſio Subtilitatis; "nam ſi Lapidem petenti alius aliud, multi multa, diverſa omnia afferebant, videretur unius Soni Modus, in varias Species "deductus, diverſis Mentibus ſeſe inſinuaſſe. Una igitur priſca adhuc extaret Lingua, varii vero Significatus.*" The Words of *Caſaubon* are as follows: "Si in Babele Linguæ in totum diverſæ factæ ſunt, neceſſariò Chaldæi Aſſyrii, "ἀλλοκότους, illas Linguas retinuiſſent, atqui contrarium videmus accidiſſe. Eſt enim veriſſimum, Linguas cæteras eò "manifeſtiora & magis expreſſa Originis Hebraicæ veſtigia ſervâſſe, nunc ſervare, & quo proprius ab antiquâ & primâ "Hominum Sede abſuerunt. Nam proximus quiſque Populus Genti Hebraicæ proximè ad illius Linguam acceſſit. "Longinquitas verè Alienationem ſubinde majorem intulit. Clarum hoc ex Comparatione Linguarum. *Syriacæ*, "*Chaldaicæ*, *Arabicæ*, *Punicæ*, &c. cum *Hebraica:* Clariſſimum item, ſi *Græcam* Linguam diligenter ſpectes Græci "primi in Aſiâ habitarunt: Inde *Iones*, vel ut *Æſculus* vocat Hebraicè, *Javones* in Europam trajecerunt; in antiquiſ-

"ſimis

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their Imaginations; by diverſifying their Hearing, or new-organizing their Tongues; by an immediate Infuſion of *new* Languages, or a Diviſion of the *old* into ſo many different Dialects; and again, whether theſe Tongues, or Dialects of Tongues, † were few or more; whether there were only ſo many *Originals* at firſt, (as many perhaps as there were either Tribes, or Heads of Families) and all the reſt were no more, than *Derivatives* from them; the Operations of an Almighty Power are equally viſible, and the Foot-ſteps of Divine Wiſdom apparent, in the very Method of his diſappointing theſe ambitious Builders.

(s) HE cou'd, no doubt, with the ſame Facility, have ſent down Fire from Heaven to conſume them; but then that wou'd have been but a momentary Judgment, whereof we ſhou'd have known nothing, but what we read in the *dead Letter* of a Book: Whereas, by this Means, the Remembrance of God's Interpoſition is preſerv'd to all future Ages, and, in every new Language, that we hear, we recognize the Miracle.

And not a Confuſion of Minds, but of Tongues.

(t) IT was equally the Finger of God, we allow, whether the *Minds*, or the *Tongues* of the Workmen were *confounded*; but then, in that Caſe, the Miracle does not ſo plainly, and ſo flagrantly appear, nor wou'd it have had ſo good an Effect upon the Builders themſelves; becauſe Men may quarrel, and break off Society without a Miracle; whereas they cannot ſpeak with new Tongues by their own natural Strength and Ingenuity. From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

NOR is the Formation of a new Language only more *miraculous*, but to the Imaginations of the Perſons, upon whom it was wrought, incredibly more ſurpriſing, than any Diſagreement in Opinion, or any Quarrel, that might thereupon enſue. And therefore I have always thought, that this Account of the Confuſion of Tongues, which God wrought at *Babel*, wou'd ſcarce have been told ſo particularly, and repreſented as God's own Act and Deed, had it only ariſen from a Quarrel among the Builders, which oblig'd them to leave off their Work, and ſcatter themſelves over the Face of the Earth. For, when God is here deſcrib'd as *coming down* in Perſon to view their Work, ſomething almoſt as ſolemn as the *Creation*, full as ſolemn as the Denunciation of the Flood, when *Noah* was commanded to build the Ark, is certainly intended by that Expreſſion: And therefore, when *Moſes* acquaints us, that *there was but one Language at that Time*, the Circumſtance wou'd be impertinent, if he did not intimate withal, that, very ſoon after, there were to be more.

THE Prophet *Iſaiah* indeed, ſpeaking of the Converſion of ſome *Egyptians* to the *Jewiſh* Faith, tells us, that, *in that Day, ſhall five Cities in the Land of* Egypt *ſpeak the Language* (or *Lip*, as it is in the Margin) *of* Canaan, *and ſwear to the Lord of Hoſts*. Speaking the Language of *Canaan* Iſa. xix. 18. *explain'd.*

" ſimis quibuſque *Græcorum* Scriptoribus multa propterea Vocabula *Hebraica*, quæ poſtea vel deſierunt eſſe in Uſu, vel " admodum ſunt mutata: Obſervamus etiam *Aſiaticos Græcos* magis ἰβραίσειν, quam *Europæos*."

† It is not to be thought, that there were as many ſeveral *Dialects*, as there were Men at *Babel*, ſo that none of them underſtood one another. This wou'd not have only *diſpers'd* Mankind, but utterly deſtroy'd them; becauſe it is impoſſible to live without *Society*, or to have any Society without underſtanding one another. It is likely therefore that every Family had its peculiar *Dialect*; or rather that ſome common *Dialect*, or Form of Speaking, was given to thoſe Families, whom God deſign'd to make one Colony in the following Diſperſion. Into how many Languages the People were divided, it is impoſſible to determine. The *Hebrews* fancy *ſeventy*, becauſe the Deſcendants of the Sons of *Noah*, as they are enumerated in Scripture, are juſt ſo many: The *Greek* Fathers make them *ſeventy-two*, becauſe the LXX Verſion adds two more, (*Eliſa* among the Sons of *Japhet*, and *Canaan* among the Sons of *Shem*) and the *Latin* Fathers follow them. But this is all Conjecture, and what is built upon a very weak Foundation. For, in many Places, ſo many People concurr'd in the Uſe of the ſame Speech, that of the *ſeventy* ſcarce *thirty* remain diſtinct, as *Bochart* has obſerv'd: And among theſe, others have ſuppos'd, that the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Arabick*, in the *Eaſt*; the *Greek* and *Latin*, in the *Weſt*; and the *Finniſh*, *Sclavonian*, *Hungarian*, *Cantabrick*, and the *antient Gauliſh*, in the *North*, are generally reputed *Originals*; beſides ſome more, that might be diſcover'd in *Perſia*, *China*, the *Eaſt-Indies*, the midland Parts of *Africk*, and all *America*, if we had but a ſufficient Knowledge of the Hiſtory of theſe People. Vid. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Wotton* of the Confuſion of Languages at *Babel*.

(s) Heidegger's Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. I. Exercit. 21.

(t) Wotton of the Confuſion of Languages at *Babel*.

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naan (u) is thought by ſome to mean no more, than being of the ſame Religion with the *Jews*, who inhabited the Land of *Canaan*; but why may it not be interpreted *literally*, as it is in our Tranſlation? Might not theſe five Cities particularly, to ſhew the Value and Reverence that they had for the Religion of the *Jews*, learn their Language; eſpecially, ſince they wou'd thereby be better enabled to underſtand the Books of *Moſes* and the *Prophets*, which were written in that Tongue? Do not the *Mahometans*, whatever they are, *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Perſians*, *Moguls*, or *Moors*, all learn *Arabick*, becauſe *Mahomet* wrote the *Alcoran* in that Language? Why then ſhou'd we be offended at the *literal* Senſe of the Words, when the *figurative* is ſo low and flat in Compariſon of it? *(x) In that Day* Egypt *ſhall be like a Woman; it ſhall be afraid and fear, becauſe of the ſhaking of the Hand of the Lord of Hoſts. (y) The Lord of Hoſts ſhall be a Terror unto* Egypt, and *(z) in that Day ſhall there be an Altar to the Lord in the Midſt of the Land of* Egypt, i. e. they ſhall become *Proſelytes* to the Law of *Moſes*; and, that they may not miſtake in underſtanding the Senſe of the Law, which they ſhall then embrace, they ſhall agree to learn the Language, in which it is written. This is an eaſy and genuine Senſe of the Words: But, inſtead of that, to fly to a forc'd and abſtruſe one, merely to evade the Evidence of a Miracle, ſavours of Vanity, at leaſt, if not of Irreligion.

In ſhort, all Interpreters, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian*, underſtood this Confuſion of *Babel* to be a Confuſion of Languages, not of Opinions. They ſaw the Texts, if literally underſtood, requir'd it; they obſerv'd a ſurpriſing Variety of Tongues, eſſentially different from one another; and they knew that *this* was not, in the leaſt, inconſiſtent with the Power of God. They did not queſtion, but that he, who made the Tongue, cou'd make it ſpeak what, and how he pleas'd; and they acquieſc'd (as all wiſe and honeſt Interpreters ſhou'd) in the *literal* Explication, perceiving that nothing unworthy of God, or trifling, or impoſſible in itſelf, reſulted from it. From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

But, to give this Part of the Objection a full and ſatisfactory Anſwer, we ſhall look a little into the Nature of Languages in *general*, and thereby endeavour to ſhew, that there are ſome Languages, now extant in the World, which are eſſentially *different* from each other; that Languages, when once eſtabliſh'd, are not ſo ſubject to *Variation*, as is pretended; and that, in the Ages ſubſequent to this extraordinary *Event*, they cou'd not, in any *natural* Way, undergo all the *Alterations*, we now perceive in them, ſuppoſing them all deſcended from one common Stock. *That, from the Time of the Confuſion, there were all along ſeveral Languages eſſentially different.*

(a) Now, in order to this, we muſt obſerve, that every Language conſiſts of two Things, *Matter* and *Form:* The *Matter* of any Language are the Words, wherein Men, who ſpeak the Language, expreſs their Ideas; and the ſeveral Ways, whereby its *Nouns* are declin'd, and *Verbs* conjugated, are its *Form*.

The *Latins* and *Greeks* vary their *Nouns* by Terminations; as *Vir*, *Viri*, *Viro*, *Virum*, ἄνθρωπος, ἀνθρώπε, ἀνθρώπω, ἄνθρωπον. We decline by the Propoſitions *of*, *to*, *from*, *the*, in both Numbers; but the *Hebrews* have no different Terminations in the ſame Number, and only vary thus,——*Iſh*, *Man*; *Iſhim*, *Men*; *Iſhah*, *Woman*; *Iſhoth*, *Women:* the reſt are vary'd by Prepoſitions inſeparably affix'd to the Words, as *Ha-iſh*, *the Man*; *Le-iſh*, *to the Man*; *Be-iſh*, *in the Man*; &c. which Prepoſitions, thus join'd, make one Word with the Noun to which they are affix'd, and are herein different from all thoſe Languages, which come from a *Latin*, or *Teutonick* Original.

The *Weſtern* and *Northern* People conſider every *tranſitive* Verb, either *actively* or *paſſively*, and then they have done; as *Amo*, in *Latin*, is *I love*; *Amor*, *I am loved*; and ſo in *Greek*, ἀγαπῶ, ἀγαπῶμαι: But, in *Hebrew*, every Word has, or is ſuppos'd to have, ſeven Conjugations; in

(u) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (x) Iſa. xix. 16. (y) Ver. 17. (z) Ver. 19. (a) *Wotton* of the Confuſion of Languages at *Babel*.

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in *Chaldee*, and *Syriack*, ſix; and in *Arabick*, thirteen, all differing in their Significations.

THE *Weſtern* Languages abound with *Verbs*, that are compounded with *Prepoſitions*, which accompany them in all their Moods, and Tenſes, and therein vary their Signification; but, in the *Eaſtern*, there is no ſuch Thing; for, tho' they have (in *Arabick* eſpecially) many different Significations, ſome *literal*, and ſome *figurative*, yet ſtill their *Verbs*, as well as *Nouns*, are uncompounded.

IN the *Greek*, both *antient* and *barbarous*, in the *Latin*, and the *Dialects* ariſing from it, and in all the Branches of what we call the old *Teutonick*, the *poſſeſſive* Pronouns, *my*, *thy*, *his*, *yours*, *theirs*, &c. make a diſtinct Word from the Noun, to which they are join'd, as Πατὴρ ἡμῶν, *Pater noſter*, *Fader vor*, *Our Father*, &c. But, in all *Oriental* Tongues, the Pronoun is join'd to the End of the Noun, in ſuch a Manner, as to make but one Word. Thus *Ab*, in *Hebrew*, is *Father*; *Abi*, *my Father*; *Abinu*, *our Father*. In *Chaldee*, from the ſame Root, *Abouna*, is *our Father*; in *Syriack*, *Abun*; in *Arabick* and *Æthiopick*, the ſame.

ONCE more. All *Weſtern* Languages mark the *Degree of Compariſon*, in their Adjectives, by proper Terminations, as *wiſe*, *wiſer*, *wiſeſt*; *ſapiens*, *ſapientior*, *ſapientiſſimus*; σοφὸς σοφώτερος σοφώτατος: But none of the *Eaſtern* Tongues, already mention'd, have any thing in them like this.

THESE are ſome of the Marks and Characters which diſtinguiſh the *Eaſtern* from the *Weſtern* Languages; and, what is farther obſervable, theſe Characters have none of them diſappear'd, or ſhifted from one to another, for near three Thouſand Years. They appear in every Book of the *Old Teſtament*, from *Moſes* down to *Malachi*; in the *Chaldee* Paraphraſts, in the *Syriack* Verſions, in the *Miſna*, in the *Gemara*, and in every other *Rabbinical* Book, down to the *Jewiſh* Writers of the preſent Age: But, on the other Hand, if we conſider *Homer*'s Poems, which are the oldeſt Monuments we have of the *Greek* Language; if we take *Theocritus* for the *Dorick* Dialect; *Euripides*, or *Thucydides*, for the *Attick*; *Herodotus*, or *Hippocrates*, for the *Ionick*; and *Sappho* for the *Æolick*, and ſo deſcend to the *Greek*, which is ſpoken at this Day, we ſhall ſee the general Marks of *Weſtern* Languages running through them all. Theſe Idioms ſhew themſelves, at firſt Sight, to be nothing more, than Dialects manifeſtly ſpringing from the ſame common Root, which never did, and (as far as we may judge from the Practice of above two thouſand Years) never will *conjugate* Verbs, *decline* Nouns, or *compare* Adjectives, like the *Hebrew*, or *Arabick*. Theſe Languages did always *compound* Verbs and Nouns with Prepoſitions, which eſſentially alter the Senſe. Theſe Languages had never any *poſſeſſive* Pronouns, affixt to their Nouns to determine the Perſon or Perſons, to whom of right they belong; nor do they affix any ſingle Letter to their Words, which may be equivalent to Conjunctions, and connect the Senſe of what goes before, with what follows; which any Perſon, but tolerably initiated in the *Eaſtern* Languages, muſt know to be their Properties.

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

AND indeed, if we caſt but our Eye a little forward into the ſacred Hiſtory, it will not be long, before we may perceive ſome Inſtances of this Difference between Languages. For, when *Jacob* and *Laban* made a Covenant together, they erected an *Heap of Stones*, on which they eat, and *Laban* call'd it *Jegar-Sahadutha*, *but Jacob*, *Gal-Ed*, which Words ſignify, (thoſe in *Chaldee*, which are *Laban*'s and the other in *Hebrew*, which are *Jacob's) an Heap of Witneſſes*; and, in like Manner, *Pharaoh* calls *Joſeph*, *Tſophnath-Paaneahh*, which Words are neither *Hebrew* nor *Chaldee*. So that here we ſee three diſtinct Dialects form'd in *Jacob*'s Time, and yet we may obſerve, that the World was then thin, Commerce narrow, and Conqueſts few; ſo that the People were conſtrain'd to converſe with thoſe of their own

That there cou'd not, in the firſt Ages, be all that Alteration in Languages, that is pretended.

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own Tribe, and, conſequently, could keep their Dialect far more entire, than it is poſſible for any Nation to do now, when Commerce, Conqueſts, and Colonies, planted in Regions already peopled with Nations, that ſpeak diſtinct Languages, may be ſuppos'd to bring in a *Deluge* of new Words, and make innumerable Changes. But Nations ſeldom trade much Abroad, or make Invaſions upon their Neighbours, or ſend forth Plantations into remote Countries, until they are pretty well ſtock'd at Home, which could hardly be the Caſe of any one Country, for ſeveral Ages after the Diſperſion.

'Tis a miſtaken Notion, which ſome have imbib'd, that every little Thing, be it but the Change of Air, or Difference of Climate (which at moſt can but affect the Pronunciation of ſome Letters, or Syllables) can make a Diverſity in Languages. Small and inſenſible Alterations, which perhaps will appear in an Age or two, will undoubtedly happen; but, unleſs People converſe much with Strangers, their Language will ſubſiſt, as to its *conſtituent Form*, the ſame for many Generations.

The *Roman* Language, for Inſtance, was brought to a conſiderable Perfection before *Plautus*'s Time; and, tho' now and then ſome *obſolete* Words may appear in his Writings, yet any Man, that underſtands *Latin*, may read the Books, that were written in it, from *Plautus* down to *Theodorick* the *Goth*, which was near ſeven hundred Years; and, had not the barbarous Nations broken into *Italy*, it might have been an intelligible Language for ſeveral Ages more. And, in like Manner, we may ſay, that, had not the *Turks*, when they over-ran *Greece*, brought Darkneſs and Ignorance along with them, the *Greek* Tongue might have continu'd even to this Day, ſince it is manifeſt, from *Homer*'s *Poems*, and *Euſtathius*'s *Commentaries* upon them, that it ſubſiſted for above two thouſand Years, without any conſiderable Alteration; for the Space of Time between the *Poet* and his *Commentator* was no leſs.

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

And that there are more original Languages in the World, than is imagin'd.

And if the Languages, which we are acquainted with, remain'd ſo long unchang'd to any great Degree, in Times of more Commerce and Action, than what cou'd be ſubſequent upon the Diſperſion; there is reaſon to believe, that (tho' it be difficult to define the Number of them) there are many more *original* Languages in the World, than ſome Men imagine. For, if we conſider their great *Antiquity*, their mutual Agreement in the *Fundamentals* (which we have deſcrib'd) can be no Argument, that any one of them is deriv'd from the reſt; ſince it is natural to ſuppoſe, that, when God confounded the Speech of the Builders of *Babel*, he made the *Dialects* of thoſe People, who were to live near one another, ſo far to agree, that they might, with leſs Difficulty, and in a ſhorter Space of Time, mutually underſtand each other, and ſo more eaſily maintain an Intercourſe together. For, tho' their *Aſſociation* (conſidering the Ends, that engag'd them in it) was certainly culpable; yet perhaps it might not deſerve ſo ſevere a Puniſhment, as an entire Separation of every Tribe among them from their neareſt Kindred, with whom they had hitherto ſpent all their Time.

A Recapitulation of the whole Argument.

To ſum up the Force of this Argument in a few Words. If we conſider the Time, ſince the Building of the Tower of *Babel*, not yet 4000 Years, and the great Variety of Languages, that are at preſent in the World; if we conſider, how entirely different ſome are to others, ſo that no Art of *Etymology* can reduce them to the leaſt Likeneſs or Conformity; and yet, in thoſe early Days, when the World was leſs peopled, and Navigation and Commerce not ſo much minded, there could not be that quick Progreſſion of Languages; and if we examine the Alterations, which ſuch Languages, as we are acquainted with, have made, in two or three Thouſand Years paſt, where *Colonies* of different People have not been imported, we ſhall find the *Difference* between Language and Language to be ſo very *great*, and the *Alteration* of the ſame Language,

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Language, in a conſiderable Tract of Time, to be ſo very *ſmall*, that we ſhall be at a Loſs to conceive, whence ſo many, and ſo various Languages cou'd have proceeded, unleſs we take in the Account of *Moſes*, which unriddles the whole Difficulty, and juſtly aſcribes them to the ſame Almighty Power, which taught our firſt Parents to ſpeak *one* Tongue in the Beginning, and, in After-ages, inſpir'd the Apoſtles of *Jeſus Chriſt* with the Gift of *many*. Gen. Ch. xi. to Ver. 10.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the Tower of BABEL.

That there really was ſuch a Building as the Tower of Babel.

THAT there really was ſuch a Building as the Tower of *Babel*, erected ſome Ages after the Recovery of the Earth from the Deluge, is evident from the concurrent Teſtimonies of ſeveral Heathen Writers. For when (beſides the particular Deſcription which *(b) Herodotus*, the Father of the *Greek* Hiſtorians, gives us of it) we find *Abydenus* (as he is *(c)* quoted by *Euſebius)* telling us, "That "the firſt Race of Men, big with a fond "Conceit of the Bulk and Strength of "their Bodies, built in the Place where "*Babylon* now ſtands, a Tower of ſo "prodigious an Height, that it ſeem'd to "touch the Skies, but that the Winds "and the Gods overthrew the mighty "Structure upon their Heads:" When we find *Eupolemus* (as he is *(d)* cited by *Alexander Polyhiſtor)* leaving it upon Record, "That the City of *Babylon* was "firſt built by *Giants*, who eſcap'd from "the *Flood*; that theſe Giants built the "moſt famous Tower in all Hiſtory; and "that this Tower was daſh'd to Pieces "by the Almighty Power of God, and "the Giants diſpers'd, and ſcatter'd over "the Face of the whole Earth:" And laſtly, when *(e)* we find *Joſephus* mentioning it, as a receiv'd Doctrine among the *Sibyls*, "That, at a certain Time, when "the whole World ſpake all one Lan-"guage, the People of thoſe Days gather-"ed together, and rais'd a mighty Tow-"er, which they carried up to ſo extra-"vagant an Height, that it look'd as if "they had propos'd to ſcale Heaven from "the Top of it; but that the Gods let "the Winds looſe upon it, which, with "a violent Blaſt, beat it down to the "Ground; and, at the ſame Time, ſtruck "the Builders with an utter Forgetfulneſs "of their native Tongue, and ſubſtituted "new and unknown Languages in the "Room of it:" When we find theſe, and ſeveral other Authors, I ſay, that might be produc'd, bearing Teſtimony to *Moſes*, in moſt of the material Circumſtances attending the Building of this Tower, we cannot but conclude, that the Repreſentation, which he gives us of the whole Tranſaction, is agreeable to Truth.

THE Short is, all the Remains, now extant, of the moſt antient Heathen Hiſtorians (except *Sanchoniatho)* concur in confirming the *Moſaick* Account of this Matter, and the Sum of their Teſtimonies is, —— *(f)* That a huge Tower was built by gigantick Men at *Babylon*; that there was then but one Language among Mankind; that the Attempt was offenſive to the Gods; and that therefore they demoliſh'd the Tower, overwhelm'd the Workmen, divided their Language, and diſpers'd them over the Face of the whole Earth.

That it was not blown down, or deſtroy'd.

THERE is one Circumſtance indeed, wherein we find theſe antient Hiſtorians differing with *Moſes*, and that is, in affirming, that the Tower was demoliſh'd by the Anger of God, and by the Violence of the Winds; but as it ſeems more conſiſtent with the Divine Wiſdom (for *the Admonition*

(b) Lib. 1. c. 181. *(c)* Præparat. Evang. l. 9 c. 14. *(d) Alex. Polyhiſt.* apud *Euſeb.* Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 18. *(e)* Antiq. l. 1. c 5. *(f)* Vid. *Joſephus*'s Antiq. l. 1. c. 5. *Euſebius*'s Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 14, &c. and *Huetius*'s Quæſt Alnetan. l. 2. p. 189.

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Admonition of Poſterity) to have ſuch a Monument of Men's Folly and Ambition for ſome Time ſtanding; ſo we may obſerve, that (in Confirmation of our ſacred Penman, who ſpeaks of it as a Thing exiſting in his Time) *Herodotus*, the *Greek* Hiſtorian, tells us expreſly, that he himſelf actually ſaw it, as it was repair'd by *Belus*, or ſome of his Succeſſors; *Pliny*, the *Latin* Hiſtorian, that it was not deſtroy'd in his Days; and ſome modern Travellers (whom by and by we ſhall have Occaſion to quote) that there are ſome viſible Remains of it extant even now. And therefore the Fancy of its being beat down with the Winds is taken up, in pure Conformity * to ſome *Perſian* Tales, recorded of *Nimrod*, whom theſe Hiſtorians ſuppoſe to be the firſt Projector of it.

Who were the Builders of it.

It cannot be deny'd indeed, but that the Generality of Interpreters, meeting with the Expreſſion of *(g) the Children of Men*, whereby they underſtand bad Men and Infidels, as oppos'd to *the Children of God*, which uſually denote the Good and the Faithful, are apt to imagine, that none of the Family of *Shem*, which retain'd (as they ſay) the true Worſhip and Religion, were engag'd in the Work, but ſome of the worſer Sort of People only, who had degenerated from the Piety of their Anceſtors: But, by *the Children of Men* in that Place, 'tis evident, that we are to underſtand all Mankind, becauſe, in the initial Words of the Chapter, they are call'd *(h) the whole Earth*; nor can we well conceive how, in ſo ſhort a Time, after that awakening Judgment of the Deluge, the major Part of Mankind, even while *Noah* and his Sons were ſtill alive, ſhou'd be ſo far corrupted in their Principles, as to deſerve the odious Character of *Unbelievers*. From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

(i) Josephus indeed, and ſome other Authors are clearly of Opinion, that *Nimrod*, a Deſcendant from the impious *Ham*, was the great Abettor of this Deſign, and the Ringleader of thoſe who combin'd in the Execution of it. But, tho' the Undertaking ſeems to agree very well with the Notion, which the Scripture gives us of that ambitious Prince; yet, beſides that *(k)* others, extreamly well vers'd in all *Jewiſh* Antiquities, have made it appear, that *Nimrod* was either very young at the Time, or even not yet born, when the Project of building the Tower and City was firſt form'd, there is Reaſon to believe (even ſuppoſing him then alive, and in great Power and Authority among his People) that he was not in any tolerable Condition to undertake ſo great a Work. *Not* Nimrod.

The Account, which *Moſes* gives us of him, is, —— That he *(l) began to be a mighty one in the Earth*, which the beſt Writers explain, by his being the firſt; who laid the Foundation of *regal* Power among Mankind; but it is ſcarce imaginable, how an Empire, able to effect ſuch a Work, cou'd be entirely acquir'd, and ſo thoroughly eſtabliſh'd by one and the ſame Perſon, as to allow Leiſure for Amuſements of ſuch infinite Toil and Trouble.

Great

* The Author of the Book called *Malem* tells us this Story, —— That when *Nimrod* ſaw that the Fire, into which he caus'd *Abraham* to be caſt, for not ſubmitting to the worſhipping of Idols, did him no Damage, he reſolv'd to aſcend into Heaven, that he might ſee that great God, whom *Abraham* reveal'd to him. In vain did his Courtiers endeavour to divert him from this Deſign: He was reſolv'd to accompliſh it, and therefore gave Orders for the Building of a Tower, that might be as high as poſſible. They work'd upon it for three Years together: And, when he went up to the Top, he was much ſurpriz'd to ſee himſelf as far from Heaven, as when he was upon the Ground; but his Confuſion was much increas'd, when they came to inform him, the next Morning, that his Tower was fallen, and daſh'd in Pieces. He commanded them then, that another ſhould be built, which might be higher and ſtronger than the former: But, when this met with the ſame Fate, and he ſtill continu'd an obſtinate Perſecuter of thoſe, who worſhipp'd the true God, God took from him the greateſt Part of his Subjects, by the Diviſion and Confuſion of their Tongues, and thoſe, whe ſtill adher'd to him, he killed by a Cloud of Flies, which he ſent amongſt them. *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Nimrod*. The Poets, in like Manner, having corrupted the Tradition of this Event with Fictions of their own, do conſtantly bring in *Jupiter* defeating the Attempts of the *Titans*:

Fulmina de Cœli jaculatus Jupiter arce,
Vertit in Authores Pondera vaſta ſuos, &c. Ovid.

(g) Gen. xi. 5. *(h)* Ver. 1. *(i)* Antiq. l. 1. c. 5. *(k) Bochart*'s Phaleg. l. 1. c. 10. *(l)* Gen. x. 8.

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(m) GREAT and mighty Empires indeed have ſeemingly been acquir'd by ſingle Perſons; but, when we come to examine into the true Original of them, we ſhall find, that they began upon the Foundations of Kingdoms, already attain'd by their Anceſtors, and eſtabliſh'd by the Care and Wiſdom of many ſucceſſive Rulers for ſeveral Generations, and after a long Exerciſe of their People in Arts and Arms, which gave them a ſingular Advantage over other Nations, that they conquer'd. In this Manner grew the Empires of *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, and all the great Conquerors in the World: Nor can we, in all the Records of Hiſtory, find one large Dominion, from the very Foundation of the World, that was ever erected and eſtabliſhed by one *private* Perſon. And therefore we have abundant Reaſon to infer, that *Nimrod*, though confeſſedly the Beginner of *ſovereign* Authority, could, at this Time, have no great Kingdom under his Command.

BUT admitting his Kingdom to be larger than this Suppoſition; yet, from that Day to this, we can meet with no Works of this Kind attempted, but from a Fulneſs of Wealth, and Wantonneſs of Power, and after Peace, Luxury, and long Leiſure had introduc'd and eſtabliſh'd Arts: So that nothing can be more abſurd, than to attribute ſuch a prodigious Work to the Power and Vanity of *one* Man, in the Infancy both of Arts and Empire, and when we can ſcarce ſuppoſe, that there was any ſuch Thing, as *artificial* Wealth, in the World.

Tho' he might afterwards ſettle there.

SINCE then this Building was undoubtedly very antient, as antient as the Scripture makes it, and yet could not be effected by any ſeparate Society, in the Period aſſign'd for it, the only probable Opinion is, that it was (as we ſaid before) undertook, and executed by the united Labours of all the People, that were then on the Face of the Earth. 'Tis not unlikely however, that, after the Diſperſion of the People, and their leaving the Place unfiniſh'd, *(n) Nimrod*, and his Subjects, coming out of *Arabia*, or ſome other neighbouring Country, might, after their Fright was over, ſettle at *Babel*, and there building the City of *Babylon*, and repairing the Tower, make it the Metropolis (as afterwards it was) of all the *Aſſyrian* Empire. From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

TO this Purpoſe, there is a very remarkable Paſſage *(o)* in *Diodorus Siculus*, where he tells us: "That, on the Walls of one "of the *Babylonian* Palaces was pourtray'd "a general Hunting of all Sorts of wild "Beaſts, with the Figure of a Woman on "Horſe-back, piercing a Leopard, and a "Man, fighting with a Lion; and that "on the Walls of the other Palace were "Armies in Battalia, and Huntings of "ſeveral Kinds." Now of this *Nimrod*, the ſacred Hiſtorian informs us, that he was a great and remarkable *Hunter*, ſo as to paſs into a Proverb; and this Occupation he might the rather purſue, as the beſt Means of training up his Companions to Exploits of War, and of making himſelf popular, by the Glory he gained, and the publick Good he did, in deſtroying thoſe wild Beaſts, which, at that Time, infeſted the World. And as this was a Part of his Character, the moſt rational Account that we can give of theſe Ornaments on the *Babylonian* Palaces, is, that they were ſet up by ſome of *Nimrod*'s Deſcendants, in their Anceſtor's Imperial City, in Memory of the great Founder of their Family, and of an Empire, which afterwards grew ſo famous.

(p) EUTYCHIUS, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, will needs have it, that *Nimrod* was the firſt Author of the Religion of the *Magians*, the Worſhippers of Fire: And from hence very probably, *(q)* a late Archbiſhop of our own has thought, that this Tower of *Babel* (whoſe Form was *Pyramidal*, as he ſays, and ſo reſembling Fire, whoſe Flame aſcends in a *conick* Shape) was a Monument deſign'd for the Honour of the *Sun*, as the moſt probable *For what* Purpoſes *it was built.*

(m) Revelation Examin'd. Vol. II. Diſſert. III. *(n)* *Bochart*'s Phaleg. l. 1. c. 10. *(o)* Lib. 1.
(p) *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Nimrod*. *(q)* *Teniſon*, of Idolatry.

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Cauſe of drying up the Waters of the Flood. For, "tho' the Sun, *ſays he*, was "not merely a God of the Hills, yet the "Heathens thought it ſuitable to his ad- "vanc'd Station, to worſhip him upon "Aſcents, either *natural*, or, where the "Country was flat, *artificial*, that they "might approach, as near as poſſibly they "cou'd, the Deity they ador'd." This certainly accounts for God's Diſpleaſure againſt the Builders, and why he was concern'd to defeat their Undertaking; but, as there is no Foundation for this Conjecture in Scripture, and the Date of this Kind of Idolatry was not perhaps ſo early, as is pretended; the two Ends, which *Moſes* declares the Builders had in view, in forming their Project, will be Motives ſufficient for their undertaking it.

For, if we conſider, that they were now in the midſt of a vaſt Plain, undiſtinguiſh'd by Roads, Buildings, or Boundaries of any Kind, except Rivers; that the Proviſion of Paſture, and other Neceſſaries, oblig'd them to ſeparate; and, that, when they were ſeparated, there was a Neceſſity of ſome *Land-mark* to bring them together again upon Occaſion, otherwiſe, all Communication, and, with it, all the Pleaſures of Life muſt be cut off; we can hardly imagine any Thing more natural, and fit for this Purpoſe, than the Erection of a *Tower*, large and lofty enough to be ſeen at great Diſtances, and, conſequently, ſufficient to guide them from all Quarters of that immenſe Region; and, when they had occaſion to correſpond, or come together, nothing certainly could be more proper, than the contiguous Buildings of a City, for their Reception, and convenient Communication.

If we conſider likewiſe, that all the Pride and Magnificence of their Anceſtors were now defac'd, and utterly deſtroy'd by the Deluge, without the leaſt Remains, or Memorial of their Grandeur; that, conſequently, the Earth was a clear Stage, whereon to erect new and unrival'd Monuments of Glory and Renown to themſelves; and that, at this Juncture, they wanted neither Art nor Abilities, neither Numbers nor Materials, to make themſelves Maſters of what their Vanity projected; we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the Affectation of Renown was another Motive to their Undertaking; ſince it is very well known, that this is the very Principle, which has, all along, govern'd the whole Race of Mankind, in all the Works and Monuments of Magnificence, the *Mauſoleums*, *Pillars*, *Palaces*, *Pyramids*, and whatever has been erected of any pompous Kind, from the Foundation of the World to this very Day. So that, taking their Reſolution under the united Light of theſe two Motives, the Reaſoning of the Builders will run thus: "We are "here in a vaſt Plain: † Our Diſper- "ſion is inevitable: Our Increaſe, and "the Neceſſaries of Life demand it. We "are ſtrong and happy, when united; "but, when divided, we ſhall be weak "and wretched. Let us then contrive "ſome Means of Union and friendly "Society, which may, at the ſame "Time, perpetuate our Fame and Me- "mory. And what Means ſo proper "for theſe Purpoſes, as a magnificent "City, and a mighty Tower, whoſe Top "may touch the Skies? The Tower "will be a *Land-mark* to us, through the "whole Extent of this Plain, and a Cen- "ter of Unity, to prevent our being diſ- "pers'd; and the City, which may prove "the *Metropolis* of the whole Earth, "will, at all Times, afford us a commo- "dious Habitation. Since then we need "fear no Diſſolution of our Works by "any future Deluge, let us erect ſome- "thing, that may immortalize our Names, "and outvie the Labours of our *Antedi- "luvian* Fathers." And that this ſeems

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

to

† Here they ſpeak as if they fear'd a Diſperſion; but it is hard to tell for what Cauſe, unleſs it was this,—That *Noah* having projected a Diviſion of the Earth among his Poſterity, (for it was a deliberate Buſineſs, as we noted before) the People had no mind to ſubmit to it, and therefore built a Fortreſs to defend themſelves in their Reſolution of not yielding to his Deſign; but what they dreaded, they brought upon themſelves by their own vain Attempt to avoid it. Vid. *Patrick*'s Comment. and *Uſher* ad A. M. 1757.

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to have been the Reaſoning of their Minds, will further appear, if we come now to take a ſhort Survey of the Dimenſions of the Building, according to the Account, which the beſt Hiſtorians have given us of it.

The Dimenſions of the Tower.

IT is the Opinion of the learned *(r) Bochart*, that, whatever we read of the Tower, enclos'd in the Temple of *Belus*, may very properly be apply'd to the Tower of *Babel*; becauſe, upon due Search and Examination, he conceives them to be one and the ſame Structure. Now of this Tower *(s) Herodotus* tells us, that it was a Square of a Furlong on each Side, *i. e.* half a Mile in the whole Circumference, whoſe Height, being equal to its *Baſis*, was divided into eight Towers, built one upon another; but what made it look as divided into eight Towers, was very probably the Manner of its Aſcent. *The Paſſage to go up it*, continues our Author, *was a circular, or winding Way, carry'd round the Outſide of the Building to its higheſt Point:* *(t)* From whence it ſeems moſt likely, that the whole Aſcent was, by the Bench-ing-in, drawn in a ſloaping Line, from the Bottom to the Top, eight Times round it, which wou'd make the Appearance of eight Towers one above another. This Way was ſo exceeding broad, that it afforded Space for Horſes and Carts, and other Means of Carriage to meet and turn; and the Towers, which look'd like ſo many Stories upon one another, were each of them Seventy-five Feet high, in which were many ſtately Rooms, with arch'd Roofs ſupported by Pillars, which were made Parts of the Temple, after the Tower became conſecrated to that idolatrous Uſe; and, on the uppermoſt of the Towers, which was held more ſacred, and where their moſt ſolemn Devotions were perform'd, there was an *Obſervatory*, by the Benefit of which it was, that the *Babylonians* advanc'd their Skill in *Aſtronomy* beyond all other Nations.

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

SOME Authors, † following a Miſtake in the *Latin* Verſion of *Herodotus*, wherein the loweſt of theſe Towers is ſaid to be a Furlong thick, and a Furlong high, will have each of the other Towers to be of a proportionate Height, which amounts to a Mile in the Whole: But the *Greek* of *Herodotus* (which is the genuine Text of that Author) ſays no ſuch Thing, but only, that it was a Furlong long, and a Furlong broad, without mentioning any Thing of its Height; and *(u) Strabo*, in his Deſcription of it, (calling it a *Pyramid*, becauſe of its decreaſing, or benching-in at every Tower) ſays of the Whole, that it was a Furlong high, and a Furlong on every Side: For to reckon every Tower a Furlong high, would make the Thing incredible, even though the Authority of both theſe Hiſtorians were *for*, as they are *againſt*, it. Taking it only as it is deſcrib'd by *Strabo*, it was prodigious enough; ſince, according to his Dimenſions only, without adding any farther, it was one of the moſt wonderful Works in the World, and much exceeded the greateſt of the Pyramids of *Egypt*.

Its ſubſequent Hiſtory.

IN this Condition continu'd the Tower of *Babel*, or the Temple of *Belus*, until the Time of *Nebuchadnezzar*; but he enlarg'd it by vaſt Buildings, which were erected round it, in a Square of two Furlongs on every Side, or a Mile in Circumference; and enclos'd the Whole with a Wall of two Miles and an half in Compaſs, in which were ſeveral Gates leading to the Temple, all of ſolid Braſs, which very probably were made of the *brazen Sea*,

(r) Vid. Phaleg. Part 1. l. 1. c. 9. *(s)* Lib. 1. *(t)* *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part 1.

† The Words of *Herodotus* are: Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος, καὶ τὸ εὖρος· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτεροι μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρις ὀκτὼ πύργων. Now tho' it be allow'd, that the Word μῆκος may ſignify *Height*, as well as *Length*, yet it is much better to take *Herodotus* in the latter Senſe here; otherwiſe the Tower (if every Story anſwers the loweſt) will riſe to a prodigious Height, though nothing near to what *Jerom* (l. 5. Comment. in *Eſaiam*) affirms, from the Teſtimony of Eye-witneſſes, as he ſays, who examin'd the Remains of it very carefully, *viz.* that it was no leſs than four Miles high. Univerſal Hiſt. l. 1. c. 2.

(u) Lib. 16.

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Sea, the brazen *Pillars*, and the other brazen Veſſels, which were carried to *Babylon* from the Temple of *Jeruſalem*: For ſo we are told, that all the ſacred Veſſels, which *Nebuchadnezzar* carried from thence, he put *(x) into the Houſe of his God* in *Babylon*, i. e. into the Houſe, or Temple of *Bel*, (for † that was the Name of the great God of the *Babylonians)* ſurrounding it with the Pomp of theſe additional Buildings, and adorning it with the Spoils of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. This Tower did not ſubſiſt much above an hundred Years, when *Xerxes*, coming from his *Grecian* Expedition, wherein he had ſuffer'd a vaſt Loſs of Men and Money, out of Pretence of Religion, († as being himſelf a *Magian*, and, conſequently, deteſting the Worſhip of God by Images) *(y)* but, in reality, with a Deſign to repair the Damages, he had ſuſtain'd, demoliſh'd it, and laid it all in Rubbiſh; having firſt plunder'd it of all its immenſe Riches, among which were ſeveral Images, or Statues of maſſy Gold, and *(z)* one particularly of forty Feet high, which very probably was † that, which *Nebuchadnezzar (a)* conſecrated in the Plains of *Dura*. From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

Thus fell this great Monument of Antiquity, and was never repair'd any more: For, tho' *Alexander*, at his Return to *Babylon*, after his *Indian* Expedition, expreſs'd his Intentions of rebuilding it, and, accordingly ſet ten thouſand Men on work to rid the Place of its Rubbiſh; yet, before they had made any Progreſs therein, that great Conqueror died on a ſudden, and has ever ſince left both the City and Tower ſo far defac'd, that the very People of the Country are at a Loſs to tell where their ancient Situation was. Since ſome late Travellers however have, in their Opinions, found out the true Ruins, and Remains of this once-renown'd Structure, we ſhall not be averſe to gratify our Reader's Curioſity *(b)* with an Account of what one, of the beſt Authority among them, has thought fit to communicate to the Publick.

The preſent Remains of it.

"In the Middle of a vaſt and level "Plain, *ſays he*, about a Quarter of a "League from the *Euphrates* (which, in "that Place, runs Weſtward) appears an "Heap

(x) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. Dan. i. 2.

† *Bel* is ſuppos'd to have been the ſame with *Nimrod*, and to have been call'd *Bel* from his Dominion, and *Nimrod* from his Rebellion; for *Bel*, or *Baal* (which is the ſame) ſignifies *Lord*, and *Nimrod*, *Rebel*, in the *Jewiſh* and *Chaldean* Language: The former was his *Babyloniſh* Name, by reaſon of his Empire in that Place; and the latter his Scripture-Name, by Reaſon of his Rebellion, in revolting from God, to follow his own wicked Deſigns. *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part I. l. 2.

† The two great Sects of Religion among the *Perſians*, were the *Magians* and *Sabians*. The *Sabians* worſhipp'd God thro' ſenſible Images, or rather worſhipp'd the Images themſelves. The *Babylonians* were the firſt Founders of this Sect; for they firſt brought in the Worſhip of the Planets, and afterwards that of Images, and from thence propagated it to all other Nations, where it prevail'd. The *Magians*, on the contrary, worſhip no Images of any Kind, but God only, together with two *ſubordinate Principles*, the one, the Author and Director of all Good, and the other, the Author and Director of all Evil. Theſe two Sects always had a mortal Enmity to each other; and therefore it is no Wonder, that *Xerxes*, who had always the *Archimagus* attending him in his Expeditions, with ſeveral other inferior *Magi*, in the Capacity of his *Chaplains*, ſhould by them be prevail'd on to take *Babylon* in his Way to *Suſa*, in order to deſtroy all the idolatrous Temples there.

(y) *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part I. (z) *Diodorus Siculus*, l. 2.

† *Nebuchadnezzar*'s golden Image is ſaid indeed in Scripture to have been 60 Cubits, *i. e.* ninety Feet high, but that muſt be underſtood of the Image and Pedeſtal altogether: For, that Image being ſaid to have been but ſix Cubits *broad* or *thick*, it is impoſſible that the Image cou'd have been ſixty Cubits high; for that makes its Height to be ten Times its Breadth or Thickneſs, which exceeds all the Proportions of a Man, foraſmuch as no Man's Height is above ſix Times his Thickneſs, meaſuring the ſlendereſt Man living at the Waiſt. But where the Breadth of this Image was meaſur'd, it is not ſaid: Perhaps it was from Shoulder to Shoulder, and then the Proportion of ſix Cubits Breadth will bring down the Height exactly to the Meaſure, which *Diodorus* has mention'd. For, the uſual Height of a Man being four and an half of his Breadth between the Shoulders, it muſt, according to this Proportion, have been twenty-ſeven Cubits high, which is forty Feet and an half. Nor muſt it be forgot what *Diodorus* further tells us, *viz.* That this Image contain'd a thouſand *Babyloniſh* Talents of Gold, which, upon a moderate Computation, amounts to three Millions and an half of our Money. But now, if we advance the Height of the Statue to ninety Feet without the Pedeſtal, it will increaſe the Value to a Sum incredible; and therefore it is neceſſary to take the Pedeſtal likewiſe into the Height mention'd by *Daniel*. *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part I. l. 2.

(a) Dan. iii. 1. (b) *Vid.* Pietro della Valle, Part II. l. 17.

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" Heap of ruin'd Buildings, like a huge " Mountain, the Materials of which are ſo " confounded together, that one knows " not what to make of it. Its Figure is " ſquare, and riſes in Form of a *Pyramid*, " with four Fronts, which anſwer to the " four Quarters of the Compaſs, but it " ſeems longer from *North* to *South*, than " from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, and is (as far as I cou'd " judge by my pacing it) a large Quarter " of a League. Its Situation and Form cor- " reſpond with that Pyramid, which *Strabo* " calls the Tower of *Belus*; but, even in " his Time, it had nothing remaining of " the Stairs, and other Ornaments mention- " ed by *Herodotus*, for the greateſt Part of " it was ruin'd by *Xerxes*, and *Alexander*, " who deſign'd to have reſtor'd it to its " former Luſtre, but was prevented by " Death.

" THERE appear no Marks of Ruins " round the Compaſs of this rude Maſs, " to make one believe, that ſo great a City " as *Babylon* e ver ſtood here. All that one " can diſcover, within 50 or 60 Paces of " it, is only the Remains here and there " of ſome Foundations of Buildings; and " the Country round about it is ſo flat and " level, that one can hardly conceive it " ſhou'd be choſen for the Situation of " ſo noble a City, or, that there ever were " any conſiderable Structures on it. But " conſidering withal, that it is now at " leaſt four thouſand Years ſince that City " was built, and that, in the Time of " *Diodorus Siculus*, as he tells us, it was " almoſt reduc'd to nothing, I, for my " Part, am aſtoniſh'd, that there appears " ſo much as there does.

" THE Height of this Mountain of " Ruins is not in every Part equal, but " exceeds the higheſt Palace in *Naples*. " It is a miſhapen Maſs, wherein there is " no Appearance of Regularity. In ſome " Places it riſes in Points, is craggy, and " inacceſſible: in others it is ſmooth, and " of eaſy Aſcent.——Whether ever there " were Steps to aſcend it, or Doors to en- " ter into it, 'tis impoſſible at preſent to " diſcover: And from hence one may " eaſily judge, that the Stairs ran winding " about on the Outſide, and that, being " the leſs ſolid Parts, they were the ſooneſt " demoliſh'd, ſo that there is not the leaſt " Sign to be ſeen of them now. From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

" IN the Inſide of it, there are ſome " Grotto's, but ſo ruin'd, that one can " make nothing of them; and 'tis much " to be doubted, with regard to ſome of " them, whether they were built at the " ſame Time with the Work, or made " ſince by the Peaſants for Shelter, which " laſt ſeems to be more likely. 'Tis evi- " dent from theſe Ruins however, that " the Tower of *Nimrod (ſo our Author* " *calls it)* was built with great and thick " Bricks, as I carefully obſerv'd, cauſing " Holes to be dug in ſeveral Places for " that Purpoſe; but they do not appear " to have been burnt, but only dried in " the Sun, which is extremely hot in thoſe " Parts.

" IN laying theſe Bricks, neither Lime " nor Sand was made uſe of, but only Earth " temper'd and petrify'd; and in thoſe " Parts which made the Floors, there had " been mingled with the Earth (which " ſerv'd inſtead of Lime) bruis'd Reeds, " or hard Straws, ſuch as large Mats are " made of, to ſtrengthen the Work. In " ſeveral other Places, eſpecially where the " ſtrongeſt Buttreſſes were to be, there " were, at due Diſtances, other Bricks of " the ſame Size, but more ſolid, and burnt " in Kilns, and ſet in good Lime, or Bitu- " men, but the greater Number were ſuch " as were dried in the Sun."

THIS is the moſt of what this ſedulous Traveller could diſcover; and yet, upon the Foot of theſe Remarks, he makes no Doubt to declare, " That this Ruin was " the antient *Babel*, or the Tower of *Nim-* " *rod (as he calls it)* for, beſides the Evi- " dence of its Situation, 'tis ſo acknow- " ledg'd to be, and ſo call'd by the Inha- " bitants of the Country to this very Day:" Notwithſtanding ſome others are of a con- trary Opinion, *viz. (c)* That this and ſome

(c) Univerſ. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 2.

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other Ruins, not far diſtant from it, are not the Remains of the original *Tower*, but rather ſome later Structures of the *Arabs*.

A moral Reflection hereupon.

We cannot diſmiſs this Subject however, without making ſome Reflections on the Vanity and Tranſitorineſs of all ſublunary Things, as well as the Veracity of all God's Predictions; ſince that goodly City, which was once the Pride of all *Aſia*, and the deſign'd Metropolis of the whole Univerſe, according to the Words (d) of the Prophets, *is fallen, is fallen low, very low, and become a dwelling Place for Dragons, an Aſtoniſhment, and an Hiſſing without an Inhabitant*; and that ſtately *Tower*, which once rear'd its Head on high, and ſeem'd to menace the Stars, is brought *down to the Ground, even to the Duſt*; inſomuch, that the Place of it is to be ſeen no more; or, if by Chance found out by ſome inquiſitive Traveller, the Whole is now become only a confus'd Heap of Rubbiſh, according to the Word of God, by the ſame Prophet: (e) *I will roll thee down from the Rocks, and make thee as a burnt Mountain, and they ſhall not take of thee a Stone for a Corner, nor a Stone for Foundations, but thou ſhalt be an everlaſting Deſolation, ſaith the Lord.* From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

(d) Iſaiah xxi. 9. and Jer. li. 37.

(e) Jer. li. 25, 26.

CHAP. III.

Of the Diſperſion, and firſt Settlement of the Nations.

The History.

A. M. 1759, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 2245, &c.

The Settlement of the Sons of Japhet.

In what Manner the Children of *Noah* were admitted to the Poſſeſſion of the ſeveral Countries, they afterwards came to inhabit, the *Sacred Hiſtorian* has not inform'd us; but this we may depend on, that (a) this great Diviſion of the Earth was not the Reſult of *Chance*, but of mature Deliberation; not a confus'd irregular Diſperſion, wherein every one went where he pleas'd, and ſettled himſelf where he lik'd beſt, but a proper Aſſignment of ſuch and ſuch Places, for every Diviſion and Subdiviſion of each Nation and Family to dwell in. *Japhet*, as we ſaid before, though uſually mention'd laſt, yet was, in Reality, the eldeſt Son of *Noah*, and, accordingly, has his Deſcendants here plac'd in the Front of the Genealogy. He had † ſeven Sons: *Gomer*, who ſeated himſelf in *Phrygia*; *Magog*, *in Scythia*; *Media*, in *Media*; *Javan*, in *Ionia*, or Part of *Greece*; *Tubal*, *in Tibarene*; *Maſhech*, in *Moſchia*, (which lies in the *North-Eaſt* Parts of *Cappadocia*) and *Tiras*, in *Thrace*, *Myſchia*, and the reſt of *Europe* towards the *North*. From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

The Sons of *Gomer* were *Aſhkanaz*, who took Poſſeſſion of *Aſcania*, (which is Part of *Leſſer Phrygia*) *Riphah*, of the *Riphæan*

(a) Mede's Diſc. 49, 50. l. 1.

† The following Account of the Plantations of the three Sons of *Noah* and their Deſcendants, is extracted from *Bochart*'s Phaleg, *Heidegger*'s Hiſtoria Patriarcharum, Vol. I. Exercit. 22. *Wells*'s Sacred Geography, Vol. I. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, l. 2. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. *Parker*'s Bibliotheca Biblica, Vol. I. the Authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. *Le Clerc* and *Patrick*'s Commentaries, *Pool* and *Ainſworth*'s Annotations, with other Authors of the like Nature; from whom we have made uſe of the moſt probable Conjectures, and to whom we refer the Reader, rather than encumber him with a Multitude of *explanatory* Notes,

A MAP shewing the general DISPERSION and settling of the NATIONS

A The Habitation of Arphaxad after the Assyrian Monarchy.

B The Habitation of y. Posterity of Arphaxad after y. Assyrian Monarchy call'd Arraphachitis.

C The Habitation of Asshur before the Assyrian Monarchy.

D The Habitation of Aram before the Assyrian Monarchy.

E The Habitation of Asshur after the Assyrian Monarchy, sometimes antiently call'd Asshur.

F The Habitation of Aram after y. Assyrian Monarchy, sometimes call'd Aram-naharaim as Psal. 60 Title or Aram between y. two Rivers, and by the Greeks Mesopotamia.

E F The Habitation of Japhet before the Assyrian Monarchy.

G The Habitation of the Posterity of Japhet after the Assyrian Monarchy, and before they Peopled Greece.

MAGOG
MADAI
RIPHATH
GOMER
JAPHET
ASCHENEZ
Marcellus
Venice
Genoa
ADRIATIC GULF
ITALY
Rome
Naples
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Mesina Straits
SICILY
DODANIM
TARSHISH
KITTIM
MACEDON
GREECE
Hellespont
AEGEAN SEA
Troas
Smyrna
Lycia
Pamphylia
Cilicia
Caria
Tarshish
Peloponnesus
Rhodes
CYPRUS
CRETE
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Malta I.
Tunis
Tripoli
PHUT
LIBYA
EGYPT
LEHABIM
ANAMIM
AFRICA
MIZRAIM
PATHRUSIM
CASLUHIM
PHILISTIM
Nilus R.
Zoan
Pelusium
NAPHTUHIM
Midian
On
Casiri
Dongola
Swaken
Arkiko
Tanais R. or Don R.
Azof
Moretick Lake
Sahum
PONTUS EUXINUS or BLACK SEA
Ereglia
BITHYNIA
Albani Chalybes
CAPADOCIA
Galatia
Phrygia
Mysia
LUDIM
LYDIA
ARMENIA
MEDIA
HEDEM
Calah
Cyparissus
Resen
Ur
Rehoboth
Nineveh
ELAMITES
ELAM
Susa or Enoch
Accad
Erech
Land of Nod or Susiana
PERSIA
PERSIAN GULF
Hul
SYRIA
River Euphrates
Tigris R.
GETHER
Palmyra
Babylon
Calneh
CANAAN
SHINAR
Bara
Midian
ARABIA
Raamah
HAVILAH
Sheba
DESERTA
Catif
CUSH
SABTECHA
JOBAB
Medina
HAVILAH
ARABIA
JORTAN
M. Sepher
OPHIR
Mecca
DIKLA
Dhafar
SHEBA
UZAL
Mocha
Kishem
Zabulla
RED SEA



A. M. 1759, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2245, &c.

Riphæan Mountains; and *Togarmah*, of Part of *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*.

THE Sons of *Javan* were *Eliſhah*, who ſeated himſelf in *Peloponneſus*; *Tarſhiſh*, in *Spain*; *Kittim*, in *Italy*; and *Dodanim*, *(b)* (otherwiſe call'd *Rhodanim)* in *France*, not far from the Banks of the River *Roſne*, to which he ſeems to have given the Name. By theſe, and the Colonies, which, in ſome Space of Time, proceeded from them, not only a conſiderable Part of *Aſia*, but all *Europe*, and the Iſlands adjacent, were ſtock'd with Inhabitants; and the ſeveral Inhabitants were ſo ſettled and diſpos'd of, that each Tribe or Family, who ſpake the ſame Language, kept together in one Body, and (how diſtant ſoever in their Situation) continu'd, for ſome Time at leaſt, their Relation to the People, or Nation from whom *originally* they ſprang.

Of Shem.

SHEM, the ſecond Son of *Noah* (and from whom the *Hebrew* Nation did deſcend) had himſelf five Sons; whereof *Elam* took Poſſeſſion of a Country in *Perſia*, call'd after *himſelf* at firſt, but, in the Time of *Daniel*, it obtain'd the Name of *Suſiana*; *Aſſur*, of *Aſſyria*; *Arphaxad*, of *Chaldæa*; *Lud*, of *Lydia*; and *Aram*, of *Syria*, as far as the *Mediterranean* Sea.

THE Sons of *Aram* were *Uz*, who ſeated himſelf in the Country of *Damaſcus*; *Hull*, near *Cholobatene* in *Armenia*; *Maſh*, near the Mountain *Maſius*; and *Gether*, in Part of *Meſopotamia*.

ARPHAXAD had a Son nam'd *Salah*, who ſettled near *Suſiana*, and begat *Eber* (the Father of the *Hebrew* Nation) who had likewiſe two Sons; *Peleg*, whoſe Name imports *Diviſion*, becauſe, in his Days, Mankind was divided into ſeveral Colonies; and *Jocktan*, who had a large Offspring, to the Number of thirteen Sons, all ſeated in *Arabia Felix*, and who, in all Probability, were the Progenitors of ſuch People and Nations, as, in thoſe Parts, in after Ages, had ſome Affinity to their ſeveral Names. For here it was, that the *Allumæotæ*, who took their Name from *Almodad*, the *Selapeni*, from *Sheleph*, and the *Abalitæ*, from *Obal*, &c. liv'd, *viz.* from that Part of *Arabia*, which lies between *Muſa*, a (famous Sea-Port in the *Red-Sea)* and the Mountain *Climax*, which was formerly call'd *Sephar*, from a City of that Name, built at the Bottom of it, and then the *Metropolis* of the whole Country.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

HAM, the youngeſt Son of *Noah*, had four Sons; whereof *Cuſh* ſettled his Abode in that Part of *Arabia*, which lies towards *Egypt*; *Mizraim*, in both *Upper* and *Lower* Egypt; *Phut*, in Part of *Lybia*, and *Canaan*, in the Land, which was afterwards call'd by his Name, and in other adjacent Countries.

And of Ham.

THE Sons of *Cuſh* were *Seba*, who ſettled on the South-Weſt Part of *Arabia*; *Habilah*, who gave Name to a Country upon the River *Piſon*, where it parts with *Euphrates*, to run into the *Arabian Gulf*; *Sabtah*, who liv'd on the ſame Shore (but a little more Northward) of the *Arabian Gulf*; *Raamah*, who, with his two Sons, *Sheba* and *Dedan*, occupied the ſame Coaſt, but a little more Eaſtward; and *Sabtecha*, who (we need not doubt) plac'd himſelf among the reſt of his Brethren. But, among all the Sons of *Cuſh*, *Nimrod* was the Perſon, who, in theſe early Days, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Bravery and Courage. His Lot chanc'd to fall into a Place, that was not a little infeſted with wild Beaſts; and therefore he betook himſelf to the Exerciſe of Hunting, and, drawing together a Company of ſtout young Fellows, not only clear'd the Country of ſuch dangerous Creatures, but, procuring himſelf likewiſe great Honour and Renown by his other Exploits, he rais'd himſelf at length to the Dignity of a *King*, (the firſt King that is ſuppos'd to have been in the World) and, having made *Babylon* the Seat of his Empire, laid the Foundation of three other Cities, *viz. Erech*, *Accad*, and *Calneth*, in the neighbouring Provinces; and ſo, paſſing into *Aſſyria*, and enlarging his Territories there, he built *Nineveh*, *Rehoboth*, *Calah*, and *Reſen*, (which was afterwards call'd *Lariſſa)* ſituate upon the

(b) 1 Chron. i. 7.

A. M. 1759, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 2245, &c.

the *Tygris*. But to return to the Remainder of *Ham*'s Poſterity.

Mizraim, his ſecond Son, became King of *Egypt*, which, after his Death, was divided into three Kingdoms by three of his Sons; *Ananim*, who was King of *Tanis*, or *Lower-Egypt*, call'd afterwards *Delta*; *Naphtulim*, who was King of *Naph*, or *Memphis*, in *Upper-Egypt*; and *Pathruſim*, who ſet up the Kingdom of *Pathros*, or *Thebes*, in *Thebais*. *Ludim* and *Lehabim* peopled *Lybia*: *Caſlubim* fix'd himſelf at *Caſhiotis*, in the Entrance of *Egypt* from *Paleſtine*; and, having two Sons, *Philiſtim* and *Caphterim*, the latter he left to ſucceed him at *Caſhiotis*, and the former planted the Country of the *Philiſtines*, between the Borders of *Canaan* and the *Mediterranean-Sea*. The Sons of *Canaan* were *Sidon*, the Father of the *Sidonians*, who liv'd in *Phœnicia*; *Heth*, the Father of the *Hittites*, who liv'd near *Hebron*; *Emor*, the Father of the *Amorites*, who liv'd in the Mountains of *Judea*; and *Arvad*, the Father of the *Arvadites*, not far from *Sidon*: But whether the other Sons of *Canaan* ſettled in this Country, cannot be determin'd with any Certainty and Exactneſs; only we muſt take Care to place them ſomewhere between *Sidon*, and *Gerar*, and *Admah*, and *Zeboim*; for theſe were the Boundaries of their Land.

Upon the whole then we may obſerve, that the Poſterity of *Japhet* came into the Poſſeſſion, not only of all *Europe*, but of a conſiderable Portion of *Aſia*: *(c)* For two of his Sons, *Tiras* and *Javan*, together with their Deſcendants, had all thoſe Countries, which, from the *Mediterranean-Sea*, reach as far as *Scandinavia Northward*; and his other Sons, from the *Mediterranean*, extended themſelves *Eaſtward* over almoſt all *Aſia Minor*, and Part of *Armenia*, over *Media*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, and thoſe vaſt Regions toward the *North*, where formerly the *Scythians*, but now the *Tartars*, dwell: That the Poſterity of *Ham* held in their Poſſeſſion all *Africa*, and no ſmall Part of *Aſia*; *(d)* *Mizraim*, both the *Upper*, *Lower*, and *Middle Egypt*, *Marmarica*, and *Ethiopia*, both Eaſt and Weſt; *Phut* the Remainder of *Africa*, *Lybia*, *Interior* and *Exterior*, *Numidia*, *Mauritania*, *Getulia*, &c. *Cuſh*, all *Arabia*, that lies between the *Red-Sea* and the Gulf, beyond the *Gulf*, *Carmania*, and no ſmall Part of *Perſia*, and towards the North of *Arabia*, (till expell'd by *Nimrod*) *Babylonia*, and Part of *Chaldæa*: And *Canaan*, *Paleſtine*, *Phœnicia*, Part of *Cappadocia*, and that large Tract of Ground along the *Euxine-Sea*, even as far as *Colchis*: And that the Poſterity of *Shem* had in their Poſſeſſion Part both of the *Greater* and *Leſſer Aſia*; *(e)* in the *Leſſer*, *Lydia*, *Myſia*, and *Cares*; and in the *Greater*, *Aſſyria*, *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Armenia*, *Suſiana*, *Arabia Felix*, &c. and perhaps *Eaſtward*, all the Countries, as far as *China*. From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

These are the Plantations *(f)* *of the Families of the Sons of* Noah, *in their Generations*, and after this Manner *were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood*. And now to deſcend to a more particular Account of the Poſterity of his Son *Shem*, from whom the *Hebrews*, (who are the proper Subjects of our Hiſtory) were deſcended.

Two Years after the Flood, when *Shem* was 100 Years old, he had a Son nam'd *Arphaxad*; after which Time, he liv'd 500 Years; ſo that the whole of his Life was 600. A. M. 1658.

Arphaxad, when 35, had a Son nam'd *Salah*; after which he liv'd 403; in all 438. A. M. 1693.

Salah, when 30, had a Son nam'd *Eber* (from whom his Deſcendants were call'd *Hebrews*) after which he liv'd 403 Years; in all 433. A. M. 1723.

Eber, when 34, had a Son nam'd *Peleg*, in whoſe Time (as we ſaid) the Earth came to be divided; after which he liv'd 430 Years; in all 464. A. M. 1757.

Peleg,

(c) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. I Exercit. 22. Sect. 1. *(d)* *Ibid.* Sect. 2. *(e)* *Ibid.* Sect. 3. *(f)* Gen. x. 32.

A. M. 1759, &c. Ant. Chrif. 2245, &c.

PELEG, when 30, had a Son nam'd *Reu*, after which he liv'd 209 Years; in all 239.

A. M. 1787. A. M. 1819.

REU, when 32, had a Son nam'd *Serug*; after which he liv'd 207 Years; in all 239.

A. M. 1849.

SERUG, when 30, had a Son nam'd *Nahor*; after which he liv'd 200 Years; in all 230.

A. M. 1878.

NAHOR, when 29, had a Son nam'd *Terah*; after which he liv'd 119 Years; in all 148. But, of all theſe Perſons, it muſt be remark'd, that they had ſeveral other Children of both Sexes, tho' not recorded in this Hiſtory.

A. M. 1948.

TERAH, when 70, (for he was not bleſs'd with Children ſooner) had three Sons, one after another, *Abram*, *Nahor*, and *Haran*; whereof *Haran*, the eldeſt, died before his Father, in his native Country of *Ur*, leaving behind him one Son, whoſe Name was *Lot*, and two Daughters, whereof the Elder, *viz. Milcah*, was marry'd to her Uncle *Nahor*, and the Younger, († whoſe Name was *Sarai*) was marry'd to her Uncle *Abram*; but, at this Time, ſhe was barren, and had no Children.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

A. M. 1997.

THE Corruption of Mankind was now become general; and *Idolatry* and *Polytheiſm* began to ſpread like a Contagion, * the People of *Ur*, in particular, *(g)* (as is ſuppos'd by the Signification of the Name) worſhipp'd the Element of Fire, which was always thought a proper *Symbol* of the *Sun*, that univerſal God of the *Eaſt*. *Terah*, the Father of *Abram*, *(h)* was certainly a Companion (ſome ſay a Prieſt) of thoſe, who ador'd ſuch *ſtrange Gods*; nor was *Abram* himſelf (as 'tis generally imagin'd) uninfected. But God, being minded to ſelect this Family out of the reſt of Mankind, and in them to eſtabliſh his Church, order'd *Terah* to leave the Place of his Habitation, which was then corrupted in this Manner, which, accordingly, he did, and taking with him his Son *Abram* and his Wife, together with his Grandſon *Lot*, left *Ur*, with an Intent to go into *Canaan*; but, in his Journey, fell ſick at * *Haran*, a City of *Meſopotamia*, where being forc'd to make his Abode for ſome Time, ‖ in the 145th Year of his Age he there died.

† 'Tis very probable, that *Sarai* was call'd *Iſcah*, before ſhe left *Ur*; becauſe, in the 29th Verſe, we read that *Haran* had a Daughter of that Name, and yet we cannot ſuppoſe, but that, had ſhe been a diſtinct Perſon, *Moſes* would have given us an Account of her Deſcent, becauſe it ſo much concern'd his Nation to know from whom they came both by the Father and Mother's Side. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* The City of *Ur* was in *Chaldee*, as the Scripture aſſures us in more Places than one; but ſtill its true Situation is not ſo well known. For ſome think it to be the ſame as *Camarina* in *Babylonia*; others confound it with *Orcha*, or *Orche*, or *Chaldea*; while others again take it to be *Ura*, or *Sura*, upon the Banks of the River *Euphrates*. *Bochart* and *Grotius* maintain, that it is *Ura*, in the Eaſtern Part of *Meſopotamia*, which was ſometimes (as it appears from *Acts* vii. 2, 4.) included under the Name *Chaldea*; and this Situation ſeems the more probable, not only becauſe it agrees with the Words of St *Stephen* in the above cited Place, but with the Writings of *Ammianus Marcellinus* likewiſe, who himſelf travell'd this Country, and mentions a City of this Name, in the Place, where *Bochart* ſuppoſes it, about two Days Journey from *Niſibis*. *Wells*'s Geography, Vol. I.

(g) Vid. *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Ur*. *(h)* Joſ. xxiv. 2, 14.

* *Haran*, which is likewiſe call'd *Charan*, according to the *Hebrew*, and *Charran*, according to the *Greek* Pronunciation, was a City ſituated in the *Weſt*, or *North-Weſt* Part of *Meſopotamia*, on a River of the ſame Name, which very probably runs into the River *Chaboras*, as that does into the *Euphrates*. It is taken Notice of by *Latin* Writers, on Account of the great Overthrow, which the *Parthians* gave the *Roman* Army, under the Command of *Craſſus*, and, as ſome think, had its Name given by *Terah*, in Memory of *Haran*, his deceas'd Son. But others think it is much better deriv'd from the Word *Hharar*, which denotes its Soil to be *hot* and *aduſt*, as it appears to be from a Paſſage out of *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Craſſus*, and ſeveral other antient Teſtimonies. Vid. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, *Wells*'s Geography, and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary *in Locum*.

‖ St *Stephen* (in *Acts* vii. 4.) tells us, that, after the Death of his Father, *Abraham* remov'd from *Haran*, or, as he calls it, *Charran*, to the Land of *Canaan*. In *Gen.* xii. 4. we are told, that *Abram* was *ſeventy five Years old, when he departed out of* Charran. In *Gen.* xi. 26. it is ſaid, that *Terah* was *ſeventy Years old, when he begat* Abram; and yet, in *ver.* 32. of the ſame Chapter, it is affirm'd, that *he died, being two hundred and five Years old.* But, at this Rate, *Terah* muſt have liv'd ſixty Years after *Abraham*'s going from *Haran:* For 75, (the Number of *Abram*'s Years, when he left *Haran)* being added to 70, the Number of *Terah*'s Years, when he begat *Abram*, make 145 Years only; whereas the Account in *Geneſis* is, that he liv'd 205. This therefore muſt certainly proceed from a Fault crept into the Text of *Moſes*; becauſe of the two hundred and five Years, which are given to *Terah*, when he died at *Haran*, he only liv'd an hundred and forty-five, according to the *Samaritan* Verſion, and the *Samaritan* Chronicle, which, without Doubt, do agree with the *Hebrew* Copy, from which they were tranſlated. *An Eſſay for a New Tranſlation.*

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chrif. 2007, &c.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

The OBJECTION.

" BUT how well ſoever we may " think it comports with the Cha- " racter of a good Hiſtorian, to entertain " us with a dry *Catalogue* of Names, and " of Names which never once more ap- " pear upon the Stage of Action; to tell " us, that ſuch an one, at ſuch a Time, " begat ſuch an one, and then died, aged " ſo and ſo, without entering any further " into his Story, or acquainting us with " one Tittle of the Tranſactions of his " Life; yet ſure we cannot think, that " his Account of the *Origin* of Nations, " or the Plantation of Mankind over the " Face of the Earth, can be either ratio- " nal, or conſiſtent. In little more than " the Space of a hundred Years, to ſup- " poſe Mankind ſo far increas'd, as to be " able to ſend out Colonies, from the " Center of their Diſperſion, to all the " Parts of the then-known World, is " ſomewhat unaccountable; but then to " make *Infants*, mere Infants, or Perſons, " who perhaps, at that Time, were un- " born, the *Chiefs* and *Leaders* of theſe " Colonies; to give them Countries, which " they never ſaw, and theſe Countries " Names, which they never could deſerve, " is a Thing vaſtly abſurd, and what ar- " gues, at leaſt, a ſtrange Forgetfulneſs in " our Author.

" *PELEG*, for Inſtance, could not " have been long born, and *Jocktan*, his " younger Brother (much more *Jocktan*'s " Sons) can ſcarce be ſuppos'd to have " been born, when the Diſperſion hap- " pen'd; and yet they are repreſented " both as *Heads*, and *Princes* of Families; " one conducting his People to † the " Southern Parts of *Meſopotamia*, and " the other, with his numerous Family, " taking Poſſeſſion of † a good Share of " *Arabia Fœlix*. And whereas it is ſaid " of the Sons of *Japhet*, that, *by them " were the Iſles of the* Gentiles *divided in- " to their Lands*, 'tis manifeſt, from the " Account of *Moſes* himſelf, that the " Places, which he aſſigns for their Habi- " tation, were all upon the Continent; " nor were the Iſlands of *Europe* peopled, " till many Generations, after this *Period*, " were paſs'd and gone.

" THE Deſign of *Moſes*, no doubt, is " to evince, that all the preſent Inha- " bitants of the World deſcended origi- " nally from the three Sons of *Noah*; " but, beſides the great Difficulty of ſet- " tling the ſeveral Nations in any tole- " rable Manner, according to the *Char- " tel*, which he has given us, there muſt " of Neceſſity have been People in the " World, either eſcap'd from the Flood, " or *Self-originated*, before this *Æra* of " their Diſperſion.

" BETWEEN the Flood and this Diſ- " perſion, the Space is little more than " a hundred Years: *Ninus* is plac'd by " many *Chronologers* in this firſt Century: " But, ſuppoſe him conſiderably later, he " is far from being the firſt Founder of " the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy. *Belus* preced- " ed him, and ſeveral Kings there were " before *Belus*: But now, how can this " agree with the Propagation of Mankind " from the Sons of *Noah*? Some petty " States might perhaps be erected; but it " is impoſſible to conceive, that the Foun- " dation of ſo great an Empire ſhou'd be " laid, in ſo ſmall a Compaſs of Time, by " the Poſterity of three Perſons.

" THE Records, and *aſtronomical* Ob- " ſervations of ſome Countries, reach- " ing much lower than the *Moſaick* Date " of the Flood; the Hiſtory of *China*, " and

† It is not unlikely, that either *Peleg*, or ſome of his Poſterity, gave Name to a Town upon *Euphrates*, call'd *Phalga*, not far from the Place, where the River *Chaboras* runs into it. *Patrick*'s Comment.

† The *Arabians*, 'tis certain, do avowedly derive their Original from *Jocktan*, and herein they may as well be credited, as the *Europeans*, who pretend to be ſprung from *Japetus*, or *Japhet*; or the *Africans*, who will have *Ham*, or *Jupiter-Hammon*, for their Founder. There is moreover, in the Territories of *Mecha*, a City, which, even to this Day, is called *Baiſath-Jecktan*, i. e. the *Seat and Habitation of* Jecktan, very remarkable for the Elegancy of its Buildings, the Pleaſure of its Situation, and Plenty of its Fountains. *Patrick* and *Le Clerc*'s Comment.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 2007, &c.

" and the State and Grandeur of other " *Eaſtern* Nations, in Times as antient, " as any mention'd in *profane* Hiſtory, to- " gether with the *Maturity* of *civil* Diſ- " cipline and Government, of Learning " and Inventions of all Kinds, before ever " *Greece* or *Italy*, or any other *Weſtern* " People, grew to be at all conſiderable, " are a ſufficient Argument that theſe Peo- " ple were no Deſcendants of *Noah*; or, " that if they were, that there muſt be a " groſs Miſtake in Point of Computation. " For (to take one Argument more from " *Moſes* himſelf) from the Flood to the " Time of *Abraham* (according to the " *Hebrew* Account) were much about 305 " Years; and yet, in that Patriarch's " Days, the World was ſo well repleniſh'd " and Dominions ſo well eſtabliſh'd, that " we read of ſeveral Kings encountering " one another; by which it is evident, " that the Earth had been peopled ſome " Time before, or otherwiſe there cou'd " not have been ſuch potent Princes, as " ſome of them are repreſented to be at " that Time.

" THE Difficulties then, in the *Moſaick* Account, of the *Origin* of Na- " tions, being ſo many, and ſo inſuperable, " it may not perhaps be deem'd ſo abſurd " a Thing, that ſeveral others Nations " (as well as the *Greeks* and *Egyptians)* " have own'd no Founder, but profeſs'd " themſelves *Aborigines*, or the firſt In- " habitants of the Countries, where they " liv'd. And without ſome ſuch Suppo- " ſition, what can we ſay for the Natives " of *America*, a large *Continent*, which " *Moſes* makes no Mention of, and yet, " upon its firſt Diſcovery, was found " ſtock'd with a competent Number of " Inhabitants, though it apparently has no " Connection, and, conſequently, could " have no Communication, with any other " Parts of the Globe? Who was their " great Progenitor? What *Chief*, of all " the Race of *Noah*, firſt diſcover'd the " Paſſages, that have ever ſince been loſt, " and carry'd a Colony into this *New* " *World*, which could, none of them, " find their Way back again? Theſe Que- " ſtions we expect to be reſolv'd in, or " otherwiſe we may be permitted to con- " clude, that the Inhabitants of this Part " of the World had better Fate than thoſe " of the other, in eſcaping the Rage of " the Waters, and ſo ſurviving the *Flood*."

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

Anſwer'd by ſhewing why Moſes *ſets down* Genealogies.

IT may ſeem not a little ſtrange to ſome perhaps, why *Moſes*, in his Account of the Times, both preceding and ſubſequent to the Flood, ſhould be ſo particular in ſetting down the *Genealogies* of the Patriarchs; but he, who conſiders, that this was the common Method of recording Hiſtory in thoſe Days, will ſoon perceive, that he had Reaſon ſufficient for what he did, namely, to give Content and Satisfaction to the Age, wherein he wrote. We indeed, according to the preſent Taſte, think theſe Genealogies but heavy Reading; nor are we at all concern'd *who begat whom*, in a Period, that ſtands at ſo diſtant a Proſpect; but the People, for whom *Moſes* wrote, had the Things either before their Eyes, or recent in their Memories. They ſaw a great Variety of Nations around them, different in their Manners and Cuſtoms, as well as their Denominations. The Names whereby they were then called, were not to them ſo antique and obſolete, as they are to us. They knew their Meaning, and were acquainted with their Derivation. And therefore it was no ſmall Pleaſure to them, to obſerve, as they read along, the gradual Increaſe of Mankind; how the *Stem* of *Noah* ſpread itſelf into *Branches* almoſt innumerable, and how from ſuch and ſuch a Progenitor, ſuch and ſuch a Nation, whoſe Hiſtory and Adventures they were no Strangers to, did ariſe. Nor can it be leſs than ſome Satisfaction to us, even at this mighty Diſtance, to perceive, that, after ſo many Ages, the Change of *Languages*, and the Alteration of Names, brought in by Variety of *Conqueſts*, we are ſtill able to trace the Footſteps of the Names recorded by *Moſes*; by the Help of

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of theſe can * diſcover thoſe antient Nations, which deſcended from them, and, with a little Care and Application, the particular Regions, which they once inhabited; whereof the beſt *Heathen Geographers*, without the Aſſiſtance of theſe ſacred Records, were never in a Capacity ſo much as to give us a tolerable Gueſs.

But there is a farther Reaſon for our *Hiſtorian*'s writing in this Manner. God had promis'd to *Adam*, and, in him, to all his Poſterity, a *Reſtoration* in the Perſon of the *Meſſiah*. This Promiſe was renew'd to *(i) Noah*, and afterwards confirm'd to *Abraham*, the great Founder of the *Jewiſh* Nation. Fit therefore it was, in this Regard, that he ſhould record exact *Genealogies*, and that all other ſacred Hiſtorians ſhou'd ſucceſſively do the ſame: Nor can we ſufficiently admire the Divine Wiſdom, in ſettling ſuch a Method, in the Beginning of the World, by *Moſes*, and carrying it on by the Prophets, as might be of general Uſe, as long as the World ſhould laſt. For, as the Expectation of the *Meſſiah* put the *Jews* upon keeping an exact Account of all their *Genealogies*; ſo, when *Chriſt* came into the World, it was evident, beyond Diſpute, that he was of the *Seed of* Abraham, *of the Tribe of* Judah, and of the Lineage of *David*, according to the Promiſes, which had, from Time to Time, being recorded of him.

That the Heads *of all the Nations, then exiſting, are not ſet down.*

It is well worth our Obſervation however, that, in the Catalogue, which *Moſes* gives us of the Deſcendants of *Noah*, he makes Mention of no more than *ſixteen* Sons of the three Brothers, or principal Founders of ſo many *original* Nations; nor of any more than *ſeven* of theſe ſixteen, of whom it is recorded, that they had any Children; and even of theſe ſeven, there is *one* (we may obſerve) whoſe Children are not number'd. *(k)* But it is not to be imagin'd, that in two or three hundred Years, upon a *moderate* Calculation, or even but in an hundred Years, at the *loweſt* Account, *Noah* ſhou'd have had no more than ſixteen Grandſons, and that, of theſe too, the Majority ſhou'd go childleſs to the Grave: It is much more likely, or rather ſelf-evident, that the nine Grandſons, of whom we find nothing in Scripture, were nevertheleſs Fathers of Nations, as well as any of the reſt, and not only of *original* Nations, call'd after their Names, but of leſſer and *ſubordinate* Tribes, call'd after their Sons Names: And (what makes the Amount to ſeem much leſs) there is Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that, how many ſoever the Grandchildren of *Noah* were, we have in this tenth Chapter of *Geneſis*, the Names of thoſe only, who were *Patriarchs* of great Nations, and only of ſuch Nations, as were, in the Days of *Moſes*, known to the *Hebrews*. For, if we read it attentively, we ſhall perceive, *(l)* that the Deſign of the holy Penman is not to preſent us with an exact Enumeration of all *Noah*'s Deſcendants (which wou'd have been infinite) no, nor to determine who were the leading Men above all the reſt: but only to give us a *Catalogue*, or general Account, of the Names of ſome certain Perſons, deſcended of each of *Noah*'s Children,

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

* Thoſe, who have undertaken to give us an Account of the ſeveral Countries aſſign'd to *Noah*'s Poſterity, have laid down certain Rules, as *Landmarks*, to direct our Enquiry into the Original of each particular Nation. They tell us, that wherever we find the Scripture aſſigning any Portion, or Tract of Land, to any Branch of *Noah*'s Poſterity, we may reſt aſſur'd, that that particular Branch, or, at leaſt, the major Part of it, ſettled itſelf there: That the Families or Tribes of any Nation are continually rank'd in that Nation; ſo that, wherever we find the Nation, there we may expect to find the Family likewiſe, unleſs there be apparent Evidence of their Tranſplantation: That, when two, or more of theſe Nations are mention'd together, 'tis highly probable, that they were either both ſeated together, or lay in a very near Neighbourhood to each other: That, when two Nations or Tribes happen to be incorporated into one, the Name of one of them is generally ſwallow'd up by the other, and always goes along with the *greater*: That all *original* Plantations ought to be ſought for within a reaſonable Compaſs of Earth, from the *Center* of their Diſperſion, from whence they might, in Colonies, afterwards extend themſelves into ſtill remoter Parts: That the Origin of Nations, and their Cognation and Affinity to one another, are to be judg'd of by the Agreement of Languages, the Remainders of antient Names, the Hiſtory of Nations, monumental Inſcriptions, and a Conformity of Manners and Cuſtoms; and that laſtly, according to theſe *Criteria*, we ſhall find, that the Race of *Shem*, ſettled chiefly in *Aſia*; thoſe of *Ham*, Part in *Aſia*, and Part in *Africa*; and the greater Part of thoſe of *Japhet* in *Europe*; ſo that *Shem* was ſituate in the *Eaſt*, with *Japhet* on the *North*, and *Ham* on the *South*.

(i) Vid. Bp. *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy. *(k)* Biblioth. Bibl. Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 17. *(l) Shuckford*'s Connect. l. 3.

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dren, who became famous in their Generations; and ſo paſs them by, as having not Space enough in his Hiſtory to purſue them more minutely. For we may obſerve, that the conſtant Practice of our Author (as it is indeed of all other good Authors) is to cut Things ſhort, that do not properly relate to his Purpoſe; and, when he is haſtening to his main Point, to mention *curſorily* ſuch Perſons, as were remarkable (though not the Subject he is to handle) in the Times whereof he treats.

THUS, in the *Entrance* of his Hiſtory, his Buſineſs was to attend to the Line of *Seth*, and therefore, when he comes to mention the oppoſite Family of *Cain*, *(m)* he only reckons up *eight* of them, and theſe the rather, becauſe they were the real *Inventors* of ſome particular Arts, which the *Egyptians* vainly laid Claim to. And, in like Manner, when he comes to the Life of *Iſaac*, *Jacob*'s was the next Line, wherein his Hiſtory was to run, and therefore he contents himſelf with giving us a Catalogue of ſome of *Eſau*'s Race, but ſuch of them only, as were, in After-Ages, *(n) the Dukes of* Edom, *according to their Habitations, in the Land of their Poſſeſſion*, as he expreſſes it. Unleſs therefore, we wou'd deſire it in an Author, that he ſhould be luxuriant, and run wild, we cannot, with any Colour of Reaſon, blame the Divine Hiſtorian for ſtopping ſhort upon proper Occaſions; for had he purſu'd all the Families, deſcended from *Noah*, into their ſeveral Plantations, and there given us the Hiſtory of all their various Adventures, *the World*, we may almoſt ſay, *wou'd not have contain'd the Books*, which he muſt have *written*.

The World peopled gradually.

WHAT Grounds there may be for the Suppoſition, I cannot tell; but to me there ſeems to be no Reaſon, why we ſhou'd be oblig'd to maintain, that all the Parts of the habitable World were peopled at once, immediately after the Confuſion of Languages. The Hiſtorian, indeed, ſpeaking of the Perſons he had juſt enumerated, gives us to know, that *(o) by theſe were the Nations divided after the Flood*; but, how long after the Flood, he does not intimate: So that there is no Occaſion to underſtand the Words, as tho' he meant, that, either by *theſe only*, or by theſe *immediately*, or by theſe *all at once*, was the Earth repleniſh'd; but only, that among others *(unmention'd*, becauſe not ſo well known to the *Jews)* there were ſo many Perſons of Figure, deſcended from the Sons of *Noah*, who, ſome at one Time, and ſome at another, became Heads of Nations, and had, by their Deſcendants, Countries call'd after their Names; ſo that, *(p)* by them the *Nations were divided*, i. e. People were broken into different Nations *on the Earth*, not all at once, or immediately upon the Confuſion, but at ſeveral Times, as their Families increas'd and ſeparated *after the Flood*.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

FOR, conſidering that the Number of Mankind was then *comparatively ſmall*, and the Diſtance of Countries, from the Place of their Diſperſion, *immenſely* wide; 'tis more reaſonable to think, that theſe ſeveral Plantations were made at different Times, and by a gradual Progreſſion. *Moſes* indeed informs us, that the Earth was portion'd out among the Children of *Noah*, *after their Tongues:* Suppoſing then, that the Number of Languages was, according to the Number of the Heads of Nations, *ſixteen*, theſe ſixteen Companies iſſu'd out of *Babel* at ſeparate Times, and by ſeparate Routs, and ſo took Poſſeſſion of the next adjacent Country, whereunto they were to go. Here they had not ſettled long, before the daily Increaſe of the People made the Bounds of their Habitation too narrow; whereupon the ſucceeding Generation, under the Conduct of ſome other Leader, leaving the Place in Poſſeſſion of ſuch, as car'd not to move, penetrated farther into the Country, and there ſettling again, and again becoming too numerous, ſent forth freſh Colonies into the Places, they found unoccupy'd; till, by this Way of Progreſſion on each Side, from the *Center* to every Point of the *Circumference*,

(m) Gen. iv. *(n)* Ch. xxxvi. 43. *(o)* Ch. x. 32. *(p)* *Shuckford's* Connection, Vol. I. l. 3.

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To this Purpoſe we are to remember, that we are not to make our Computation according to the preſent Standard of human Life, which, * ſince the Time of the Flood, is vaſtly abbreviated; that the Strength of Conſtitution, neceſſary to the Procreation of Children, which, by a continued Courſe of Temperance, and Simplicity of Diet, then prevail'd, is now, by an Induction of all Manner of Riot and Exceſs, ſadly impair'd; and that the Divine *Benediction*, which, in a particular Manner, was then pour'd out upon the Children of *Noah*, cou'd not but prove effectual to the more than ordinary Multiplication of Mankind; ſo that Length of Days, aſſiſted by the Bleſſing of God, and attended with a confirm'd State of Health, cou'd not but make a manifeſtly great Difference between their Caſe and ours.

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That Kingdoms *at this Time were but ſmall.*

BUT, allowing the Number, at this Time, to be not near ſo large, as even the *common* Computation makes it; yet we are to remember, that, at the firſt Planting of any Country, an Handful of Men (as it were) took up a large Tract of Ground. *(r)* At their firſt Diviſion, they were ſcatter'd into ſmaller Bodies, and ſeated themſelves at a conſiderable Diſtance from one another, the better to prevent the *Increaſe of the Beaſts of the Field upon them.* Theſe ſmall Companies had each of them one Governor, who, in *Edom*, ſeems to be call'd *(s)* a *Duke*, and in *Canaan*, *(t)* a *King* (whereof there were no leſs, in that ſmall Country, than *one and thirty* at one Time): But of what Power, or military Force, theſe ſeveral Princes were, we may learn from this one Paſſage in *Abraham*'s Life, *viz.* that *(u)* when *Chedorlaomer*, in Conjunction with three other Kings, had defeated the Kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, with three Kings more, that came to their Aſſiſtance, plunder'd their Country, and taken away *Lot* and his Family, who, at this Time, ſojourn'd in theſe Parts; *Abraham*, with no more than 318 of his own *Domeſticks*, purſues the Conquerors, engages them, beats them, and, together with his Nephew *Lot*, and all his Subſtance, recovers the Spoil of the Country, which theſe confederate Kings were carrying away. A plain Proof this, one wou'd think, that this Multitude of Kings, which were now in the World, were *titular*, rather than *real*; and that they had none of them any great Number of Subjects under their Command. For though *Canaan* was certainly a very fruitful Land, and may therefore be preſum'd to be better ſtor'd with Inhabitants, than any of its neighbouring Provinces; yet we find, that when *Abraham* and *Lot* firſt came into it, though *(x) they had Flocks, and Herds, and Tents, that the Land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together*; yet, as ſoon as they were ſeparated, they found no Difficulty to ſettle, in any Part thereof, with the reſt of its Inhabitants.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

The Kingdom *of* Aſſyria *in particular.*

How great ſoever the Growth of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy became at laſt, yet we have too little Certainty of the Time, when it began, ever to queſtion, upon that Account, the Truth of the Propagation of the World by the Sons of *Noah*. *Ninus* (whom profane Hiſtory generally accounts the firſt Founder of it) is plac'd, *(y)* by one of our greateſt *Chronologers*, in the 2737th Year of the World, according to the *Hebrew* Computation; ſo that, living in the Time of the *Judges*, he is ſuppos'd to have been Contemporary with *Deborah*; but *(z)* others think this a Date much too early. *Nimrod*, we muſt allow, founded a Kingdom at *Babylon*, and perhaps extended it into *Aſſyria*; but this Kingdom was but of ſmall Extent, if compar'd with the Empires which aroſe afterwards; and yet, had it been never ſo much greater, it cou'd not have been of any long Continuance, becauſe the Cuſtom, in thoſe early Days, was, for the Father to divide his Territories among his Sons. After the Days of *Nimrod*, we hear no more in the *ſacred Records* of the *Aſſyrian*

(r) Bedford's Script. Chron. l. 1. c. 5. *(s)* Gen xxxvi. to the End. *(t)* Joſ. xii. 9. to the End. *(u)* Gen. xiv. *(x)* Gen. xiii. 5, 6. *(y) Uſher*'s Annot. Vet. Teſt. A. M. 2737. *(z) Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 4. and Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s Chron.

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taken in; if the Children, which *Noah* himſelf might poſſibly have, in the 350 Years, he liv'd after the Flood; which *Shem*, and his two Brothers, might have, in the laſt 160; which *Salah*, and his Contemporaries, might have, in the laſt 160; and which *Heber*, and his Contemporaries, might have, in the laſt 191 Years of their Lives (which are not reckon'd in the Account) together with the many more Grandſons of *Noah* and their Progeny, which, in all Probability (as we obſerv'd before) are not ſo much as mention'd in it; 'tis not to be imagin'd, how much theſe Additions will ſwell the Number of Mankind, to a prodigious Amount above the ordinary Calculation.

That Kingdoms *at this Time were but ſmall.*

BUT, allowing the Number, at this Time, to be not near ſo large, as even the *common* Computation makes it; yet we are to remember, that, at the firſt Planting of any Country, an Handful of Men (as it were) took up a large Tract of Ground. *(r)* At their firſt Diviſion, they were ſcatter'd into ſmaller Bodies, and ſeated themſelves at a conſiderable Diſtance from one another, the better to prevent the *Increaſe of the Beaſts of the Field upon them.* Theſe ſmall Companies had each of them one Governor, who, in *Edom*, ſeems to be call'd *(s)* a *Duke*, and in *Canaan*, *(t)* a *King* (whereof there were no leſs, in that ſmall Country, than *one and thirty* at one Time): But of what Power, or military Force, theſe ſeveral Princes were, we may learn from this one Paſſage in *Abraham*'s Life, *viz.* that *(u)* when *Chedorlaomer*, in Conjunction with three other Kings, had defeated the Kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, with three Kings more, that came to their Aſſiſtance, plunder'd their Country, and taken away *Lot* and his Family, who, at this Time, ſojourn'd in theſe Parts; *Abraham*, with no more than 318 of his own *Domeſticks*, purſues the Conquerors, engages them, beats them, and, together with his Nephew *Lot*, and all his Subſtance, recovers the Spoil of the Country, which theſe confederate Kings were carrying away. A plain Proof this, one wou'd think, that this Multitude of Kings, which were now in the World, were *titular*, rather than *real*; and that they had none of them any great Number of Subjects under their Command. For though *Canaan* was certainly a very fruitful Land, and may therefore be preſum'd to be better ſtor'd with Inhabitants, than any of its neighbouring Provinces; yet we find, that when *Abraham* and *Lot* firſt came into it, though *(x) they had Flocks, and Herds, and Tents, that the Land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together*; yet, as ſoon as they were ſeparated, they found no Difficulty to ſettle, in any Part thereof, with the reſt of its Inhabitants.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

The Kingdom *of* Aſſyria *in particular.*

HOW great ſoever the Growth of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy became at laſt, yet we have too little Certainty of the Time, when it began, ever to queſtion, upon that Account, the Truth of the Propagation of the World by the Sons of *Noah*. *Ninus* (whom profane Hiſtory generally accounts the firſt Founder of it) is plac'd, *(y)* by one of our greateſt *Chronologers*, in the 2737th Year of the World, according to the *Hebrew* Computation; ſo that, living in the Time of the *Judges*, he is ſuppos'd to have been Contemporary with *Deborah*; but *(z)* others think this a Date much too early. *Nimrod*, we muſt allow, founded a Kingdom at *Babylon*, and perhaps extended it into *Aſſyria*; but this Kingdom was but of ſmall Extent, if compar'd with the Empires which aroſe afterwards; and yet, had it been never ſo much greater, it cou'd not have been of any long Continuance, becauſe the Cuſtom, in thoſe early Days, was, for the Father to divide his Territories among his Sons. After the Days of *Nimrod*, we hear no more in the *ſacred Records* of the *Aſſyrian*

(r) Bedford's Script. Chron. l. 1. c. 5. *(s)* Gen xxxvi. to the End. *(t)* Joſ. xii. 9. to the End. *(u)* Gen. xiv. *(x)* Gen. xiii. 5, 6. *(y) Uſher*'s Annot. Vet. Teſt. A. M. 2737. *(z) Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 4. and Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s Chron.

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Aſſyrian Empire, till about the Year 3234, when we find *Pul* invading the Territories of *Iſrael*, and making *Menahem* tributary to him. 'Tis granted indeed, that the four Kings, who, in the Days of *Abraham*, invaded the Southern Coaſt of *Canaan*, came from the Countries, where *Nimrod* had reign'd, and perhaps were ſome of his Poſterity, who had ſhar'd his Conqueſts; but of what ſmall Significance ſuch Kings as theſe were, we are juſt now come from relating. *Seſac* and *Memnon*, two Kings of *Egypt*, were great Conquerors, and reign'd over *Chaldæa*, *Aſſyria*, and *Perſia*; and yet, in all their Hiſtories, there is not one Word of any Oppoſition, they receiv'd from the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy then ſtanding: And, tho' *Nineveh*, in the Time of *Joaſh*, King of *Iſrael*, was become a large City; yet it had not yet acquir'd that Strength, as not to be afraid (according to the Preaching of *Jonah*) of being invaded by its Neighbours, and deſtroyed within *forty Days*. Not long before this, it had freed itſelf indeed from the Dominion of *Egypt*, and had got a King of its own, but (what is very remarkable) *(a)* its King was not, as yet, call'd the King of *Aſſyria*, but only *(b)* the King of *Nineveh*; nor was his Proclamation for a Faſt publiſh'd in ſeveral Nations, no nor in all *Aſſyria*, but only in *Nineveh*, and perhaps the Villages adjacent: Whereas, when once they had eſtabliſh'd their Dominion at Home, ſecur'd all *Aſſyria* properly ſo call'd, and began now to make War upon their neighbouring Nations, their Kings were no longer call'd the *Kings of Nineveh*, but began to aſſume the Title of the *Kings of Aſſyria*. Theſe, and ſeveral more Inſtances, which the Author, I have juſt now cited, has produc'd, are ſufficient Arguments to prove, that the *Aſſyrians* were not the great People, ſome have imagin'd, in the early Times of the World; and that, if they made any Figure in *Nimrod*'s Days, it was all extinguiſh'd in the Reigns of his Succeſſors, and never reviv'd, until God, for the Puniſhment of the Wickedneſs of his own People, was pleas'd to raiſe them from Obſcurity, and, as the Scripture expreſſes it, *(c) ſtirred up the Spirit of* Pul, *and the Spirit of* Tiglath-Pilneſer, *King of* Aſſyria.

From Gen. x. to the End, and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

That the Antiquity of the Aſtronomical Obſervations *among the* Chaldees *is falſe.*

And, in like Manner, we may obſerve, that, whatever Noiſe has been made in the World with the *aſtronomical Obſervations* of the *Chaldeans*, which *Ariſtotle* is ſaid to have ſent into *Greece*, and, according to which, *Alexander* is thought to have taken *Babylon*, the Whole is a mere Fiction and Romance. There is nothing extant (as *(d)* a very good Judge of *antient and modern Learning* tells us) in the *Chaldaick* Aſtrology, of older Date, than the *Æra* of *Nabonaſſar*, which begins but 747 Years before Chriſt. *By this Æra, the* Chaldeans *computed their aſtronomical Obſervations, the firſt of which falls about the 27th Year of* Nabonaſſar; *and, all that we have of them, are only ſeven Eclipſes of the Moon, and even theſe, but very coarſely ſet down, and the oldeſt not above* 700 *Years before Chriſt.* And, to make ſhort of the Matter, the ſame Author informs us farther, *that the* Greeks *were the firſt practical Aſtronomers, who endeavour'd, in earneſt, to make themſelves Maſters of the Sciences; that* Thales *was the firſt, who could predict an Eclipſe in* Greece, *not* 600 *Years, and that* Hipparchus *made the firſt Catalogue of the fix'd Stars, not above* 650 *Years, before Chriſt.*

And that the Hiſtories of the Egyptians *and* Chineſe *accord with* Moſes.

What the Hiſtory of the *Egyptians* and *Chineſe*, and their boaſted Antiquity, is, we have had Occaſion to take notice *(e)* more than once, and need only here to add, that, bating that ſtrange Affectation, wherein they both agree, of being thought ſo many thouſand Years older, than they have any authentick Teſtimonies to produce; there is a manifeſt Analogy between the Scripture-Hiſtory, and what *Beroſus* has told us of the one, and *Martinius* of

(a) Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s Chronology, Ch. iii. *(b)* Jonah iii. *(c)* 1 Chron. v. 26. *(d)* *Wotton*'s Reflections, Ch. xxiii. *(e)* Vid. Apparatus, p. 43. and the Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 5.

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of the other: For (to refer the Reader to what we have obſerved from *Beroſus* concerning the *Egyptians*) *(f)* the Genealogy, which the *Chineſe* give us of the Family of their firſt Man, *Puoncuus*, ſeems to carry a near Reſemblance to *Moſes*'s Patriarchal Genealogies; *Thienhoang* their ſecond King's civilizing the World, anſwers very well to *Seth*'s ſettling the Principles, and reforming the Lives of Men; and *Fohi*'s fourth Succeſſor, whom they accuſe of deſtroying their ancient Religion, and introducing Idolatry, is plainly copy'd from the Hiſtory of *Nimrod*, who was probably the firſt Eſtabliſher of Idol Worſhip. So that, from theſe, and ſome other Particulars in their Hiſtory, we may be allow'd to conclude, that the antient *Chineſe* (as all other Nations did) agreed, in the Main, with *Moſes* in their Antiquities, and that the true Reaſon of their *Chronological* Difference is, that the Reigns of the *Chineſe* Kings (in the very ſame Manner, as the *Egyptian Dynaſties*) were not ſucceſſive, *(g)* but of ſeveral *Contemporary* Princes, who, at one and the ſame Time, had different and diſtinct Dominions.

The wild Pretences of Self-Origination *confuted.*

THE Want of certain Records of antient Times, and, conſequently, the groſs Ignorance, which ſome Nations labour'd under as to their *Original*, has thrown ſeveral into a wild Notion and Conceit, that they were *Self-originated*, came never from any other Place, and had never any primordial Founder or Progenitor. But now, whatever Hypotheſis they are minded to take; whether they ſuppoſe a Beginning, or no Beginning of human Generation; whether they ſuppoſe Men to have ſprung out of the *Sea*, or out of the *Land*; to have been produc'd from *Eggs* caſt into the *Matrix* of the Earth, or out of certain little *Puſtulæ*, or Fungoſities on its *Surface*; to have been begotten by the *Anima Mundi* in the Sun, or by an *Anima Terræ*, pervading the Body of this terraqueous Globe; to have been ſent forth into the World ſilently, and without Noiſe, or to have opened the Womb of their *common Mother* with loud Claps of Thunder: Take they which of theſe *Hypotheſes* they will, I ſay, and, when they once come to reaſon upon it, they will ſoon find themſelves hamper'd and entangled with Abſurdities, and Impoſſibilities almoſt innumerable.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

ALL Nations, to whom the Philoſophers, in ſearch after Knowledge, reſorted, had Memorials, we find, left among them, of the firſt Origin of Things; but the univerſal *Tradition* of the firſt Ages was far better preſerv'd among the *Eaſtern*, than *Weſtern* Nations, and theſe Memorials kept with greater Care by the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, than by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. *(h)* Among the *Greeks* however, when they firſt undertook to *philoſophize*, the Beginning of the World, with the gradual Progreſſion of its Inhabitants, was no Matter of Diſpute; but, that being taken for granted, the Enquiry was, *out of what Material Principles the Coſmical Syſtem was formed*; and *Ariſtotle*, arrogating to himſelf the Opinion of the World's Eternity as a *Noſtrum*, declar'd that all Mankind, before him, aſſerted the World's Creation.

FROM this wild Notion of *Ariſtotle*, in Oppoſition to an univerſal Tradition, and the Conſent of all Ages, the *Poets* took Occaſion to turn the Hiſtories of the oldeſt Times into *Fables*; and the Hiſtorians, in Requital and Courteſy to them, converted the Fables, which the Poets had invented, into *Hiſtories*, or rather popular Narratives; and moſt of the famous Nations of the Earth, that they might not be thought more *modern*, than any of their Neighbours, took Occaſion too of forging certain *Antiquities*, fooliſh *Genealogies*, extravagant *Calculations*, and the fabulous *Actions* and Exploits of *Gods* and *Heroes*, that they might thus add to their Nobility, by an imaginary *Anticipation* of Time, beyond the poſſible Limits, that cou'd be made known by any Pretence of Certainty.

(f) Biblioth. Bibl. in the Introduction, p. 77.

(g) M. *de Loubere*'s Hiſt. of *Siam*.

(h) Bibliotheca Biblica, Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. c. 17.

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THE wiser Sort of Men however saw into this; and, from the ordinary Increase and Propagation of Mankind, the Invention and Growth of Arts and Sciences, and the Advancements carry'd on in civil Discipline and Government, cou'd discern the Folly and Superstition of all such Romantick Pretensions: But then, having lost the true ancient *Tradition*, they were drove to the Necessity of a perpetual Vicissitude, either of *general* or *particular* Deluges; by which, when Things were come to their *Crisis* and Perfection, they were made to begin again, and all preceding Memoirs were supposed to be lost in these Inundations. But this is all a groundless Conjecture, a mere begging of the Question, and a Kind of *prophesying backwards* of such Alterations and *Revolutions*, as it is morally impossible for them to know any Thing of.

SINCE therefore an *eternal Succession* of Generations is loaded with a Multitude of insuperable Difficulties, and no valid Arguments are to be found, for making the World older, than our *sacred Books* do make it; since the presum'd Grandeur of the *Assyrian*, and other Monarchies, too soon after the Flood to be peopled by *Noah*'s Children, is a gross Mistake, and the Computations of the *Chaldeans*, and other Nations, from their Observations of the *celestial* Bodies, groundless and extravagant; since all the Pretensions of the several *Aborigines* are found to be ridiculous, and the more plausible Inventions of successive *Revolutions* entirely imaginary; since neither the *Self-originists*, nor the *Revolutionists*, even upon their own Principles, can account for what is most easily accounted for by the Writings of *Moses*; and (what is a farther Consideration) since † there are many Customs and Usages, both *civil* and *religious*, which have prevail'd in all Parts of the World, and can owe their Original to nothing else, but a general Institution; which Institution cou'd never have been, had not all Mankind been of the same Blood originally, and instructed in the same common Notices, before they were divided in the Earth: Since the Matter stands thus, I say, we have all the Reason in the World to believe, that this whole Narration of *Moses*, concerning the Origination of Mankind, their Destruction by the Flood, their Renovation by the Sons of *Noah*, their speedy Multiplication to a great Number, their Dispersion upon the Confusion of Languages, and their settling themselves in different Parts of the World, according to their Allotments, is true in Fact; because it is rational, and consistent with every Event; consonant to the Notions, we have of God's Attributes; and not repugnant to any System of either *antient* or *modern Geography*, that we know of.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

TIME indeed, and the *uncertain State* of Languages; the *different Pronunciation* of the same Word, according to the Dialect of different Nations; the *Alterations* of Names in several Places, and *Substitution* of others of the like Importance in the *vernacular* Tongue; the *disguising* of antient Stories in Fables, and frequently *mistaking* the Idiom of *oriental* Languages; the *Inundation* of *Barbarism* in many Countries, and the *Conquests* and *Revolutions*, generally introductive of new Names, which have happen'd *almost in all*; these, and several other Causes, create some Perplexity in determining the Places recorded by *Moses*, and ascertaining the Founder of each particular Nation: But still, notwithstanding these Disadvantages, we may, in some Measure, trace the Foot-steps of the Sons of *Noah*, issuing out from *Babel* into the different Quarters of the World, and,

And that we have certain Knowledge *how some particular Nations were peopled.*

† Such are, 1. The Numbering by *Decads*. 2. The Computing Time by a Cycle of *seven* Days. 3. The Sacredness of the *seventh* Number, and Observation of a *seventh* Day as holy. 4. The Use of *Sacrifices, propitiatory* and *eucharistical*. 5. The Consecration of *Temples* and *Altars*. 6. The Institution of *Sanctuaries*, and their Priviledges. 7. Separation of *Tenths*, and *First Fruits* to the Service of the Altar. 8. The Custom of Worshipping the Deity *discalceated*, or *bare-footed*. 9. Abstinence of *Husbands* from their Wives before Sacrifice. 10. The Order of *Priesthood*, and the *Maintenance* of it. 11. Most of the *Expiations*, and *Pollutions*, mentioned by *Moses*, in Use among all famous Nations. 12. An universal Tradition of two *Protoplasts*, *Deluges*, and *renewing* Mankind afterwards. Biblioth. Bibl. Vol. I. p. 296.

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and, in ſeveral Countries, perceive the original Names of their *Founders* preſerved in that of their own.

FOR tho' the *Analogy* of Names be not, at all Times, a certain Way of coming to the Knowledge of Things; yet, in this Caſe, I think it can hardly be deny'd, but that the *Aſſyrians* deſcended from *Aſſur*; the *Canaanites*, from *Canaan*; the *Sidonians*, from *Sidon*; the *Lydians*, from *Lud*; the *Medes*, from *Madai*; the *Thracians*, from *Tiras*; the *Elamites*, from *Elam*; the *Ionians*, from *Iavan*; with ſeveral others produced by *(k) Grotius*, *(l) Montanus*, *(m) Junius*, *(n) Pererius*, and, more eſpecially, *(o)* by *Bochart*, that *moſt ſplendid Star of France* (as *(p)* one calls him upon this Occaſion) who, with wonderful Learning and Induſtry, has clear'd all this Part of *ſacred* Hiſtory, and given a full and ſatisfactory Account of the ſeveral Places, where the Poſterity of *Noah* ſeated themſelves after the Deluge.

By what Ways *and what* Nations, America *might be peopled.*

HOW the large Continent of *America* came to be peopled (ſince no Mention is made of it in the Writings of *Moſes*, and ſo vaſt a Sea ſeparates it from any other Part of the known World) is a Queſtion, that has exerciſed the Wit of every Age, ſince its firſt Diſcovery. It is worthy our Obſervation however, that, tho' all the great *Quarters* of the World are, for the moſt Part, ſeparated from each other, by ſome vaſt extenſive *Ocean*; *(q)* yet there is always ſome Place or other, where ſome *Iſthmus*, or ſmall Neck of Land, is found to conjoin them, or ſome narrow Sea is made to diſtinguiſh and divide them. *Aſia* and *Africa*, for Inſtance, are joined together by an *Iſthmus*, which lies between the *Mediterranean Sea* and the *Arabian Gulph*. Upon the Coaſts of *Spain* and *Mauritania*, *Europe* and *Africa* are divided by no larger a Sea than the *Fretum Hérculis*, or *Straits of Gibraltar*; and, above the *Palus Mœotis*, *Europe* has nothing to part it from *Aſia*, but the ſmall River *Tanais*. *America*, as it is divided into *North* and *South*, is join'd together by a Neck of Land, which, from Sea to Sea, is not above 18 Leagues over: What ſeparates the *North America* from the *Northern* Parts of *Aſia*, is only the *Straits of Anien*; or *South America* from the moſt *Southern* Parts of *Aſia*, is only the *Straits of Magellan*. And therefore, ſince Providence, in the Formation of the Earth, has ſo ordered the Matter, that the principal *Continents* are, at ſome Places or other, always join'd together by ſome little *Iſthmus*, and generally ſeparated by ſome *narrow Sea*; and (what is further to be obſerv'd) ſince moſt of the *capital Iſlands* in our Part of the *Hemiſphere*, ſuch as *Sumatra* in *Aſia*, *Madagaſcar* in *Africa*, and *England* in *Europe*, are generally at no great Diſtance from the Continent; we have ſome Reaſon to preſume, that there may poſſibly be a certain Neck of Land (tho' not as yet diſcovered) which may join ſome Part of *Aſia*, or perhaps ſome Part of *Europe*, to the main Continent of *America*. Or, if we may not be allowed that Suppoſition, yet *(r)* why might there not formerly have been ſuch a Bridge (as we may call it) between the *South-Eaſt* Part of *China* and the moſt *Southern* Continent of this new World, tho' now broken off (as *(s)* ſome ſuppoſe *England* to have been from *France*) by the violent Concuſſions of the Sea; as indeed the vaſt Number of Iſlands, which lie between the Continent of *China* and *Nova-Guinea* (which are the moſt contiguous to each other) would induce one to think, that once they were all one continued Tract of Land, tho', by the Irruption of the Sea, they are now crumbled into ſo many little Iſlands?

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10, to the End.

THE Difference however between the Inhabitants of *South* and *North America* is ſo remarkably great, that there is Reaſon to imagine, they receiv'd Colonies at firſt from different Countries; and therefore ſome are of Opinion, that, as the Children of *Shem*, being now well vers'd in Navigation, might, from the Coaſts of *China*,

(k) Vid. Annot. l. 1. de Verit. *(l)* Phaleg. *(m)* In Gen. x. *(n) Ibid.* *(o)* Phaleg. *(p) Heidegger.*
(q) Heidegger's Hiſt. Patriarcharum, Vol. I. Exer. 22. *(r) Patrick*'s Commentary. *(s)* Vid. the new general *Atlas*.

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China, take Poſſeſſion of the *Southern* Parts; ſo might the Children of *Japhet*, either from *Tartary*, paſs over the *Straits of Anien*, or out of *Europe*, firſt paſs into *Norway*, thence into *Iſeland*, thence into *Greenland*, and ſo into the *Northern* Parts of *America*: And this they think the more probable, becauſe of the great Variety of Languages, which are obſerved among the Natives of this great Continent; a good Indication, as one wou'd imagine, of their coming thither at different Times, and from different Places.

The Iſles of the *Gentiles.*

We indeed, according to the common Forms of Speech, call thoſe Places *Iſlands*, which are, on every Side, ſurrounded by the Sea; but the *Hebrews* were wont to give that Name to all *Maritime* Countries, ſuch, as either had ſeveral Iſlands belonging to them, or ſuch, as had no Iſlands at all, provided they were divided from *Paleſtine* or from *Egypt* by the Sea, and could not conveniently be gone to any other Way. (*t*) Such are the Countries of the *Leſſer Aſia*, and the Countries of *Europe*, where the Deſcendants of *Japhet* were ſeated; and that by *theſe* are denoted the *Iſles of the Gentiles*, * might be evinc'd from ſeveral parallel Paſſages in Scripture. At preſent we need only take Notice, that, as the *Leſſer Aſia* was, from *Babel*, the neareſt Place of *Japhet*'s Allotment, 'tis very probable, that he and his Sons continu'd there for ſome Time, till the Increaſe of their Progeny made them ſend out Colonies, which not only peopled the *Iſles* of the *Mediterranean* and *Egean* Seas, but, paſſing into *Europe*, ſpread themſelves farther and farther, till at length they came to take Poſſeſſion of the very *Iſland*, wherein we now live.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

And that of England.

To this Purpoſe, the Writers on this Subject have made it appear, that, from their *original* Country, which was *Aſia Minor*, they ſent a Colony to the *Mœotic Lake*, on the North of the *Euxine Sea*; and, as they were called *Cimmerii* in *Aſia*, ſo they gave the Name of *Boſphorus Cimmerius* to the *Straits*, we there meet with; that, after this, ſpreading farther, they fell down the *Danube*, and ſettled in a Country, which † from them was called *Germany*; that, from *Germany*, they advanced ſtill farther, till they came into *France*, for the Inhabitants of *France*, (as (*u*) *Joſephus* tells us) were antiently called *Gomorites*; and that, from *France*, they came into the South Part of *Britain*, and therefore we find that the *Welſh* (the *antient* Inhabitants of this Iſle) call themſelves *Kumero*, or *Cymro*, call a Woman, *Kumeraes*, and the Language they ſpeak, *Kumeraeg*, which ſeveral Words carry in them ſuch plain Marks of the *original* Name, from whence they are derived, that, if any Regard is to be had to *Etymologies* in Caſes of this Nature, we cannot forbear concluding that the true old *Britons*, or *Welſh*, are the genuine Deſcendants of *Gomer*. And, ſince it is obſerv'd, that the *Germans* were likewiſe the Deſcendants of *Gomer*, particularly the *Cymbri*, to whom the *Saxons*, and eſpecially the *Angles*, were near Neighbours, it

(*t*) *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I.

* Thus the Prophet *Iſaiah* [Ch. xi. 10, 11.] ſpeaking of the Calling of the *Gentiles*, and of the Reſtoration of the *Jews*, has theſe Words: *The Lord ſhall recover the Remnant of his People from* Aſſyria, Egypt, Pathros, Cuſh, Elam, Shinar, Hamah, *and from the* Iſles of the Sea: Where by the *Iſles of the Sea* (which is the ſame with the *Iſles of the* Gentiles) we muſt neceſſarily underſtand ſuch Countries, as are diſtinct from the Countries, which are here expreſsly nam'd, *viz. Aſſyria, Egypt*, &c. and therefore moſt likely the Countries of *Leſſer Aſia* and *Europe*. The ſame Prophet, in order to ſhew God's Omnipotency, ſpeaks in this Manner: *Behold the Nations are as a Drop of the Bucket, and are counted as the ſmall Duſt of the Ballance; behold he takes up the Iſles as a very little Thing*, Ch. xl. 15. Where, if *by Iſles* we mean thoſe, which we call ſtrictly ſo, the Compariſon of the Diſparity is loſt, becauſe thoſe, which we call *Iſles*, are indeed *very little Things*; and therefore the proper Signification of the Word, in this Place, muſt be, thoſe large Countries, which were beyond the Sea, in regard to *Egypt* whence *Moſes* came, or *Paleſtine*, whither he was now going. *Wells*'s Geography, Vol. I. p. 113.

† The People of this Country are called *Germeans*, and they call themſelves *Germen*, which is but a ſmall Variation, and eaſy Contraction for *Gomeren*, i. e. *Gomerians*: For the Termination *en* is a Plural Termination in the *German* Language; and from the ſingle Number *Gomer*, is formed *Germen*, by the ſame Analogy, that from Brother we form Brethren. *Wells*'s Geography, Vol. I. p. 127, and *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, l. 2. c. 4.

(*u*) Antiq. l. 1.

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it will hence likewiſe follow, that our Anceſtors, who ſucceeded the old *Britons* * in the *Eaſtern* Part of this Iſle, were, in a Manner, deſcended from *Gomer*, the firſt Son of *Japhet*.

THUS we ſee, *(x)* that the Plantations of the World, by the Sons of *Noah* and their Offspring, recorded by *Moſes* in this tenth Chapter of *Geneſis*, and by the inſpir'd Author of the firſt Book of *Chronicles*, are not *unprofitable Fables*, or *endleſs Genealogies*, but a moſt valuable Piece of Hiſtory, which diſtinguiſhes, from all other People, that particular Nation, of which Chriſt was to come; gives Light to ſeveral Predictions, and other Paſſages in the Prophets; ſhews us the firſt Riſe and Origin of all Nations, their gradual Increaſe, and ſucceſſive Migrations, Cities building, Lands cultivating, Kingdoms riſing, Governments ſettling, and all to the Accompliſhment of the Divine Benediction: *(y) Be fruitful, and multiply, and repleniſh the Earth; and the Fear of you, and the Dread of you ſhall be upon every* other Creature.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10, to the End.

DISSERTATION III.

Of the ſacred Chronology, and profane Hiſtory, Letters, Learning, Religion, and Idolatry, &c. *during this Period.*

The Difference that is found in the ſacred Chronology.

BEFORE we enter upon the Hiſtory of the World, (as it is deliver'd in ſome *Heathen* Authors) from the Time of the Flood, to the Calling of *Abraham*, it may not be improper to ſettle the *ſacred Chronology*; and that the rather becauſe the Difference is very conſiderable, as appears by the ſubſequent Table) according as we follow the Computation of the *Hebrew Text*, of the *Samaritan Copies*, or of the *Greek* Interpreters. But, before we come to this, we muſt obſerve, that, in the Catalogue, which we refer to, *Moſes* takes Notice of no other Branch of *Noah*'s Family, but only that of *Shem*, and his Deſcendants in a direct Line to *Abraham*, and the different Computations *(z)*, relating to them, may be beſt perceiv'd by the following *Table*.

* To ſhew how the *Weſtern* Part of our *Iſland* came likewiſe to be peopled, the above-cited Author of *Scripture Chronology* ſuppoſes, that, when *Joſhua* made his Conqueſts in the Land of *Canaan*, ſeveral of the Inhabitants of *Tyre*, being ſtruck with the Terror of his Arms, left their Country, and, being ſkill'd in the Art of Navigation, ſail'd into *Africa*, and there built a City, call'd *Carthage*, or the *City of the Wanderers*, as he interprets the Word; that the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians* being always conſiderable Merchants, and now ſettling in a Place convenient for their Purpoſe, began to enlarge their Trade, and coaſting the Sea-Shore of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *France*, happen'd, at length, to chop upon the Iſlands, call'd *Caſſiterides*, now the *Iſlands of Scilly*, whereof he gives us a Deſcription from *Strabo*; that, having here fallen into a Trade for Tin and Lead, it was not long before they diſcover'd the *Land's End*, on the Weſt Side of *Cornwall*, and finding the Country much more commodious than *Scilly*, remov'd from thence, and here made their Settlement. And this Conjecture he accounts more feaſible, by Reaſon of the great Affinity between the *Corniſh* Language and the ancient *Hebrew* or *Phœnician*, l. 2. c. 4. p. 195.

(x) Millar's Church Hiſtory, Ch. 1. Per. 2. *(y)* Gen. ix. 1, 2. *(z) Uſher*'s Chron. Sac. Cap. 2.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2007, &c.

Gen. Ch. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

	After the Flood	*Heb.*	*Sam.*	*Sep.*	*Heb.*	*Sam.*	*Sep.*	*Heb.*	*Sam.*	*Sep.*
1	*Shem* was	2	2	2	500	500	500		600	
2	*Arphaxad* ——	35	135	135	403	300	330		438	
0	*Cainan* ——	0	0	130	0	0	330		0	
3	*Salah* ——	30	130	130	403	303	330		433	
4	*Eber* — ——	34	134	134	430	270	270		404	
5	*Peleg* — ——	30	130	130	209	109	209		239	
6	*Reu* —— ——	32	132	132	207	107	207		239	
7	*Serug* — ——	30	130	130	200	100	200		230	
8	*Nahor* —— —	29	79	79	119	69	125		148	
9	*Terah* the Father of *Abram.*	70	70	70				205	145	205
	In all	292	942	1072						
		Before they had Children.			After they had Children.			Before they died.		

Now, whoever caſts his Eye into this *Table*, may eaſily perceive, that, except the *Variations*, which may poſſibly have been occaſion'd by the Negligence of *Tranſcribers*, *(a)* the Difference, between the *Samaritan* and *Septuagint* Chronology, is ſo very ſmall, that one may juſtly ſuſpect, that the former has been tranſcrib'd from the latter, on purpoſe to ſupply ſome Defect in its Copy; but that the Difference, between the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Chronology, is ſo very great, that the one or other of them muſt be egregiouſly wrong; becauſe the *Septuagint* do not only add a Patriarch, nam'd *Cainan*, never mention'd in the *Hebrew*, and ſo make *eleven* Generations, from *Shem* to *Abraham*, inſtead of *ten*; but, in the Lives of moſt of theſe Patriarchs, they inſert 100 Years, before they came to have Children, *i. e.* they make them Fathers 100 Years later than the *Hebrew* Text does, tho' (to bring the Matter to a Compromiſe) they generally deduct them again in the Courſe of their Lives.

The Arguments for and againſt the LXX *Computation.*

On both Sides have appear'd Men of great Learning; but they, who aſſert the Cauſe of the *Septuagint*, are not unmindful to urge the Teſtimony of St *Luke*, who, *(b)* between *Arphaxad* and *Salah*, has inſerted the Name of *Cainan*, which (as he was an inſpir'd Writer) he could never have done, had not the *Septuagint* been right, in correcting the *Hebrew* Scriptures: Beſides that, the Numbers in the *Septuagint* give Time for the Propagation of Mankind, and ſeem to agree better with the Hiſtory of the firſt Kingdoms of the World.

On the other Hand, they, who abide by the *Hebrew* Text, cannot think, that the Authority of the *Septuagint* is ſo ſacred, as their Adverſaries imagine. Upon Examination, they find many Things added, many Things omitted, and through the Whole, ſo many Faults almoſt every where occurring, *that were a Man to recount them all*, (as *(c)* St *Jerom* expreſſes it) *he would be obliged not only to write one, but many Books*; "nor need we "ſeek

(a) Shuckford's Connection, Vol. I. l. 3. *(b)* Chap. iii. 36. *(c)* On Jeremiah, xvii.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 2007, &c.

" ſeek for diſtant Examples of this Kind, " *(d)* ſays *Bochart*, ſince this very Ge- " nealogy is all full of *Anachroniſms*, vaſtly " different, both from the *Hebrew* and " the Vulgar Verſion."

EDITIONS moreover there were of an antient Date, which, in Imitation of the *Alexandrian Manuſcript*, preſerv'd by *Origen* in his *Hexapla*, had none of this Inſertion. Both *Philo* and *Joſephus*, tho' they make uſe of the *Septuagint* Verſion, know nothing of *Cainan*; and *Euſebius* and *Africanus*, tho' they took their Accounts of theſe Times from it, have no ſuch Perſon among their *Poſtdiluvians*; and therefore *(e)* it is highly reaſonable to believe, that this Name crept into the *Septuagint* thro' the Careleſſneſs of ſome Tranſcriber, who, inattentive to what he was about, inſerted an *Antediluvian* Name (for ſuch a Perſon there was before the Flood) among the *Poſtdiluvians*, and, having no *Numbers* for his Name, wrote the Numbers belonging to *Salah* twice over.

SINCE therefore the *Hebrew* Text, in all Places, where we find *Noah*'s Poſterity enumerated, takes not the leaſt Notice of *Cainan*, but always declares *Salah* to be the immediate Son and Succeſſor of *Arphaxad*; *(f)* we muſt either ſay, that *Moſes* did, or that he did not know of the Birth of this pretended *Patriarch*: If he *did not*, how came the LXX Interpreters by the Knowledge of what *Moſes*, who liv'd much nearer the Time, was a diligent Searcher into Antiquity, and had the Aſſiſtance of a divine Spirit in every Thing he wrote, was confeſſedly ignorant of? If he *did* know it, what poſſible Reaſon can be aſſign'd for his concealing it, eſpecially when his Inſertion or Omiſſion of it makes ſuch a remarkable Variation in the Account of Time, from the Flood, to the Call of *Abraham*; unleſs he was minded to impoſe upon us by a falſe or confus'd *Chronology*, which his diſtinct Obſervation of the Series of the other Generations, and his juſt Aſſignment of the Time, which belong'd to each, will not ſuffer us to think.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

RATHER therefore than impeach this *Servant* of God (who has this Teſtimony upon Record, that *(g) he was faithful in all his Houſe)* either of Ignorance, or Ill-intent, we may affirm (with *Bochart*, and his Followers) that St *Luke* never put *Cainan* into his Genealogy, (for as much as † it is not to be found in ſome of the beſt *Manuſcripts* of the *New* Teſtament) but that ſome Tranſcribers, finding it in the *Septuagint*, and not in St *Luke*, mark'd it down in the *Margin* of their Copies, as an Omiſſion in the Copies of St *Luke*, and ſo later Copiers and Editors, finding it thus in the Margin, took it, at laſt, into the Body of the Text, as thinking, perhaps, that this Augmentation of Years might give a greater Scope to the Riſe of Kingdoms, which otherwiſe might be thought too ſudden: whereas (if we will believe a very competent Judge of this Matter) " *(h)* thoſe, who contend " for the Numbers of the *Septuagint*, " muſt either reject (as ſome do) the con- " current Teſtimony of the *Heathen* " *Greeks*, and the *Chriſtian* Fathers, con- " cerning the antient Kingdoms of *Aſſy-* " *ria* and *Egypt*, or muſt remove all " thoſe Monarchies farther from the Flood. " Nor muſt the Teſtimony of *Varro* be " overlook'd, which tells us, that there " were but 1600 Years between the firſt " Flood and the *Olympiads*; whereas this " Number is exceeded ſeven or eight hun- " dred Years by the *Septuagint*'s Ac- " count. Theſe, and ſeveral other Con- " ſiderations, *ſays he*, incline me to the " *Hebrew* Numbers of the *Patriarchs* " generating, rather than to the *Seventy*'s; " becauſe, by the Numbers of the *Seven-* " *ty*, there muſt be about 900 Years be- " tween the Flood and the firſt Year of " *Ninus*,

(d) Phaleg. l. 2. c. 2. *(e)* *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exer. 1. *(f)* *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. l. 2. *(g)* Heb. iii. 2.

† The antient Manuſcript of the *Goſpels* and *Acts*, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, which *Beza* preſented to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, wants it; nor is it to be found in ſome Manuſcripts, which Archbiſhop *Uſher*, in his Chron. Sacr p. 32, makes mention of. *Millar*'s Hiſtory of the Church, Ch. 1. Period 2.

(h) Biſhop *Cumberland*'s Origin. Antiquiſ. p. 177, &c.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 2007, &c.

"*Ninus*, which certainly is too much "Diſtance between a Grandfather and a "Grandchild's beginning to reign."

THUS it ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Interpolation of the Name of *Cainan*, in the LXX's Verſion, might be the Work of ſome ignorant and pragmatical Tranſcriber: And, in like Manner, the *Addition* and *Subtraction* of ſeveral hundred Years, in the Lives of the Fathers beforemention'd, might be effected by ſuch another *Inſtrument*, *(i)* who, thinking perhaps, that the Years of the *Antediluvian* Lives were but *Lunar* ones, and computing, that, at this Rate, the ſix Fathers (whoſe Lives are thus alter'd) muſt have had their Children at 5, 6, 7, or 8 Years old, (which cou'd not but look incredible) might be induc'd to *add* the 100 Years, in order to make them of a more probable Age of Manhood, at the Birth of their reſpective *Children*. Or, if he thought the Years of their Lives to be *Solar*, yet ſtill he might imagine, that *Infancy* and *Childhood* were proportionably longer in Men, who were to live 7, 8, or 900 Years, than they are in us; and that it was too early in their Lives, for them to be Fathers at 60, 70, or 80 Years of Age; for which Reaſon he might *add* the 100 Years, to make their Advance to Manhood (which is commonly not till one *fourth* Part of our Days is near over) proportionable to what was to be the ultimate Term of their Lives.

THIS ſeems to be the only Method of reconciling the Difference between the LXX Verſion and the *Hebrew* Text, in Point of *Chronology*; and now to proceed to what we find recorded in *profane* Hiſtory, during this Period.

The profane Hiſtory *during this Period.*

AFTER the Diſperſion of Nations, the only Form of Government, that was in Uſe for ſome Time, was *paternal*, when Fathers of Nations were as *Kings*, and the eldeſt of Families, as *Princes:* But as Mankind increas'd, and their Ambition grew higher, the Dominion, which was founded in *Nature*, gave Place to that, which was acquir'd, and eſtabliſh'd by *Power*.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

The Erection of Kingdoms.

IN early Ages, a Superiority of *Strength* or *Stature* was the moſt engaging Qualification to raiſe Men to be Kings and Rulers. The *Ethiopians*, *(k)* as *Ariſtotle* informs us, made Choice of the talleſt Perſons to be their Princes; and, tho' *Saul* was made King of *Iſrael* by the ſpecial Appointment of God, yet it appears to have been a Circumſtance, not inconſiderable in the Eyes of the People, *(l)* that *he was a choice young Man, and goodly; and that there was not, among the Children of* Iſrael, *a goodlier Man than he.* But when Experience came to convince Men, that other Qualifications, beſides Stature and Strength, were neceſſary for the People's Happineſs, they then choſe Perſons of the greateſt Wiſdom and Prudence for their Governors. *(m)* Some wiſe and underſtanding Man, who knew beſt how to till and cultivate the Ground, to manage Cattle, to prune and plant Fruit-trees, *&c.* took into their Families, and promis'd to provide for ſuch, as would become their Servants, and ſubmit to their Directions: And thus, in Continuance of Time, *Heads* of Families became Kings; their *Houſes*, together with the near Habitations of their Domeſticks, became *Cities*; their *Servants*, in their ſeveral Occupations and Employments, became wealthy and conſiderable *Subjects*; and the *Inſpectors* and *Overſeers* of them became *Miniſters of State*, and Managers of the publick Affairs of the Kingdom.

IN the firſt Beginning of *political* Societies, almoſt every Town (as we may ſuppoſe) had its own *King*, *(n)* who, more attentive to *preſerve* his Dominions, than to *extend* them, reſtrain'd his Ambition within the Bounds of his native Country; till Diſputes with Neighbours (which were ſometimes unavoidable) Jealouſy of a more powerful Prince, an enterprizing Genius, or martial Inclination, occaſion'd thoſe Wars, which often ended in the abſolute Subjection

(i) Shuckford's Connection, Vol. I. Lib. 5. ex *Lud. Capelli* Chron. Sacra in Apparatu *Walton* ad Bibl. Polyglot. *(k)* De Repub. l. 4. c. 4. *(l)* 1 Sam. ix. 2. *(m) Shuckford's* Connection, Vol. II. l. 6. *(n) Juſtin*, l. 1. c. 1.

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Subjection of the *Vanquiſh'd*, whoſe Poſſeſſions, falling into the Power of the *Conqueror*, enlarged his Dominions, and both encouraged, and enabled him to puſh on his Conqueſts by new Enterprizes.

The Reign of Nimrod.

NIMROD was the firſt Man, we meet with in Scripture, who made Invaſions upon the Territories of others: For he diſpoſſeſs'd *Aſhur*, the Son of *Shem*, who had ſettled himſelf in *Shinar*, and oblig'd him to remove into *Aſſyria*, whilſt himſelf ſeiz'd on *Babylon*, and having repair'd, and not a little enlarg'd it, made it the *Capital* of his Kingdom.

A Deſcription of Babylon.

(*o*) THIS City was ſituate on both Sides of the River *Euphrates*, having Streets running from *North* to *South*, parallel with the River, and others from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*. † The Compaſs of the Wall, which was ſurrounded with a vaſt Ditch filled with Water, was 480 Furlongs, *i. e.* about 60 Miles; the Height of it 350 Feet, and the Breadth ſo vaſtly great, that Carts and Carriages might meet on the Top of it, and paſs one another without Danger. Over the *Euphrates* (which cut the City into two equal Parts, from *North* to *South*) there was a ſtately Bridge, and at each End of the Bridge, † a magnificent Palace, the one of 4, and the other of 8 Miles Circumference; and belonging to the larger Palace, were thoſe *hanging* Gardens, which had ſo celebrated a Name among the *Greeks*. They were made in Form of a Square of 400 Feet on every Side, and were carried up aloft into the Air, in the Manner of ſeveral large *Terraſſes*, one above another, till they came up to the Height of the Walls of the City. They were ſuſtained by vaſt *Arches*, built upon Arches, one above another, and ſtrengthen'd by a Wall on every Side, that was 22 Feet thick; and, as they wanted no Plants, or Flowers, fit for a Garden of Pleaſure, ſo there are ſaid to have grown in them Trees, which were no leſs than eight Cubits thick in the Body, and 50 Feet in Height. But this, among other pompous Things appertaining to this City, was the Work of Ages, ſubſequent to *Nimrod*, and built by *Nebuchadnezzar*, to gratify his Wife *Amytis*, who, being the Daughter of *Aſtyages*, King of *Media*, and much pleas'd with the mountainous and wooddy Parts of her own Country, was deſirous of having ſomething like it in *Babylon*.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

FROM the *Aſſyrians*, this great and noble City came into the Hands of the *Perſians*, and from them into the Hands of the *Macedonians*. Here it was, that *Alexander the Great* died: But, not long after his Death, the City began to decline apace, by the building of *Seleucia*, about 40 Miles above it, by *Seleucus Nicanor*, who is ſaid to have erected this new City, in Spleen to the *Babylonians*, and to have drawn out of *Babylon* 500,000 Perſons to people it: So that the antient City was, in the Time of *Curtius* the *Hiſtorian*, leſſened a fourth Part; in the Time of *Pliny*, reduc'd to Deſolation; in the Days of St *Jerom* turn'd into a Park, wherein the Kings of *Perſia* did uſe to hunt; and, according to the Relation * of ſome late Travellers, is now reduc'd to one Tower only,

(*o*) *Prideaux*'s Connection.

† It muſt be obſerv'd however, that all this Compaſs of Ground was not really built upon; for the Houſes ſtood at a conſiderable Diſtance, with Gardens and Fields interſpers'd; ſo that it was a large City in *Scheme*, rather than in *Reality*. *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part I. l. 2.

† The *old* Palace (which was probably built by *Nimrod*) ſtood on the *Eaſt* Side of the River, and the *new* one (which was built by *Nebuchadnezzar*) exactly over againſt it, on the *Weſt* Side. *Prideaux*, ibid.

* Mr *Reuwolf*, who, in 1574, paſſed thro' the Place, where this once famous City ſtood, ſpeaks of the Ruins of it, in the following Manner: "The Village of *Elugo*, *ſays he*, is now ſituate, where heretofore *Babylon* of *Chaldea* "ſtood. The Harbour, where People go aſhore, in order to proceed by Land to the City of *Bagdad*, is a Quarter "of a League diſtant from it. The Soil is ſo dry and barren, that they cannot till it; and ſo naked, that I cou'd "never have believed, that this powerful City, once the moſt ſtately and renown'd in all the World, and ſituated in "the fruitful Country of *Shinar*, cou'd have ſtood there, had I not ſeen, by the Situation of the Place, by many "Antiquities of great Beauty, which are to be ſeen round about, and, eſpecially, by the old Bridge over the *Eu*-"*phrates*, whereof ſome Piles and Arches, of incredible Strength, are ſtill remaining, that it certainly did ſtand "there.——The whole Front of the Village *Elugo* is the Hill, upon which the Caſtle ſtood, and the Ruins of its "Fortifications

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only, call'd the Tower of *Daniel*, from whence may be ſeen all the Ruins of this once vaſt and ſplendid City.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

A *Deſcription of* Nineveh.

It can hardly be imagin'd, that the firſt Kings were able, either to make, or execute Laws, with that Strictneſs and Rigour, which is neceſſary in a Body of Men, ſo large as to afford numerous Offenders: and, for this Reaſon, it ſeems to have been a prudent Inſtitution in *Nimrod*, when his City of *Babylon* began to be too populous to be regulated by his Inſpection, or govern'd by his Influence, to † lay the Foundations of other Cities; by which Means he diſpos'd of great Numbers of his People, and, putting them under the Direction of ſuch *Deputies* as he might appoint, brought their Minds by Degrees to a Senſe of Government, until the beneficial Uſe of it came to be experienced, and the Force and Power of Laws ſettled and confirmed. He is ſuppoſed to have begun his Reign, A. M. 1757, to have reign'd about 148 Years, and to have died A. M. 1905.

Of Aſhur.

About the Beginning of *Nimrod*'s Reign, *Aſhur*, * one of the Deſcendants of *Shem*, being driven from *Babel* (as moſt ſuppoſe) by the Invaſion of *Nimrod*, led his Company on the *Tigris*, and, ſo ſettling in *Aſſyria*, laid the firſt Foundation of *Nineveh*, which, in Proceſs of Time, exceeded even *Babylon* itſelf in Bigneſs. For, whereas we obſerved of *Babylon*, that it was in Circuit 480 Furlongs, *(p)* the Deſcription, which *Diodorus* gives us of *Nineveh*, is, that it was 150 Furlongs, *i. e.* near 19 Miles in Length; 90 Furlongs, *i. e.* ſomewhat above 11 Miles in Breadth; 480 Furlongs, *i. e.* juſt 60 Miles in Circumference; and for this Reaſon it is *(q)* called *an exceeding great City, of three Days Journey*, according to the common Eſtimation of 20 Miles to a Day's Journey. And equal to the *Greatneſs* was the *Strength* of this City: For its Walls were 100 Feet high, and ſo very broad, that three Carts might go a-breaſt on the Top of them; whereon were rais'd 1500 *Turrets*, and each of them 200 Feet high, and ſo very ſtrong, that the Place was deem'd impregnable, *(r)* till *Nabopollaſar*, King of *Babylon*, having made an Affinity with *Aſtyages*, King of *Media*, enter'd into a Confederacy with him againſt the *Aſſyrians*, and thereupon, joining their Forces together, they beſieg'd *Nineveh*, and, after having taken the Place, and ſlain the King thereof, to gratify the *Medes*, they utterly deſtroy'd that antient

" Fortifications are ſtill viſible, tho' demoliſh'd. Behind, and ſome little Way beyond, is the Tower of *Babylon*, " which is half a League *Diameter*, but ſo ruinous, ſo low, and ſo full of venomous Creatures, which lodge in the " Holes, they make in the Rubbiſh, that no one durſt approach nearer to it, than within half a League, except " during two Months in the Winter, when theſe Animals never ſtir out of their Holes. *Calmet*'s Dictionary."

† The Cities, which he founded, are ſaid to be *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Calne*. *Erec* was the ſame, that occurs in *Ptolemy*, under the Name of *Arecca*, and which is placed by him at the laſt, or moſt Southern Turning of the common Channel of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. *Accad* lay *Northward* of *Erec*, and very probably at the common joining of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. And *Calne* (which is ſaid to be the ſame with *Cteſiphon*) upon the *Tigris*, about three Miles diſtant from *Seleucia*, and was for ſome Time the Capital City of the *Parthians*: For, that it was the ſame with *Cteſiphon* ſeems to be confirm'd by the Country, which lies about it, being called *Chalonitis*, which is evidently deriv'd from *Chalne* or *Chalno*, whereby we find it call'd in different Parts of Scripture. *Wells*'s Geography, Vol. I. c. 5.

* Many Authors have imagin'd, that *Nineveh* was not built by *Aſhur*, but by *Nimrod* himſelf, becauſe they think it not likely, that *Moſes* ſhould give an Account of the Settlement of one of the Sons of *Shem*, where he is expreſsly diſcourſing of *Ham*'s Family; and therefore they interpret (as the Marginal Note directs) Gen. x. 11. *Out of that Land went forth* Aſhur, he, *i. e.* Nimrod, *went forth into* Aſſyria, which is the Explanation, that I have, in ſome Meaſure, follow'd: But others imagine, that *Moſes* is not ſo exactly *methodical*, but that, upon mentioning *Nimrod*, and his People, he might hint at a Colony, which departed from under his Government, tho' it happen'd to be led by a Perſon of another Family; that the Land of *Aſhur* and the Land of *Nimrod* are mention'd as two diſtinct Countries in *Micah* v. 6. and, that, if *Nimrod* had built *Nineveh*, and planted *Aſſyria*, *Babylon* and *Aſſyria* wou'd have been but one Empire, nor could the one be ſaid to have conquer'd the other with any Propriety: whereas we are expreſsly told by *Diodorus*, that the *Aſſyrians* conquer'd the *Babylonians*; and may thence infer, that, before *Ninus* united them, *Babylonia* and *Aſſyria* were two diſtinct Kingdoms, and not the Plantation of one and the ſame Founder. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. l. 4.

(p) Wells's Geography. *(q)* Jonah iii. 3. *(r) Prideaux*'s Connection, Vol. I.

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antient City, and from that Time *Babylon* became the Metropolis of the *Aſſyrian* Empire.

SUCH was the Riſe and Fall of this great City, where *Aſhur* govern'd his Subjects much in the ſame Manner, as *Nimrod* did his in *Babylon:* For, as they increaſed, he diſpers'd them in the *Country*, and, † having built ſome other Cities along the *Tigris*, he there ſettled them under the Government of Deputies, or *Viceroys*.

Of Menes.

WHILST *Nimrod* and *Aſhur* were ſettling their People in their reſpective Countries, *Mizraim*, the Second Son of *Ham*, * and who, by *Heathen* Writers, is conſtantly called *Menes*, ſeated himſelf, at firſt, near the Entrance of *Egypt*, and there perhaps built the City of *Zoan*, which was antiently the Habitation of the Kings of *Egypt*; but from *Zoan* he removed farther into the Country, and took Poſſeſſion of thoſe Parts, which were afterwards call'd *Thebaïs*, where he built the City of *Thebes*, and (as *Herodotus* will have it) the City of *Memphis* likewiſe. He reign'd 62 Years, and died A. M. 1943.

Of Belus.

BELUS ſucceeded *Nimrod*, and was the ſecond King of *Babylon*; but, whether he was related to his Predeceſſor or not, is a Thing uncertain. It ſeems moſt likely, that, as *Nimrod*, tho' a young Man in Compariſon of many then alive, was advanc'd, for ſome Merit or other, to the *regal* Dignity; ſo, when he died, *Belus* might appear to be the moſt proper Perſon, and, for that Reaſon, was appointed to ſucceed him: For, he is repreſented a Prince of Study, the Inventor of the *Chaldean* Aſtronomy, and one, who ſpent his Time in cultivating his Country, and improving his People. He reign'd 60 Years, and died A. M, 1969.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

ASHUR, King of *Nineveh*, dying much about this Time, *Ninus* became the ſecond King of *Aſſyria*, and proved a Man of an ambitious and enterprizing Spirit. *Babylonia* lay too near him, not to become the Object of his Deſire; and therefore, making all military Preparations for that Purpoſe, heinvaded it, and, as its Inhabitants had no great Skill in War, ſoon vanquiſhed them, and laid them under Tribute. His Succeſs in this Attempt made him begin to think of ſubjecting other Nations: And, as one Conqueſt paved the Way for another, in a few Years he over-ran many of the *Infant* States of *Aſia*, and ſo, by uniting Kingdom to Kingdom, made a great Acceſſion to the *Aſſyrian* Empire. His laſt Attempt was upon *Oxyartes*, or *Zoroaſtres*, King of *Bactria*, where he met with a briſker Oppoſition, than he had hitherto

Ninus.

† The Cities, which *Aſhur* is ſaid to have built, were *Rehoboth*, *Reſen*, and *Calah*. The Word *Rehoboth*, in the *Hebrew* Tongue, ſignifies *Streets*, and the Sacred Hiſtorian ſeems to have added the Word *City*, on Purpoſe to ſhew that it was here to be taken as a *proper* Name. Now, as there are no Footſteps of this Name in theſe Parts, but a Town there is, by *Ptolemy* call'd *Birtha*, which, in the *Chaldee* Tongue, denotes the ſame, as does *Rehoboth* in the *Hebrew* in an *Appellative* or common Acceptation; it is hence probably conjectur'd, that *Rehoboth* and *Birtha* are only two different Names of one and the ſame City, which was ſeated on the *Tigris*, about the Mouth of the River *Lycus*. *Reſen* is ſuppoſed by moſt learned Men to be the ſame City, which *Xenophon* mentions under the Name of *Lariſſa*, and that, not only becauſe the Situation of this *Lariſſa* well enough agrees with the Situation of *Reſen*, as it is deſcribed by *Moſes* lying between *Nineveh* and *Calah*; but becauſe *Moſes* obſerves, in the ſame Text, that *Reſen was a great City*, in like Manner, as *Xenophon* tells us, that *Lariſſa*, tho' then ruinated, had been a *large City*, of 8 Miles Circumference, with Walls 100 Feet high, and 25 Feet broad. And, whereas *Lariſſa* is a *Greek* Name, and, in the Days of *Xenophon*, there were no *Greek Cities* in *Aſſyria*; for this they account, by ſuppoſing, that when the *Greeks* might aſk, *what City thoſe were the Ruins of?* the *Aſſyrians* might anſwer *Lareſen*, or of *Reſen*, which *Xenophon* expreſſed by *Lariſſa*, a Name not unlike ſeveral Cities in *Greece*. And laſtly, as to *Calah* or *Calach*, ſince we find in *Strabo* a Country, about the *Head* of the River *Lycus*, call'd *Calachene*, 'tis very probable, that the ſaid Country took this Name from *Calach*, which was one of the capital Cities of it. *Ptolemy* makes Mention likewiſe of a Country call'd *Calacine* in theſe Parts: And, whereas *Pliny* mentions a People call'd *Claſſitæ*, thro' whoſe Country the *Lycus* runs, there is ſome Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that *Claſſitæ* is a Corruption of *Calachitæ*. *Wells*'s Geography, Vol. I.

* The Perſon, whom *Moſes* calls *Mizraim*, is, by *Diodorus*, and other Heathen Writers, commonly call'd *Menes*; by *Syncellus*, *Meſtraim*. *Menes* is ſuppos'd to be the firſt King of *Egypt* by *Herodotus*, l. 2. by *Diodorus*, l. 1. by *Eratoſthenes*, and *Africanus* from *Manetho*; by *Euſebius* and *Syncellus* in Chro. *Euſeb.* and the Time of *Menes* coincides very well with thoſe of *Moſes*'s *Mizraim*, as Sir *John Marſham* [in his Can. Chron. p. 2.] has pretty clearly evinced. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. l. 4.

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hitherto experienc'd; but, at length, by the Contrivance and Conduct of *Semiramis*, the Wife of one *Memnon*, a Captain in his Army, he took the *Capital*, and reduc'd the Kingdom: But, being hereupon charm'd with the Spirit and Bravery of the Woman, he fell in Love with her, and prevail'd with her Huſband, (by giving him his own Daughter, in Lieu of *Semiramis*, in Marriage) to conſent to his having *her* for his Wife. By her he had a Son, nam'd *Ninyas*; and, after a Reign of 52 Years, he died A. M. 2017.

NINYAS was but a *Minor* when his Father died; and therefore his Mother, who, all along, had a great Sway in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs during her Huſband's Life-time, continued in the Government, with the † Conſent and Approbation of her Subjects. She remov'd her Court from *Nineveh* to *Babylon*, which ſhe encompaſs'd with the Wall we mention'd before, and adorn'd with many publick and magnificent Buildings; and, having thus finiſhed the Seat of her Empire, and ſettled all the neighbouring Kingdoms under her Authority, ſhe rais'd an Army, with an Intent to conquer *India*; but, after a long and dangerous War, being tired out with Defeats, ſhe was obliged, with the ſmall Remainder of her Forces, to return Home, where, finding herſelf in Diſgrace with her People, ſhe reſigned the Crown and Authority to her Son, after ſhe had reign'd 42 Years; and ſoon after died, A. M. 2059.

Ninyas.

Her Son *Ninyas* began his Reign, full of a Senſe of the Errors of his Mother's Adminiſtration, and engag'd in none of the Wars, and dangerous Expeditions, wherein ſhe had harraſs'd and fatigu'd her People: But, tho' he was not ambitious to enlarge his Empire, *(s)* yet he took all due Care to regulate, and ſettle upon a good Foundation the extenſive Dominions, which his Parents had left him. By a wiſe Contrivance of annual *Deputies* over his Provinces, he prevented many Revolts of diſtant Countries, which might otherwiſe have happen'd; and his taking up that State of being difficult of Acceſs (which was afterwards much improv'd by *Eaſtern* Monarchs) might perhaps procure him a greater Veneration from his Subjects. However this be, it is certain, that moſt Authors have repreſented him as a weak and effeminate Prince, which might naturally ariſe (without any other Foundation) from his ſucceeding a Father and Mother, who were rather too active to enlarge their Dominions; as well as from the Diſpoſition, in moſt Writers, to think a turbulent and warlike Reign, if victorious, a glorious one, and to overlook an Adminiſtration, that is employed in the ſilent, but more happy Arts of Peace and good Government.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

The Kings of Egypt.

In *Egypt*, *Mizraim*, after his Death, had three Sons, who became the Kings of the ſeveral Parts thereof. *Ananim*, or rather *Anân*, was King of the *Lower Egypt*, or *Delta*; *Naphtuhim*, or *Naph*, of *Middle Egypt*, or the Country about *Memphis*; and *Pathruſim*, or *Patrus*, of the *Upper Egypt*, or the Country of *Thebaïs:* and agreeably hereunto, from theſe three Kings did theſe ſeveral Countries take their antient Denominations. Of the *firſt* of theſe, *viz. Ananim*, we have nothing remaining, but only his Name, and the Time of his Death: For, after he had reigned 63 Years, according to *Syncellus*, he died A. M. 2006.

Of the *Second*, viz. *Naphtuhim*, we are told, that he was the Author of the *Architecture*

† *Juſtin*, in his Hiſtory of this Woman, informs us, that, upon the Death of her Huſband, ſhe made uſe of the Stratagem of *perſonating* her Son, to obtain the Empire to herſelf; but *Diodorus*, with more Probability, aſcribes her Advancement to her Conduct, Bravery, and magnanimous Behaviour. When ſhe took upon her to be Queen, the publick Affairs were put in the Hands, to which *Ninus*, when alive, uſed generally to commit them; and it is not likely that the People ſhou'd be uneaſy at her governing, who had, for ſeveral Years together, by a Series of Actions, gain'd herſelf a great Credit and Aſcendant over them: Eſpecially if we conſider, that, when ſhe took up the Sovereignty, ſhe ſtill preſs'd forward in a Courſe of Action, which continually exceeded the Expectations of her People, and left no Room for any to be willing to diſpute her Authority. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. l. 4.

(s) Diodorus Siculus, l. 2.

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Architecture of theſe Ages; had ſome uſeful Knowledge of *Phyſick* and *Anatomy*; and taught his Subjects (as he learned it from his Brother *Pathruſim)* the Uſe of Letters: for to this *Pathruſim* (whom they call *Thyoth)* the *Egyptians* indeed aſcribe the Invention of all Arts and Sciences whatever. The *Greeks* call'd him *Hermes*, and *Latins*, *Mercurius*; and, while his Father *Mizraim* liv'd, he is ſuppoſed to have been his Secretary, and greatly aſſiſtant to him in all his Undertakings. When his Father died, he inſtructed his Brothers in all the Knowledge he was Maſter of; and, as for his own People, he made wholeſome Laws for their Government, ſettled their Religion and Form of Worſhip, and enrich'd their Language by the Addition of ſeveral Words, to expreſs ſeveral Things, which before they had no Names for.

THIS is the beſt Account that we can give of the *Babylonian* or *Aſſyrian* Empires, and of the Kings that rul'd *Egypt*, for ſome Ages next after the Diſperſion of Mankind. Other Nations, no doubt, were ſettled into regular Governments in theſe Times: *Canaan* was inhabited rather ſooner than *Egypt*; and, *(t)* according to *Moſes*, *Hebron*, in *Canaan*, was built ſeven Years before *Zoan* in *Egypt*; but, as none of theſe Nations made any conſiderable Figure in the firſt Ages, their Actions lie in Obſcurity, and muſt be bury'd in Oblivion. The few Men of extraordinary Note, that were then in the World, liv'd in *Egypt* and *Aſſyria*; and, for this Reaſon, we find little or no Mention of any other Countries, until one of theſe two Nations came to ſend out Colonies, which, by Degrees, poliſh'd the People they travelled to, and inſtructed them in ſuch Arts and Sciences, as made them appear with Credit in their own Age, and (as ſoon as the Uſe of Letters was made publick) tranſmitted their Names with Honour to Poſterity.

The Uſe and Invention of Letters.

THE Knowledge of Letters cannot have been of any long Standing among us *Europeans*, who are ſettled far from the *firſt* Seats of Mankind, and far from the Places, which the Deſcendants of *Noah* firſt planted. *None of the antient* Thracians, *(u)* ſays *Ælian*, *knew any Thing of Letters*; *nay*, *the* Europeans, in general, *thought it diſreputable to learn them*, *tho' in* Aſia *they were held in greater Requeſt.* The *Goths*, according to the expreſs Teſtimony *(x)* of *Socrates*, had their Letters and Writings from *Ulphila*, their Biſhop, *Anno Dom.* 370. The *Sclavonians* received theirs from *Methodius*, a Philoſopher, about *An. Dom.* 856. The People of *Dalmatia* had theirs, not till St *Jerom*'s; and thoſe of *Illyria*, not till St *Cyril*'s Days.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

THE *Latins* (who were more early) receiv'd their Letters (as moſt Authors agree) from the *Greeks*, and were taught the Uſe of them, either from ſome of the Followers of *Pelaſgus*, who came into *Italy*, about 150 Years after that *Cadmus* came into *Greece*; or from the *Arcadians*, whom *Evander* led into thoſe Parts, about 60 Years after *Pelaſgus*.

AMONG the *Greeks*, the *Ionians* were the firſt, who had any Knowledge of Letters; and they, in all Probability, had them from the *Phœnicians*, who were the Followers of *Cadmus*, when he came into *Greece*, but from whom the *Phœnicians* had them, has been Matter of ſome Diſpute. Many conſiderable Writers have derived them directly from *Egypt*, and are generally agreed, that *Thyoth*, or *Mercury*, was the Inventor of them. In the early Ages, when Mankind were but few, and theſe few employ'd in the ſeveral Contrivances for Life, it could be but here and there one, that had Leiſure, or perhaps Inclination, to ſtudy Letters. The *Companies*, that remov'd from *Babel*, were moſt of them rude and uncultivated People: They follow'd ſome Perſons of Figure and Eminence, who had gain'd an Aſcendant over them; and theſe Perſons, when they had ſettled them in diſtant Places, and came to teach them ſuch Arts as they were Maſters of, had every Thing they

(t) Numb. xiii. 22. (u) Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 8. c. 6. (x) Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 33.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 2007, &c.

taught them, imputed to their own Invention, becauſe the poor ignorant People knew no other Perſon, that was vers'd and ſkill'd in them.

THO' therefore the *Egyptians* had, confeſſedly, the Uſe of Letters very early among them; and tho' their *Thyoth*, or *Mercury*, might be the firſt, who taught others their Uſe, and for that Reaſon be reputed the Inventor of them; yet, I cannot but think, that *Noah* and his Sons, who had learn'd them in the *old* World, taught them to their Poſterity in the *new*. For, ſince Mankind ſubſiſted 1600 Years before the Flood, 'tis not very probable, that they liv'd all this while without the Uſe of Letters. If they *did*, how came we by the ſhort Annals, which we have of the *Antediluvian* Ages? But, if they *did not*, 'tis not unlikely, that *Noah*, being well ſkill'd in the Knowledge and Uſe of them, might teach them to his Children: And, if we purſue the Enquiry, and aſk, from whence *Noah* attained his Knowledge, the moſt proper Reply will be, that he had it from the Inſtruction of his Parents, as his Parents might have it, in their ſeveral Succeſſions, from *Adam*, and as *Adam* might have it from God.

Which was Originally from God.

AND indeed, if we conſider the Nature of Letters, it cannot but appear ſomething ſtrange, that an Invention ſo ſurprizing, as that of *Writing* is, ſhould be found out in an Age ſo near the Beginning of the World. *(y)* Nature may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have prompted Men to ſpeak, to try to expreſs their Minds to one another by Sounds and Noiſes; but that the Wit of Man ſhou'd, among its firſt Attempts, find out a Way to expreſs Words in Figures or Letters, and to form a Method, by which they might expoſe to View all that can be ſaid or thought, and that within the Compaſs of 16, 20, or 24 Characters, variouſly plac'd, ſo as to form Syllables and Words; that the Wit of Man, I ſay, could immediately and directly fall upon a Project of this Nature, is what exceeds the moſt exalted Notions, we can poſſibly form of his Capacity, and muſt therefore remit us to God (in whom *are hid* all the *Treaſures of* infinite *Wiſdom)* for the firſt Invention and Contrivance of it.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

The Learning Arts, and Commerce.

AS ſoon as the Uſe of Letters, whether of *divine* or *human Invention*, came generally to be known, 'tis reaſonable to think, that all Arts and Sciences would from thence receive a powerful Aſſiſtance, and, in Proceſs of Time, begin to take Root, and flouriſh; but this was a Period a little too early to bring them to any great Perfection. *(z)* For, tho' *Noah* and his Sons had doubtleſs ſome Knowledge of the Inventions of the *Antediluvians*, and probably acquainted their Deſcendants with ſuch of them, as were moſt obvious and uſeful in common Life; yet it cannot be imagin'd, that any of the more *curious* Arts, or *ſpeculative* Sciences, were improved to any Degree (ſuppoſing them to be known and invented) till ſome conſiderable Time after the Diſperſion. On the contrary, one Conſequence of that *Event* ſeems to have been this —— that ſeveral Inventions, known to their Anceſtors, were loſt, and Mankind gradually degenerated into *Ignorance* and *Barbarity*, 'till *Eaſe* and *Plenty* had given them Leiſure to poliſh their Manners, and to apply themſelves to ſuch Parts of Knowledge, as are ſeldom brought to Perfection under other Circumſtances.

THE Inhabitants of *Babylon* indeed are ſuppoſed to have had a great Knowledge in *Aſtronomical* Matters, much about this Time; *(a)* for, when *Alexander the Great* took Poſſeſſion of that City, *Calliſthenes*, the Philoſopher, who accompany'd him, upon ſearching into the Treaſures of the *Babylonian* Learning, found, that the *Chaldeans* had a Series of Obſervations for 1903 Years backwards from that Time; *i. e.* from the 1771ſt Year of the World's Creation forwards. But this is a Notion, that we

(y) *Shuckford's* Connection, Vol. I. l. 4. *(z)* Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 2. *(a)* Simplicius de Cœlo, l. 2. com. 46.

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we have already confuted; as indeed the Nature of the Thing will teach us, that, upon the firſt Settlement in any Country, a Nation could not but find Employment enough (at leaſt for ſome Ages) in cultivating their Lands and providing themſelves Houſes, and other Neceſſaries, for their mutual Comfort and Subſiſtence.

NINUS and *Semiramis* are ſuppoſed to have improv'd vaſtly the Arts of *War* and *Navigation* about this Period: For, * we read of Armies, conſiſting of ſome *Millions* of Horſe and Foot; and of Fleets, and Gallies, with brazen Beaks, to tranſport the Forces over a River only, to the Number of *two Thouſand*: But all that Narration of *Diodorus* and *Juſtin*, as it is acknowledged to be taken from *Cteſias* (whom † all the beſt *Criticks* of Antiquity look upon as an Author deſerving no Credit) may very juſtly be accounted falſe and fabulous. And tho' it cannot be deny'd, that the Invention of *Shipping*, which was not before the Flood (for, had it been *before*, more than *Noah*, and his Family, might have ſav'd themſelves from the Waters) is a great Step towards the Improvement of *Commerce*; yet, as the Diſperſion of Mankind made it more difficult to trade with Nations, who ſpake a different Language; ſo the Method, whereinto, we may ſuppoſe, they enter'd at firſt, extended

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

* The Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, as we have it in *Diodorus Siculus*, l. 2. c. 1,—22. and in *Juſtin*, l. 1. c. 1, 2, is, in the Subſtance of it, to this Effect:——*The firſt, who extended this Empire, was* Ninus, *who being a warlike Prince, and deſiring to do great Things, gather'd together the ſtouteſt Men in the Country, and, having train'd them up to the Uſe of Arms, enter'd into an Alliance with* Ariæus, *King of* Arabia, *by whoſe Aſſiſtance he ſubdu'd the* Babylonians, *and impos'd a Tribute on them, after he had taken their King Captive, and kill'd him, with his Children. Then, having enter'd* Armenia *with a great Army, and deſtroy'd ſeveral Cities, he ſo terrify'd the reſt, that King* Barzanes *ſubmitted to him. After this, he vanquiſh'd* Pharnus, *King of* Media, *in Battle; crucify'd him and his Wife, and ſeven Children; and, in the Space of ſeventeen Years, overcame all* Aſia *except* India *and* Bactria; *but no Author declares the Particulars of his Victories. Of the* maritime *Provinces, he ſubdu'd, according to* Cteſias, *whom we follow, (ſays* Diodorus) Egypt, Phœnicia, *the* Lower Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia; *and, beſides theſe,* Caria, *the* Phrygia's, Lydia, Myſia, Troas, *together with the* Propontis, Bithynia, Cappadocia, *and all the barbarous Nations, as far as the* Tanais; *with* Perſia, Suſiana, Caſpiana, *and many other Nations, that we need not here enumerate.* From *this laſt Expedition as ſoon as he returned, he built a City, which he call'd by his own Name,* Ninus, *not far from the River* Euphrates; *and, being afterwards enamour'd with the Beauty and Valour of a Woman of uncertain Birth, nam'd* Semiramis, *he took her to Wife, and, by her Advice and Direction, govern'd all Things with Succeſs. For, having gather'd together an Army of ſeventeen hundred thouſand Foot, and two hundred and ten thouſand Horſe, and ſix hundred thouſand armed Chariots,* (Numbers incredible in thoſe Days!) *with theſe he advanc'd againſt* Oxyartes, *King of* Bactria, *who met him with an Army of four hundred thouſand Men: But the* Bactrians *being defeated, and their* Capital, *by the Valour and Direction of* Semiramis, *taken, ſhe was thereupon advanc'd to the Honour of being made Queen, which occaſion'd her Huſband to hang himſelf. After* Ninus *had thus ſettled his Affairs in* Bactria, *his Wife* Semiramis *had a Son (whom he nam'd* Ninyas) *and not long after died, leaving the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom in his Wife's Hands; who, to raiſe her own Glory, built a ſtately Monument for her deceas'd Huſband; built the City of* Babylon, *and other remarkable Places; and then, having brought* Egypt, Ethiopia, *and* Lybia, *all the Way to the Temple of* Jupiter Hammon, *under her Juriſdiction, return'd into* Aſia; *where ſhe had not been long, before, hearing that* Stabrobates *or* Staurobates, *King of* India, *govern'd a rich Country, ſhe reſolv'd to take it from him. To this Purpoſe, ſhe prepar'd a great Army, and Fleet: But being told what mighty Elephants there were in* India, *in order to have ſomething like them, ſhe cauſed three hundred thouſand Hides of Oxen to be dreſs'd, and ſtuffed with Straw, under which there was a Camel to bear the Machine, and a Man to guide it, which, at a Diſtance, made a Kind of Reſemblance of theſe vaſt Creatures. Her Army conſiſted of three Millions of Foot, one Million of Horſe, and an hundred thouſand Chariots; of an hundred thouſand of thoſe that fought on Camels; of two hundred thouſand Camels for the Baggage; and two thouſand Galleys, with brazen Heads, to tranſport her Army over the River* Indus. But all this muſt be falſe and fabulous; becauſe it is incredible to think, either that her own Country ſhould ſupply, or that the Country, whereinto ſhe was marching, ſhould be able to ſuſtain ſuch an immenſe Number of Men, and other Creatures, as are here related: Beſides that, it is falſe in Fact, that the Kings of *Aſſyria* ever govern'd all *Aſia*, or ſtretch'd their Conqueſts over *Egypt* and *Libya*. *Millar*'s Hiſtory of the Church, Ch. 1. Part 3.

† This *Cteſias* was a Native of *Cnidus*, and Phyſician to *Artaxerxes Mnemnon*. He wrote a *Perſian* Hiſtory in three and twenty Books, of which there remain only a few Fragments, preſerv'd by *Photius*; but very valuable Authors who have ſeen *Cteſias*, when perfect, give him no commendable Character. *Plutarch* [in *Artaxerxes*] calls him a fabulous, vain Man, and a great Lyar. *A. Gellius* [Noctes Atticæ l. 9. c. 4.] reckons him among the fabulous Writers; and *Ariſtotle* [in his *Hiſtoria Animalium*] ſays, that he was an Author, who deſerves no Credit; as indeed, if we will judge either by the incredible Things in his Story, or by what he ſays of the *Indian* and *Perſian* Affairs, in his Fragments that remain, we ſhall have Reaſon to conclude, that theſe great Men have not given him this Character without good Grounds. *Millar*'s Hiſtory, *ibid.*

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tended no farther than this:——That the Colonies, who planted new Countries, not only perceiving their own Wants, from the Conveniencies they had left behind them, but finding likewiſe ſomething uſeful in their Settlements, which were before unknown to them or their Founders, fetch'd what they wanted from the Parts, where they formerly dwelt, and, in Exchange for that, carried what they had diſcovered in their new Plantations, thither; And this ſeems to have given the firſt Riſe to Traffick and foreign Trade, whoſe gradual Advances we may have Occaſion to take Notice of hereafter. In the mean Time, we ſhall conclude this *Book* and this *Chapter* together, with an Account of the *Religion*, which at this Time obtain'd in the moſt famous Nations of the World; and obſerve withal, by what Means it came to degenerate into *Idolatry*, and other wicked and ſuperſtitious *Practices*.

The Religion of the Antients.

Now, beſides the common Notion of a God, which Men might either learn from *Tradition*, or collect by their own *Reflection*; the very Hiſtory of the *Deluge*, which had not ſo long ago befallen the World, could not but inſtruct and confirm the Generations, we are now treating of, in ſeveral Articles of their Religion. If they had the Account of this remarkable Judgment tranſmitted to them in all its Circumſtances, they could not but entertain theſe Conceptions of God:——That he takes Cognizance of the Things, which are done here on Earth; that he is a Lover of Virtue, and a ſevere Puniſher of Vice; that he is infinite in Power, by commanding the Winds and Rains, Seas and Elements, to execute his Will; that he is likewiſe infinite in Mercy, in forewarning the Wicked of their Ruin (as he did the old World) ſeveral Years before its Execution; and that therefore a Being of ſuch a Nature and Diſpoſition was to be ſerved, and worſhipped, and fear'd, and obeyed. So that the *Sum* of *Religion*, in the Ages ſubſequent to the Flood, even to the Promulgation of the *Law*, muſt have conſiſted in the Belief of a God, and his ſacred Attributes; in the devout Worſhip of him, by the Oblation of Prayers and Praiſes, and ſuch Sacrifices, as he himſelf had inſtituted; and in the Obſervance of thoſe eternal Rules of Righteouſneſs, of Juſtice and Mercy, of Sobriety, and Temperance, &c. which, if not expreſly deliver'd to the Sons of *Noah*, were nevertheleſs deducible from the Nature of Things, and the Relations, wherein Mankind ſtood toward one another.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

And, now, if we look into the principal Nations, which were at this Time exiſting, we ſhall find, that *(b)* the *Perſians*, above all other People, were remarkable for having amongſt them a true Account of the Creation of the World; and its Deſtruction by Water; which they ſtrictly adher'd to, and made the Foundation of their Religion; nor have we any Reaſon to think, but that they were, for ſome Time, very zealous Profeſſors of it, tho', by Degrees, they came to corrupt it, by introducing *Novelties*, and Fancies of their own, into both their *Faith* and *Practice*: We ſhall find, *(c)* that many of the ancient *Arabians* preſerv'd the true Worſhip of God for ſeveral Ages, whereof *Job*, (who perhaps lived in the Days now under Conſideration) was a memorable Inſtance; as was likewiſe *Jethro*, the Prieſt of *Midian*, in the Days of *Moſes*: We ſhall find, that the *Canaanites* of old were of the ſame Religion with *Abraham*; for, tho' he travell'd up and down many Years in their Country, yet was he reſpected by the Inhabitants of it, as a Perſon in great Favour with God; and *Melchiſedeck*, the King of *Salem*, who was the *Prieſt of the moſt high God*, and conſequently of the ſame Religion, receiv'd him with this Addreſs *(d) Bleſſed be* Abraham, *Servant of the moſt high God, Poſſeſſor of Heaven and Earth*. We ſhall find, from *Abimelech*'s Prayer, upon his receiving Intima-

tion,

(b) Hyde's Relig. Vet. Perſarum, c. 3. *(c) Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. l. 5. *(d)* Gen. xiv. 19.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 2007, &c.

tion, that *Sarah* was *Abraham*'s Wife, that, among the *Philiſtines*, there were ſome true Worſhippers of the God of *Heaven*: *(e) Lord, wilt thou ſlay a righteous Nation? Said he not unto me, ſhe is my Siſter; and ſhe, even ſhe herſelf, ſaid, he is my Brother: In the Integrity of my Heart and Innocency of my Hands have I done this:* We ſhall find, that the *Egyptians* allowed no *mortal* Creature to be a God; profeſs'd to worſhip nothing, but their God *Cneph*, *(f)* whom they affirm'd to be without Beginning, and without End; and tho', in the Mythologick Times, *(g)* they repreſented this Deity by the Figure of a Serpent, with the Head of an Hawk in the Middle of Circle, yet they affirmed, at the ſame Time, that the God, whom they thus repreſented, was the Creator of all Things, a Being incorruptible and eternal, with ſeveral other Attributes becoming the divine Nature: In ſhort, we ſhall find, that all the Nations, then known in the World, not only worſhipped the ſame God, whom they call'd the *Maker and Creator of the Univerſe*, but worſhipped him likewiſe in the ſame Form and Manner; that they had all the like Sacrifices, either *expiatory*, to make Atonement for their Sins; *precatory*, to obtain Favours from Almighty God; *propitiatory*, to avert his Judgments; or *euchariſtical*, to return Thanks for his extraordinary Mercies; and that all theſe Sacrifices were every where offer'd upon *Altars*, with ſome previous Purifications, and other Ceremonies to be obſerv'd by the Offerer: So that Religion, in every Nation, for ſome Time after the Flood, both in Principle and Practice, was the *ſame*, till ſome buſy and pragmatical Heads, being minded to make ſome Improvements (as they thought) added their own Speculations to it, and ſo both deſtroy'd its Uniformity, and introduc'd its Corruption.

Gen Ch. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

And Idolatry of theſe Times, when it began.

WHEN this Corruption of Religion was firſt introduc'd, is not ſo eaſy a Matter to determine, becauſe neither *ſacred* nor *profane* Hiſtory have taken any Notice of it. Thoſe, *(h)* who account *Idolatry* one of the Sins of the *Antediluvian* World, ſuppoſe that *Ham*, being marry'd into the wicked Race of *Lamech*, retain'd a ſtrong Inclination for ſuch a falſe Worſhip; and that, after he was curſed by his Father *Noah*, and ſeparated from the Poſterity of *Shem*, he ſoon ſet it up. Thoſe, *(i)* who imagine that the Tower of *Babel* was a Monument intended for the Honour of the *Sun*, which had dry'd up the Waters from off the Face of the Earth, muſt ſuppoſe, that the Worſhip of that *Planet* began, whilſt the Remembrance of the Deluge was freſh in Men's Minds; but thoſe, *(k)* who are of Opinion, that the Difference of Men's Dialects and the Difference of their Sentiments concerning God might not improperly commence together, muſt date the firſt Inſtitution of *Idolatry* not a great deal lower, than the Time of the Diſperſion.

(l) THE Generality of *Chriſtian* Fathers, as well as *oriental* Writers, are poſitive in their Aſſertions, that the firſt Appearance of Idolatry was in the Days of *Serug*: "Becauſe, as *Enoch*, ſay "they, was the ſeventh from *Adam*, "in whoſe Time the general Impiety, "before the Flood, is ſaid to have began; "ſo *Serug*, being, in like Manner, the "ſeventh from *Noah*, liv'd at a proper "Diſtance, for ſuch a Corruption of "religious Worſhip to be introduced, "and grow." But this is a Reaſon too "trifling to be taken Notice of: *Nor can I ſee*, ſays our learned *Selden*, *(m) how they can be able to maintain their Opinions, who determine ſo peremptorily, concerning a Matter of ſo diſtant and uncertain a Nature.*

(e) Gen. xx. 5. *(f)* *Plutarch* de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 359. *(g)* *Euſebius*'s Præp. Evan. l. 1. c. 10. *(h)* *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, l. 2. c. 6. *(i)* Vid. *Tenniſon* of Idolatry. *(k)* *Cyril. Alex.* contra *Julian* l. 1. *(l)* *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exer. 1 *(m)* De Düs Syris, Proleg. 3.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 2007, &c.

But, whatever the Date of *Idolatry* might be, it is certain, that it had its firſt Birth, not in *Egypt*, (as ſome have maintain'd,) but in *Chaldea*, as the moſt reverend Author of the *Treatiſe of Idolatry* has evinc'd; *(n)* and that becauſe, in the Days of *Abraham*, we find, all other Nations and Countries adhering to the true Account of the Creation and Deluge, and worſhipping the God of Heaven, according to what had been revealed to them; whereas the *Chaldeans* had ſo far departed from his Worſhip, and were ſo zealous in their Errors and Corruptions, that, upon *Abraham*'s Family refuſing to join with them, they expell'd them their Country, and *(o) caſt them out from the Face of their Gods.*

Celeſtial Bodies the firſt Idols in every Country.

The *Chaldeans* indeed, by Reaſon of the *plain* and *eaſy* Situation of their Country, which gave them a larger Proſpect of the heavenly Bodies, than thoſe, who inhabited *mountainous* Places, had a great Conveniency for *aſtronomical* Obſervations, and, accordingly, were the firſt People, who took any great Pains to improve them. And, as they were the firſt *Aſtrologers*, *(p)* ſo learned Men have obſerv'd, that, lying on the Ground, or elſe on flat Roofs, all Night, to make their Obſervations, they fell in love with the *Lights of Heaven*, which, in the clear Firmament of thoſe Countries, appear'd ſo often, and with ſo much Luſtre; and perceiving the conſtant and regular Order of their Motions, and Revolutions, they thence began to imagine, that they were *animated* with ſome ſuperior Souls, and therefore deſerv'd their Adoration; and as the Sun excell'd all the reſt, ſo the Generality of learned Men have, with good Reaſon, imagin'd, that this bright *Luminary* was the firſt *Idol* in the World.

Among the *Egyptians*, *(q) Syphis*, King of *Memphis*, was the firſt, who began to ſpeculate upon ſuch Subjects. He examin'd what Influence the Sun and Moon had upon the Terreſtrial Globe; how they nouriſh'd, and gave Life and Vigour to all Things; and thereupon, forgetting what his Anceſtors had taught him, *viz.* that *in the Beginning God created the Heavens, as well as the Earth*, the Sun and Moon, as well as the Creatures of this *Lower World*, he concluded, that they were two great and mighty *Deities*, and, accordingly, commanded them to be worſhipp'd. From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

The *Perſians* perhaps *(r)* were never ſo far corrupted, as to loſe entirely the Knowledge of the ſupreme God. They ſaw thoſe celeſtial Bodies running their Courſes, as they thought, Day and Night, over all the World, and reviving and invigorating all the Parts and Products of the Earth; and, tho' they kept themſelves ſo far right, as not to miſtake them for the true God, yet they imagin'd them to be his moſt glorious *Miniſters*; and, not taking Care to keep ſtrictly to what their Forefathers had taught them, they were led away, by their own Imaginations, to appoint an idolatrous Worſhip for Beings, that had been created, and *by Nature were not Gods.*

What Kind of *Idolatry* was current among the *Canaanites*, *Moſes* ſufficiently intimates in the Caution, he gives the *Iſraelites*, juſt going to take Poſſeſſion of it, *viz.* that *(s) when they lifted up their Eyes to Heaven, and ſaw the Sun, and Moon, and Stars, even all the Hoſt of Heaven*, they ſhou'd not, as the Inhabitants of the Country were, *be driven to worſhip, and to ſerve them:* And that this was the cuſtomary Worſhip among the *Arabians*, the Juſtification, which *Job* makes of himſelf, is a ſufficient Proof; *(t) If I beheld the Sun, when it ſhin'd, or the Moon, walking in Brightneſs, and mine Heart hath been ſecretly entic'd, or my Mouth hath kiſs'd my Hand*, i. e. if, with Devotion of Soul, or Profeſſion of outward Reſpect, I have worſhipp'd thoſe heavenly Bodies, which, by their Height, Motion,

(n) Shuckford's Connection, Vol. I. l. 5. *(o)* Judith v. 8. *(p) Tenniſon* of Idolatry. *(q) Diodorus*, l. 1. *(r) Hyde's* Relig. Vet. Perſarum, c. 1. *(s)* Deut. iv. 19. *(t)* Job xxxi. 26, 27.

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Motion and Luſtre, attract the Eye, and raviſh the Senſes, *this alſo were an Iniquity to be puniſh'd by the Judges; for then I ſhou'd have deny'd the God, that is above.* And therefore the Account, *(u)* which the *Greek* Hiſtorian gives us of the Origin of this Kind of *Idolatry*, is more than probable, *viz. that the moſt antient Inhabitants of the Earth*, (meaning thoſe, who liv'd not long after the Flood, and particularly the *Egyptians) contemplating on the World above them, and being aſtoniſh'd with high Admiration at the Nature of the Univerſe, believ'd, that they were eternal Gods, and that the two Principal of them were the Sun and the Moon; the former of which they called* Oſiris, *and the latter* Iſis: Since, of later Years, upon the Diſcovery of *America*, tho' many different Idols were found in different Places, yet as for the *Sun*, it was the univerſal Deity, both in *Mexico* and *Peru*.

The great Multiplicity of Idols.

BUT, whatever the firſt Idol might be, it ſoon multiplied into ſuch a prodigious Number, as to fill both Heaven and Earth with its Progeny; inſomuch that there are not three Parts of the Creation, but what, in one Nation or other, had their Worſhippers. *(x)* They worſhipp'd univerſal Nature, the Soul of the World, Angels, Devils, and the Souls of Men departed, either ſeparate and alone, or in Union with ſome Star, or other Body. They worſhipp'd the *Heavens*; and, in them, both particular Luminaries, and Conſtellations; the *Atmoſphere*; and, in it, the Meteors, and Fowls of the Air; the *Earth*; and, in it, Beaſts, Birds, Inſects, Plants, Groves, and Hills, together with divers Foſſils, and Terreſtrial Fire, They worſhipp'd the *Water*; and, in it, the Sea, and Rivers; and, in them, Fiſhes, Serpents, and Inſects, together with ſuch Creatures, as live in either *Element*. They worſhipp'd *Men*, both living and dead; and, in them, the Faculties and Endowments of the Soul, as well as the ſeveral Accidents and Conditions of Life. Nay, they worſhipp'd the *Images* of Men; the Images of *Animals*, even the moſt hateful, ſuch as Serpents, Dragons, Crocodiles, *&c.* and deſcended at laſt ſo low, as to pay a religious Regard to *Things inanimate*, Herbs, and Plants, and the moſt ſtinking Vegetables.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

How the World come to fall into this State.

How Men came to part with the Religion of their Anceſtors for ſuch Traſh, and *(y) to change the Glory of the Incorruptible God, into the Image of corruptible Man, and Birds, and fourfooted Beaſts, and creeping Things*, the Apoſtle, who remonſtrates to the Indignity, has, in ſome Meaſure, ſupply'd us with a Reaſon, when he tells, that this State of Things, how groſs and ſtrange ſoever it was, was introduc'd under the Pretences of Wiſdom, or by Men *profeſſing to be wiſe*.

IT was the Wiſe amongſt them, that formed the Deſign, and, addreſſing to the Multitude, with a grave Appearance, prevail'd (as we may conceive) by ſome ſuch Form of arguing as this: *(z)* "We are "all aware, ye Sons of *Noah*, that Re- "ligion is our chief Concern, and there- "fore it well becomes us to improve and "advance it as much as poſſible. We "have indeed receiv'd Appointments from "God, for the Worſhip which he re- "quires; but, if theſe Appointments may "be alter'd for his greater Glory, there "is no doubt, but that it will be a com- "mendable Piety ſo to alter them. Now "our Father *Noah* has inſtructed us in a "Religion, which, in Truth, is too ſim- "ple, and too unaffecting: It directs us "to the Worſhip of God, *abſtractly* from "all Senſe, and under a *confus'd* Notion; "under the Formality of *Attributes*, as "Power, Goodneſs, Juſtice, Wiſdom, "Eternity, and the like; an Idea fo- "reign to our Affections, as well as our "Comprehenſions: Whereas, in all Rea- "ſon, we ought to worſhip God more "*pompouſly*, and more extenſively, and not "only to adore his *perſonal* and *eſſential* "Attributes,

(u) *Diodorus Siculus*, l. 3. c. 11. (x) *Tenniſon* of Idolatry. (y) Rom. i. 22. 23. (z) *Young's* Sermons, Vol. II. Serm. 1.

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" Attributes, but likewiſe all the *Ema-*
" *nations* of them, and all thoſe Crea-
" tures, by which they are eminently re-
" preſented. Nor can this be any Dero-
" gation from his Honour; ſince his Ho-
" nour is certainly more amply expreſs'd,
" when, in this Manner, we acknowledge,
" that not only *himſelf*, but all his *Crea-*
" *tures* likewiſe are adorable. We ought
" therefore (if we will be wiſe) to wor-
" ſhip the *Hoſt of Heaven*, becauſe they
" are eminent Repreſentations of his
" *Glory* and *Eternity:* We ought to wor-
" ſhip the *Elements*, becauſe they repre-
" ſent his *Benignity* and *Omnipreſence:*
" We ought to worſhip *Princes*, becauſe
" they ſuſtain a divine Character, and
" are the Repreſentatives of his *Power*
" upon Earth: We ought to worſhip
" Men *famous in their Generation*, even
" when they are *dead*, becauſe their
" Virtues are the diſtinguiſhing *Gifts*
" and Communications of God: Nay,
" we ought to worſhip the *Ox* and the
" *Sheep*, and whatever Creatures are moſt
" beneficial, becauſe they are the Sym-
" bols of his *Love* and *Goodneſs*; and,
" with no leſs Reaſon, the *Serpent*, the
" *Crocodile*, and other Animals, that are
" noxious, becauſe they are the Symbols
" of his *awful Anger*."

This ſeems to be a fair Opening of the Project; and by ſome ſuch cunning Harangue as this, we may ſuppoſe, it was, that the firſt Contrivers of Idolatry drew in the ignorant and admiring Multitude. And indeed, conſidering the natural Habitude of vulgar Minds, and the ſtrong Inclinations they have, in Matters of an *abſtruſe* Conſideration, to help themſelves by ſenſible Objects, it ſeems not ſo difficult a Taſk to have *drawn them in.*

The Motives which engaged Men in it.

Those, who worſhipp'd *univerſal Nature*, or the Syſtem of the material World, perceiv'd firſt, that there was Excellency in the ſeveral Parts of it, and then (to make up the Grandeur and Perfection of the Idea) they join'd them altogether in one divine Being. Thoſe, who labour'd under a Weakneſs and Narrowneſs of Imagination, diſtributed Nature into its ſeveral Parts, and worſhipp'd that Portion of it, which was accounted of moſt general Uſe and Benefit. *Uſefulneſs* was the common Motive, but it was not the only Motive, which inclin'd the World to Idolatry: For, upon farther Enquiry, we ſhall find, that, whatever raviſh'd with its tranſcendent Beauty; whatever affrighten'd with its malignant Power; whatever aſtoniſh'd with its uncommon Greatneſs; whatever, in ſhort, was beautiful, hurtful, or majeſtick, became a *Deity*, as well as what was profitable for its Uſe. *(a)* The *Sun*, Men ſoon perceiv'd, had all theſe Powers and Properties united in it: Its *Beauty* was glorious to behold; its *Motion* wonderful to conſider; its *Heat* occaſion'd different Effects; Barrenneſs in ſome Places, and Fruitfulneſs in others; and the immenſe Globe of its Light appear'd highly exalted, and riding in Triumph, as it were, round the World. The *Moon*, they ſaw, ſupply'd the Abſence of the Sun by Night; gave a friendly Light to the Earth; and, beſides the great Variety of its *Phaſes*, had a wonderful Influence over the Sea, and other humid Bodies. The *Stars* they admir'd for their Height and Magnitude, the Order of their Poſitions, and Celerity of their Motions, and thence were perſuaded, either that ſome celeſtial Vigour or other reſided in them, or that the Souls of their *Heroes*, and great Men, were tranſlated into them, when they died; and, upon theſe, and ſuch like Preſumptions, they accounted all celeſtial Bodies to be Deities. *(b)* The *Force* of Fire, the *Serenity* of Air, the *Uſefulneſs* of Water, as well as the *Terror* and Dreadfulneſs of Thunder and Lightning, gave Riſe to the Conſecration of the *Meteors* and *Elements*. The *Sea*, ſwelling with its proud Surface, and roaring with its mighty Billows, was ſuch an *awful* Sight, and the *Earth*, bedeck'd with all its Plants, Flowers, and Fruits, ſuch a *lovely* one, as might well affect

From Gen. i. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

(a) *Tennyſon* of Idolatry. (b) *Herbert's* antient Religion of the *Gentiles*.

A. M. 1657, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2107, &c.

affect a *Pagan's* Veneration; when, for the like Motives, *viz.* their beneficial, hurtful, delightful, or aſtoniſhing Properties, Beaſts, Birds, Fiſhes, Inſects, and even Vegetables themſelves, came to be ador'd.

The Riſe of Image-Worſhip.

THE Pride and Pomp of the *Great*, and the low and abject Spirit of the *Mean*, occaſion'd firſt the *Flattery*, and then the *Worſhip* of *Kings* and *Princes*, as Gods upon Earth. Men famous for their Adventures and Exploits, the Founders of Nations or Cities, or the Inventors of uſeful Arts and Sciences, were *reverenc'd*, while they liv'd; and, after Death, *canoniz'd*. The prevailing Notion of the Soul's *Immortality* made them imagine, that the Spirits of ſuch excellent Perſons either immediately aſcended up into Heaven, and ſettled there in ſome Orb or other; or that they hover'd in the Air, whence, by ſolemn Invocations, and by making ſome Statue or Image reſemblant of them, they might be prevailed with to come down, and inhabit it.

WHETHER the Idolatry of Image-Worſhip was firſt begun in *Chaldea*, or in *Egypt*, we have no Grounds from Hiſtory to determine: But, wherever it had its Origin, the Deſign of making Statues and Images at firſt was certainly ſuch, as the Author of the *Book* of *Wiſdom (c)* has repreſented it, *viz.* to commemorate an abſent or deceaſed Friend, or to do Honour to ſome great Man or ſovereign Prince; which (whether ſo intended or no at firſt) the Ignorance and Superſtition of the People turn'd, in Time, into an Object of religious Adoration; the *ſingular Diligence of the Artificer* (as our Author expreſſes it) *helping to ſet forward the Ignorant to more Superſtition: For he, peradventure, willing to pleaſe one in Authority, forced all his Skill to make the Reſemblance of the beſt Faſhion, and ſo the Multitude, allur'd by the Grace of the Work, took him now for a* God, *who, a little before, was but honour'd as a* Man.

WE cannot but obſerve however, with what Elegance and fine *Satire* it is, that the Scripture ſets off the Stupidity, and groſs Infatuation, both of the Artificer, and Adorer. *The Carpenter heweth down Cedars, and taketh the Cypreſs, and the Oak. He ſtretcheth out his Rule; he marketh it out with a Line; he fitteth it with Planes; he marketh it out with the Compaſs, and maketh it after the Figure of a Man, according to the Beauty of a Man —— He burneth Part thereof in the Fire; with Part thereof he eateth Fleſh; he roaſteth Roſt, and is ſatisfy'd; yea he warmeth himſelf, and ſaith Aha! I am warm, I have ſeen the Fire; and the Reſidue thereof he maketh a God, even his graven Image. He falleth down unto it, and worſhippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and ſaith, Deliver me, for thou art my God; never conſidering in his Heart, nor having Knowledge or Underſtanding to ſay, I have burnt Part of it in the Fire; yea alſo I have baked Bread upon the Coals thereof: I have roaſted Fleſh, and eaten it; And ſhall I make the Reſidue thereof an Abomination? Shall I fall down to the Stock of a Tree?* From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

The groſs Folly and Stupidity of it.

THAT rational Creatures ſhould be capable of ſo wretched a Degeneracy, as this amounts to, may juſtly provoke our Wonder and Amazement; and yet we may remember, that theſe People (who may poſſibly be the Object of our Scorn and Contempt) had the boaſted *Light of Nature* to be their *Guide in Matters of Religion.* Nay, they had ſome Advantages, that we apparently want: They lived much nearer the Beginning of the World; had the Terrors of the Lord, in the late Judgment of the Deluge, freſh in their Minds; had the Articles of their Religion compriſed in a ſmall Compaſs; and (what is no bad Friend to Reaſon and ſober Recollection) lived in more Simplicity, and leſs Luxury, than theſe later Ages can pretend to; and yet, notwithſtanding theſe Advantages, ſo ſadly,

The Inſufficiency of Reaſon to guide us in Matters of Religion.

(c) Ch. xiv. 15, &c.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 2007, &c.

ſo ſhamefully did they miſcarry, that the Wit of a Man would be at a loſs to deviſe a Reaſon for their Conduct, had not the divine Wiſdom inform'd us, that *(d) they alienated themſelves from the Light of God*, and *lightly regarded the Counſels of the moſt High*; that they *forſook the Guide of their Youth, and rejected* thoſe Revelations, *which, at ſundry Times, and in divers Manners*, were made to their Forefathers, for the Rule and Meaſure of their Faith and Practice. We indeed, had we lived in thoſe Days, may be apt to think, that we would not have been carried away with the common Corruption; that the Light of Nature would have taught us better, than to pay our Devotions to brute Beaſts, or to look upon their Images as our Gods. But alas! we little conſider, what the Power of Reaſon, of mere *unaſſiſted* Reaſon, is againſt the Force of Education, and the Prevalence of Cuſtom, engaged on the Side of a *falſe*, but *flaſhy*, and *popular* Religion. *Ariſtotle*, *Plato*, and *Cicero*, were, in after Ages, ſome of the greateſt *Reaſoners*, that the World has produced, and yet we find them complying with the eſtabliſhed Worſhip of their Country: What Grounds then have we to imagine, that, in Caſe we had been Contemporaries with them, we had acquitted ourſelves any better? Our Reaſon indeed now tells us, that we would have died, rather than ſubmitted to theſe impious Modes of Worſhip: But then we are to remember, that Reaſon is now *aſſiſted* by the Light and Authority of a divine *Revelation*; that therefore we are not competent Judges, how we ſhould act without this ſuperior Aid; but that, in all Probability, *(e)* taking away the Direction and Reſtraint of *this*, Reaſon would relapſe into the ſame Extravagancies, the ſame Impiety, the ſame Folly and Superſtition, which prevailed on it before. And therefore (to conclude in the Words of our bleſſed Saviour, ſpoken indeed upon *another*, but very applicable upon this Occaſion) *(f) Bleſſed are the Eyes, which ſee the Things which ye ſee*, a full and perfect Rule of Faith and Manners, contain'd in that HOLY BIBLE, which is in every one's Hands; *for I tell you, that many Prophets and Kings have deſired to ſee thoſe Things, which ye ſee, and have not ſeen them; and to hear thoſe Things, which ye hear, and have not heard them.*

From Gen. i. to the End, and from Matt. xi. Ver. 10 to the End.

(d) Eph. iv. 18. *(e) Rogers's* Neceſſity of a Divine Revelation. *(f)* Luke x. 23, 24.

The End of the Second Book.

THE





So Abram departed, as the Lord had spoken unto him; and Lot went with him: and Abram was seventy and five years old when he departed out of Haran. And Abram took Sarai his Wife, and Lot his Brothers Son, & all their Substance that they had gathered, and the Souls that they had gotten in Haran, and they went forth to go into the Land of Canaan. Gen. 12. C. 4. 5.

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Pl. 14

G. Keet del.

M.I.^de Grado Sculp.



Walker Sculp.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

BIBLE.

BOOK III.

Containing an Account of Things, from the Calling of ABRAHAM, *to the* ISRAELITES *Departure out of* EGYPT. *In all* 430 *Years.*

CHAP. I.

Of the Life of Abraham, *from his Call to his Death.*

The HISTORY.

A. M. 2083, &c. Ant. Chrif. 1921, &c.

Abraham *leaves his Country.*

AFTER the Death of his Father *Terah*, *Abram*, who, by God's Appointment, had not long before left *Ur* in *Chaldea*, was now order'd to leave *Haran*, and to go into a Country †, whereunto God wou'd conduct him, and who, at the ſame Time, gave him Aſſurance, that he wou'd bleſs, protect, and multiply his Poſterity

From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

† It is very probable, that this was done by ſome Appearance or other of the *Shekinah*, going before him, even as afterwards, his Poſterity was conducted in the Way thither; ſince, paſſing over Rivers, climbing Mountains, and travelling through a dangerous and vaſt Deſart, he had certainly need of an extraordinary divine Direction, and of ſome ſenſible Exhibition or Token of it, while he had nothing but the Promiſe of God to ſupport him, in ſo long, and ſo hazardous a Journey. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I.

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Poſterity in an extraordinary Manner, and that †, *in his Seed, all the Families of the Earth ſhou'd be bleſſed.*

Abram was fully perſuaded of the Truth of all God's Promiſes: And therefore, without any Heſitation, taking his Wife and Family, and all his Effects, together with his Nephew *Lot*, and *his* Subſtance with him, he purſu'd his Journey *(not knowing whither he ſhou'd go)* until, by the Divine Guidance †, he came into the Land of *Canaan*; and, being minded to make ſome Survey of the Country, proceeded † to the famous *Oak of Moreh*, not far from the City of *Sichem*, then ‖ inhabited by the *Canaanites*. Here he took up his Abode for ſome Time, and here built an Altar, in order to pay his Devotions From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

† Some Interpreters have imagin'd, that theſe Words require no higher Senſe than this——That all Nations ſhou'd ſee the Proſperity of *Abraham* and his Seed, ſo evidently, that they ſhou'd bleſs themſelves, and others, in ſome ſuch Form as this: —— *God make thee as great as* Abraham *and his Seed.* But, beſides the Incongruity of ſuppoſing, that God's *everlaſting Covenant* (as he calls it, Gen. xvii. 19.) was given only to produce a *proverbial* Form of Speech, 'tis plain Matter of Fact, that the Poſterity of *Abraham*, in the Line of *Iſaac*, was far from being the moſt proſperous (as to temporal Affairs) of all the other Branches of his Family; and therefore this Promiſe muſt of neceſſity be ſuppos'd to relate to ſome more *ſpiritual* and diſtant Bleſſing, juſt as St *Paul*, in his Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, has explained it: *Now to* Abraham *and his Seed were the Promiſes made, he ſaith not*, and to Seeds, *as of many, but of one*, and to thy Seed, *which is Chriſt*, Gal. iii. 16. Vid. Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy.

† The Land of *Canaan* lies between the *Mediterranean Sea* and the Mountains of *Arabia*, and extends from *Egypt* to *Phœnicia*. It is bounded *to the Eaſt*, by the Mountains of *Arabia*; *to the South*, by the Wilderneſs of *Paran*, *Idumea*, and *Egypt*; *to the Weſt*, by the *Mediterranean*, called, in *Hebrew*, the *Great Sea*; and *to the North*, by the Mountains of *Libanus*. Its Length from the City of *Dan* (ſince called *Cæſarea Philippi*, or *Paneadis*, which ſtands at the Foot of theſe Mountains) to *Beer-ſheba*, is about ſeventy Leagues, and its Breadth, from the *Mediterranean Sea* to the *Eaſtern* Borders, is, in ſome Places, thirty. It was firſt called the Land of *Canaan*, from *Cainan*, the Son of *Ham*, whoſe Poſterity poſſeſſed it. It was afterwards called *Paleſtine*, from the People, which the *Hebrews* call *Philiſtines*, and the *Greeks* and *Romans* corruptly *Paleſtines*, who inhabited the *Sea-coaſts*, and were firſt known to them. It likewiſe had the Name of the *Land of Promiſe*, from the Promiſe God made *Abraham* of giving it to him; that of the *Land of Iſrael*, from the *Iſraelites* having made themſelves Maſters of it; that of *Judah*, from the Tribe of *Judah*, which was the moſt conſiderable of the twelve; and laſtly, the Happineſs, it had of being ſanctified by the Preſence, Actions, Miracles, and Death of Jeſus Chriſt, has given it the Name of the *Holy Land*, which it retains to this Day. *Lamy*'s Introduction.

† The City of *Sichem*, or *Sechem*, or *Sychar*, (for it had all theſe Names) was, at this Time, ſo called by Way of *Anticipation*, (for, as yet, it was not founded) is a Town of *Samaria*, in the Borders of *Ephraim*, which ſtands in a narrow Valley, between *Gerazim* on the *South*, and *Ebal* on the *North*, being built at the Foot of the former. At preſent it is called *Naploſa*, and conſiſts only of two Streets, lying parallel under Mount *Gerazim*, and is far from being in the flouriſhing Condition, it was once, tho' it is ſtill full of People, and the Seat of a *Baſſa*. The true Name which was given it by *Abram*, was *Moreh*, or *Allon Moreh*, which our Tranſlation renders the *Plain of Moreh*; by St *Jerom*, the *illuſtrious Vale*; by the *Jeruſalem Targum*, the *Valley of Viſion*, becauſe of God's appearing to *Abraham* here; and by others, the *Oak of Moreh*, or the illuſtrious Oak, &c. tho' it ſeems very probable, that there was in this Place, not only one ſingle Tree, but a whole Grove of them, and therefore it is called *Allon*, or *Aulon*, being a Corruption from *Elon*, in *Latin Eſculetum*; i. e. an *Oaken Grove*, or Foreſts of Ever-green Oaks: And ſince this was the Place, where *Abraham*, at his firſt Coming into the Country, built an *Altar*, we have great Reaſon to be of the ſame Opinion with the learned and ſagacious Mr *Mede*, viz. that this *Allon-Moreh* was a Place of divine Worſhip, a *Proſeucha*, or open Oratory, in Imitation of which, the *Jewiſh Proſeuchæ* (which were certain Spaces of Ground, with an Altar in the midſt, encompaſſed with a Wall, or ſome other Encloſure, and open above, but ſhaded with Trees) in after Ages, were ſet up. Vid. *Wells*'s Geography of the New Teſtament, Vol. I. and *Biblioth. Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 18, where the Reader may meet with a particular Enumeration, upon how many Accounts more, this Place was, in former Times, very famous.

‖ The Words in the Text are,—— Abram *paſſed through the Land unto the Place of* Sichem, *unto the Plain of* Moreh, *and the* Canaanite *was then in the Land:* From whence ſome have raiſed an Objection, that *Moſes* could not be the Author of this Book of *Geneſis*, becauſe the Words ſeem to import, that the Writer of them lived after that the *Canaanites* were drove out of the Land, which was after *Moſes*'s Death. But, in anſwer to this, it may be obſerved, that, as by *the Land* here, we are not obliged to underſtand the *whole* Country, but only that *Part* of it, which lay about *Sichem*, ſo by the *Canaanite*, we need not mean the whole Poſterity of *Canaan*, or all the *Canaaniti/h* Tribes, but only one particular Tribe of them, as in the very next Chapter, Ver. 7. is more diſtinctly expreſſed. And the Reaſon, why this is taken notice of by the ſacred Hiſtorian, is beſt accounted for in that ancient Tradition in *Epiphanius*. [Hæreſ. 66. N. 84.] if we will allow it to be true, *viz* that, according to the original Settlement and Diſtribution among the Sons of *Noah*, *Paleſtine* was not allotted to any of the Sons of *Ham*, but was uſurped by *Canaan* from the Children of *Shem*, to whom it did of Right belong; ſo that theſe Words, *the* Canaanite *was then in the Land*, ſignify, that they had already invaded the Land, before *Abram* came thither, and therefore God's promiſing to give it him was only in order to reſtore that to the Poſterity of *Shem*, which the Children of *Ham* had wrongfully ſeized. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Biblioth. Bibl.* Vol. I.

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Devotions to God; who, pleas'd with his Behaviour, appear'd to him again (as he had done at *Haran* before) and gave him freſh Aſſurances of his Favour, and a Promiſe inviolable, that, in Proceſs of Time, the whole Land, where he then dwelt, ſhou'd be the Portion of his Poſterity.

Goes into Egypt.

FROM *Sichem* he remov'd † into the mountainous Country, which lies between *Beth-el* and *Hai*, where he likewiſe built an Altar for a Place of divine Worſhip (as he did in all other Countries where he came) and from *Beth-el*, he was travelling farther to the *South*, when he was ſtopp'd by a Famine, which grew grievous in the Land, and oblig'd him to go down to * *Egypt*, the only Place for Proviſion in ſuch like Exigences. But as he came to the Confines of *Egypt*, he began to be not a little uneaſy upon the Account of his Wife, who, (tho' ſhe had paſs'd the ſixty-fifth Year of her Age) retain'd ſtill Beauty enough to endanger the Man's Life, who ſhou'd paſs for her Huſband in that Country. And therefore, after ſome Deliberation, concluding, that the ſafeſt Way wou'd be for her to conceal her Marriage, he took an Opportunity to acquaint her with his Fears, and, with a ſmall Entreaty, prevail'd with her, in all Places where they were to ſojourn, to go under the Notion of his *Siſter*.

From Gen. xii.—xxv. 11.

THEY had not been long in *Egypt*, before *Abram*'s Fears were found to be true. His Wife's Charms had captivated ſeveral, and her Beauty was become the common Topick of Converſation; inſomuch, that, in a ſhort Time, it reached the Court, and the high Commendations, which every one gave the King of it, rais'd his Curioſity to ſee this amiable Stranger. Immediately therefore ſhe was brought to Court, and taken in to the King's Apartment, as deſign'd for one of his Royal *Concubines*; while her pretended Brother was treated with great Civility for her Sake, and loaded with many valuable Preſents from the King.

IT is hardly to be imagin'd, what a ſad Diſtreſs both the Patriarch and his Conſort muſt have been in, upon this Occaſion. She was a beautiful Woman, in the Power of a looſe and vitious Prince, and deſtitute of all Protection, but God's; and her Lord not ſo much as daring to own her his Wife, knowing how certain and ſudden muſt be the Deſtruction of an helpleſs Man, that provokes Paſſion and Power, Rage of Luſt, and Security of gratifying it.

WHILE Matters were in this dangerous Poſition, the Providence of God interpos'd in her Behalf, and, to deter † *Pharaoh* and his Nobles from any diſhonourable Attempts upon her Virtue, † infeſted them

† What our Author here means, is Mount *Ephraim*, which lay between *Bethel*, a Town not far from *Jeruſalem* Northwards, and *Hai*, which is ſituate towards the *Weſt* of *Bethel*. *Wells*'s Geography, Vol. I.

* *Joſephus* tells us, that, "*Abraham*, underſtanding that there was a great Plenty in *Egypt*, reſolv'd upon a Journey "thither; not only to partake of their Plenty, but alſo to conſult the Prieſts in their Profeſſion in divine Matters, "with an impartial Deſire and Diſpoſition to find out the Truth, and either to give, or receive Satisfaction, accord- "ing as the Subject in Queſtion did require; that here he gained himſelf infinite Credit, not only for the Solidity "of his Judgment, and an admirable Felicity of Elocution, but for his inſtructive Talent of informing and convinc- "ing his Hearers at once; and that here he read Lectures of *Aſtronomy* and *Arithmetick*, which the *Egyptians* under- "ſtood nothing of, until *Abraham* brought them with him out of *Chaldee* into *Egypt*, from whence they paſſed into "*Greece*." Antiq. l. 1. c. 9.

† *Pharaoh* was the common Name for all the *Egyptian* Kings, for above 3300 Years, (as *Joſephus* tells us, Antiq. l. 8. c. 2.) but what its proper *Etymology* is, the Learned are not ſo well agreed. *Bochart* thinks that the Word *Pharaoh* ſignifies a *Crocodile*, and that *Ezekiel* alludes to it in theſe Words, *Behold I am againſt thee*, Pharaoh, *King of* Egypt, *the* great Dragon, that *lieth in the Midſt of the River*, Ezek. xxix. 3. M. *Le Clerc* fancies, that the *Arabick* Word *Pharaoh*, *to be raiſed on high*, or to *be ſuperior to*, is the true Root of the Name. *Kircher* does indeed derive the Word from the ſame Root, but will have it to ſignify *to deliver*, or *to free*; and that *Pharaoh* therefore ſignifies *to be exempt* from the Juriſdiction of the Laws. And (to name no more) the learned *Renaudot* thinks, that *Pharaoh* is the ſame with the *Egyptian Pourro*, or *Pooro*, which ſignifies a *King*. *Calmet* on the Word.

† Some of the *Hebrew* Interpreters think, that they had grievous Ulcers in their ſecret Parts, which made both him and them uncapable of enjoying either her, or any other Woman: And, in the Puniſhment inflicted upon *Abimelech*, and

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with ſuch Plagues, as made them not inſenſible upon whoſe Account it was that they ſuffer'd; even upon hers, who, tho' ſhe paſſed for a *ſingle*, was in reality a married Woman: So that the King, immediately calling for *Abram*, expoſtulated with him the ill Conſequences, that might have enſu'd from the Method he had taken; and, after ſome few Exprobrations, returned him his Wife, and gave Orders, that they might ſafely depart his Kingdom, without any the leaſt Moleſtation, either to their Perſons, or Poſſeſſions.

Upon his Return, he and Lot *part.*

Abram, after this, tarried not long in *Egypt:* For, underſtanding that the Famine was ceas'd in *Canaan*, he returned thither by the ſame Way, and on the Altar, which he had built before, offer'd a Sacrifice of Thanks for his happy Eſcape, and ſafe Return. *Lot* and *Abram* had hitherto liv'd together; but, by this Time, their Subſtance was ſo much encreas'd, that they found it inconvenient to be any longer near one another. Their Cattle mingled; † their Herdſmen quarrell'd; and their Flocks, when together, requir'd a larger Tract of Ground, to feed and ſupport them, than they cou'd take up, without interfering with the Property of the Inhabitants of the Land, wherein they ſojourn'd. Upon theſe Conſiderations, *Abram* reſolv'd, in a friendly Manner, to ſeparate from *Lot*; and, having given him his Choice of the whole Country, that lay before him, *Lot* choſe the fertile and pleaſant Plains of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, † which he ſaw were well watered by the Streams of *Jordan*, and ſo parted from his Uncle. *Abraham* continuing, for ſome Time, in the Place where *Lot* had left him, had a Viſion imparted to him, wherein God was pleaſed to renew the Promiſe of enlarging his Poſterity; and, bidding him caſt his Eyes round the Horizon, confirm'd the Gift of all the Land, which he beheld, to him and his Poſterity. Not long

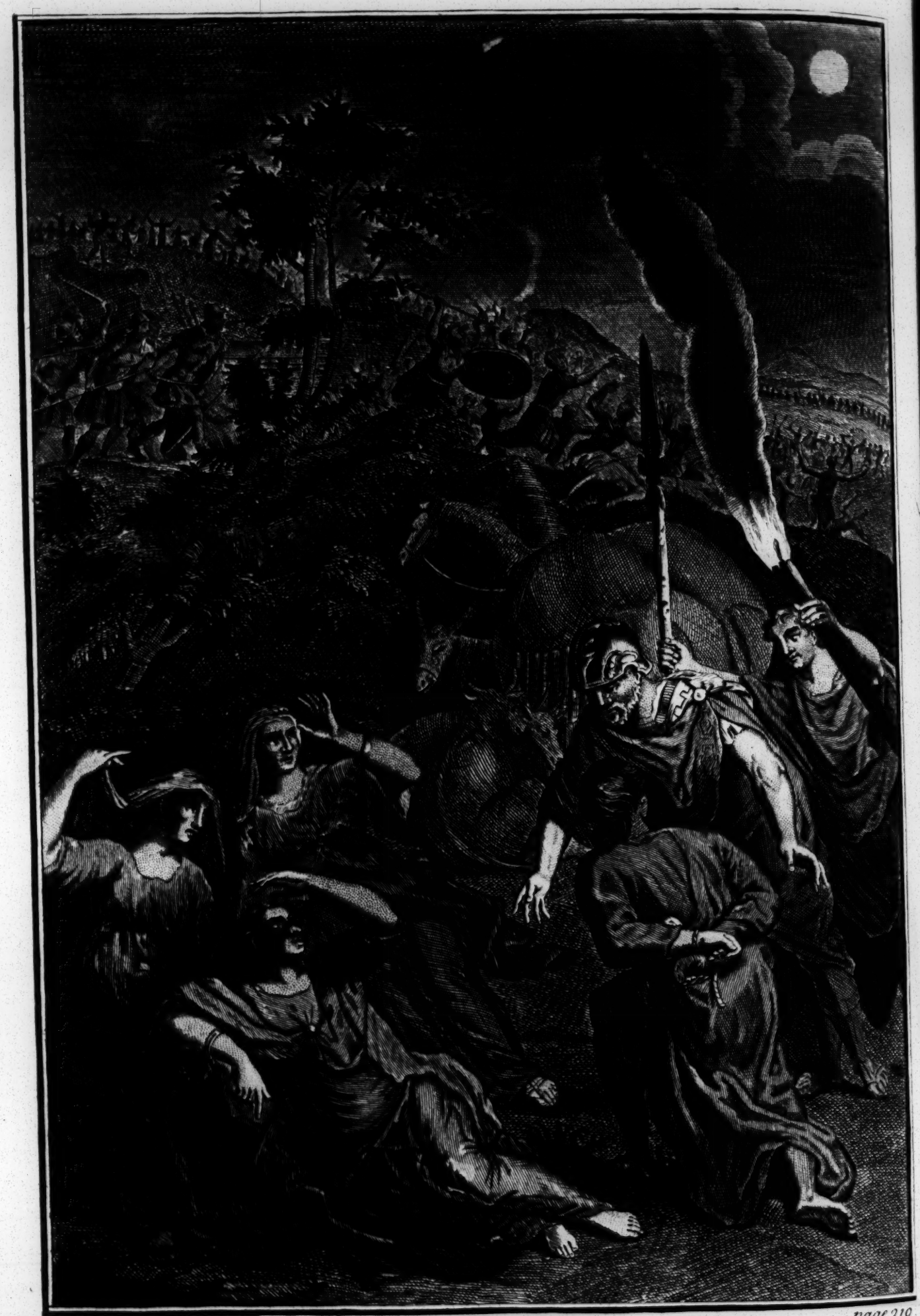
From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

and his People, upon the ſame Account, *Gen.* xx. 18, they ſuppoſe, that there were ſuch Swellings in their privy Parts, as that the Men could neither enjoy their Wives, nor the Women, who were with Child, be deliver'd. *Patrick's* Commentary.

† The *Jews* here tell us, that the Herdſmen of *Abraham* were commanded by their *Maſter* not to go near the *Canaanites*, or the *Perizzites*, nor to come into the Grounds, which they had taken, either for Culture or Paſturage, that ſo they might not appear to do the leaſt Injury to any of them; and that, in Obedience to his Command, they took eſpecial Care to confine all their Cattle, and to watch their Flocks with a ſtrict Eye, that none might go aſtray, and ſo treſpaſs upon the Natives; but that *Lot*'s Herdſmen were herein very negligent, and ſuffer'd their Cattle to go beyond their Bounds, and to feed in the Fields, which belong'd to the *Canaanites*, and *Perizzites*, who dwelt then in the Land, and claim'd the Sovereignty of it. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I.

† The Words in the Text are theſe,——*The Plain of* Jordan *was well water'd every where, before the Lord deſtroy'd* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, *(even like the Garden of the Lord, like the Land of* Egypt) *as thou goeſt to* Zoar. The laſt Clauſe, *as thou goeſt to* Zoar, has much perplexed Commentators, whilſt they refer it to the Land of *Egypt*, in the Clauſe immediately preceeding; whereas, if what is ſaid by Way of Compariſon of the Plain of *Jordan* to the Garden of the Lord, *i. e.* the Garden of *Eden*, and to the Land of *Egypt*, be underſtood as inſerted by way of *Parentheſis*, the Difficulty will be taken away, and the Import of the laſt Clauſe will be plain and eaſy; for then the Meaning of the Verſe will amount to this,——"That, before the Lord deſtroy'd *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, the Plain of *Jordan* was "well watered every where, as thou comeſt unto *Zoar*," *i. e.* in the Parts where *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* ſtood, or, in ſhort, in the Vale of *Siddim*. But there is another Interpretation, which ſuppoſes the Word *Zoar* to be a falſe Reading for *Zoan*, a City, that was once the *Capital* of *Egypt*, ſituate at the lower Part of the River *Nile*, where it divides itſelf into ſeveral Branches, and ſo waters the Country more plentifully thereabouts, than in any other Parts. According to which Reading, the Import of the Verſe will be this,—That *the Plain of* Jordan *was well watered every where about* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, *before the Lord deſtroyed them; yea, the Plain was ſo well watered, that it was, in this Reſpect, as the Garden of* Eden, or *as the Land of* Egypt, *and particularly as thou goeſt to* Zoan, *i. e. in the Parts about* Zoan, *where the* Nile *is divided into ſeveral Branches. Wells's* Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I. The River *Jordan*, which runs thro' this Plain, is of ſo great Note in the ſacred Writings, that we muſt not paſs it by without this Obſervation,——That it derives its Name (as ſome aſſert) from the *Hebrew* Word *Jor*, which ſignifies a *Spring*, and *Dan*, which is a ſmall Town, near the Source of this River. But the Misfortune is, that the Name of *Dan* is much more modern, than that of *Jordan*. From its Source, which we ſuppoſe to be at *Cæſarea Philippi*, it runs thro' a Space of about 50 Leagues, till it diſcharges itſelf into the *Dead-Sea*, otherwiſe called the *Aſphaltite Lake*, where *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and the other Cities of the Plain, that were deſtroy'd with Fire from Heaven, once ſtood. About five or ſix Leagues Diſtance from its Spring, it forms the Lake *Semechon*, and from thence it enters the Lake of *Tiberias*; paſſes quite thro' it, and ſo is quite loſt in the *Dead-Sea*. Its Water, in Summer-time, is very ſhallow; but, about the Time of the Barley-Harveſt, or the Feaſt of the *Paſſover*, it conſtantly overflows its Banks, and greatly fructifies the Plain. *Calmet's* Dictionary.

FEU



Pl. 35

And when Abram heard that his brother was taken Captive, he armed his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred & eighteen, & pursued them unto Dan. Gen. 14. v. 14.

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long after this, he left *Beth-el*, and went to dwell at † the *Oak of Mamre*, which is not far from *Hebron*, where he built an Altar unto the Lord, and, in a ſhort Time, contracted an Acquaintance with three of the greateſt Men there, *Mamre*, *Aner*, and *Eſcol*; the firſt of whom communicated his Name to all the Country.

Vanquiſhes Chedorlaomer's Army.

THIS Alliance prov'd very ſerviceable to him, but more eſpecially upon the following Occaſion. † *Chedorlaomer*, King of *Elam*, had held five petty Princes in a tributary Subjection to him for ſome Years, of which Number the King of *Sodom* was one. At length they ſhook off their Yoke, and confederated againſt him; which provoked him (in Conjunction with three other Kings, his Allies) to march directly with a powerful Army againſt them. The revolted Kings, ſeeing the Enemy drawing towards them, took the Field with a Reſolution to try the Fate of a *pitch'd* Battle. The Valley of *Siddim* was the Place where the Armies were to meet, and as it was full of Pits of *Bitumen*, it might have made the Engagement more difficult and dangerous to the Enemies Horſe: But ſo it was, † that the five Kings were put to the Rout; one Part of their Army was cut in Pieces, and the other fled to the Neighbouring Mountains, leaving their Cities a Prey to the Conquerors. *Lot*, who, at this Time reſided at *Sodom*, was involv'd in the Calamity of the City; was plunder'd of all he had, and himſelf carried away among the reſt of the Captives. As ſoon as *Abram* had Intelligence of this by an expreſs Meſſenger, he immediately ſends to his three Friends, deſiring their Aſſiſtance at this critical Juncture; and putting himſelf at the Head of three Hundred and eighteen of his own Domeſticks, all well prepar'd, and Men of Reſolution, he began his Purſuit, and after a March of almoſt ſeventy Leagues, coming up with the Enemy, and dividing his Forces into ſmall Parties, he fell upon them by Night, and, charging them on all Sides at once, put them in ſuch a Terror and Conſternation, that they took to their Heels, and fled, leaving all the Booty and Captives behind them, among whom he happily recover'd *Lot*, and brought him back with all his Subſtance to his former Habitation. From Gen. xii.—xxv. 11.

Is congratulated hereupon.

THE firſt Perſon, who came to congratulate *Abraham* upon this Victory, was, the King of *Sodom*, (very probably the Son of him, *(a)* who periſhed in the Slime-pits) who, in thankful Acknowledgment of the Benefits, he had received from his Valour and Aſſiſtance, offered him all the Booty,

† What we tranſlate the *Plain*, ſhould be rendered, the *Oak of Mamre*; becauſe the Word *Elon* ſignifies an *Oak* or Tree of long Duration: *Sozomen* tells us, that this Tree was ſtill extant, and famous for Pilgrimages, and annual Feaſts, even in *Conſtantine*'s Time; that it was about ſix Miles diſtant from *Hebron*; that ſome of the Cottages, which *Abraham* built, were ſtill ſtanding near it; and that there was a Well likewiſe of his digging, whereunto both *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Heathens*, did, at certain Seaſons, reſort either out of Devotion, or for Trade; becauſe there was held a great Mart. As for *Hebron*, or *Chebron*, it was accounted one of the moſt ancient Cities in the World; having been built ſeven Years before *Tanis*, the Capital of *Lower Egypt*. It was ſituated upon an Eminence, Twenty Miles *Southward* from *Jeruſalem*, and Twenty Miles *North* from *Beerſheba*, and had its Name, very probably, from the Word *Chavar*, to *couple*, or *join*; becauſe theſe married Couples, *Abraham* and *Sarah*, *Iſaac* and *Rebecca*, *Jacob* and *Leah* were buried there. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, and Univerſal Hiſtory in the Notes, l. 1. c. 7.

† We meet no where in profane Hiſtory with the Name of *Chedorlaomer*, nor with any of thoſe Names of the Kings, that were confederate with him: And the Reaſon hereof is, that *Cteſias*, (from whom the profane Hiſtorians took the Names of theſe Kings) did not uſe their original *Aſſyrian* Names in his Hiſtory, but rather ſuch as he found in the *Perſian* Records. However, ſince the Date of this Tranſaction falls four Years before the Death of *Ninyas*, there are good Grounds to infer, that *Ninyas*, who then lived in *Perſia*, was the *Chedorlaomer* of *Moſes*, at that Time the Head of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy; that *Amraphel* was his Deputy at *Babylon* in *Shinear*; and *Arioch* and *Tidal* his Deputies over ſome other adjacent Countries: For it is remarkable, that *Ninyas* was the firſt, who appointed under him ſuch *Deputies*; nor is there any Abſurdity in *Moſes* to call them *Kings*, ſince it is obſervable, from what *Iſaiah* hinted afterwards, (Ch. x. 8.) that the *Aſſyrian* boaſted his Deputy-princes to be equal to royal Governors, *Are not my Princes altogether Kings?* *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 6.

† As the Text tells us, that the Kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah fell into ſome of the Slime-pits*, with which the Valley of *Siddim* abounds, and takes no Notice of their coming out of them, it is more rational to ſuppoſe, that they periſhed there, than that *Abraham* ſtayed to take them up, as the *Jews* vainly imagine; and that therefore the King of *Sodom*, who afterwards came out to congratulate *Abraham*, muſt have been the Son of the Deceaſed.

(a) Gen. xiv. 10.

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Booty, which he had retaken, and deſir'd only his Subjects, the Priſoners, to be reſtor'd. But *Abram* was too generous to take the Advantage of the Miſery of War; and therefore, ſaving to his *Confederates* ſuch a Proportion of the Plunder, as, by the Law of Arms, belonged to them, he returned all the reſt, both *Priſoners* and *Goods*, to the King of *Sodom*, having before reſolv'd to keep no Part of them, that it might be ſaid, he undertook that Enterprize, not for any private Advantage, but purely for the *publick Good*, which every Man of Honour ſhould have always *primarily* in his View.

The next, who congratulated him upon this Occaſion, was *Melchizedeck*, King of *Salem*; who, upon his Return from the Battle, had provided plenty of all Things neceſſary for his Refreſhment, and his Mens in their March; and, as he was a *Prieſt*, as well as King, he both bleſſed *Abram*, for being the Inſtrument of ſo publick a Deliverance in the Hands of God, and God himſelf, who had given him ſuch uncommon Succeſs to his Arms; whereupon *Abram*, in Return, preſented him with the *tenth Part* of the Spoils, which he had taken from the Enemy in this Expedition.

ABRAM's Deportment, upon this Occaſion, was ſo very acceptable to God, that he was pleas'd to appear to him again in a Viſion, and to give him freſh Aſſurances of his ſpecial Favour, and of his Intention to be *his Shield of Defence*, in all Dangers, and, for all the good Acts, which he perform'd, *his exceeding great Reward*.

From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

Is promiſ'd a Son.

Hitherto indeed the Patriarch had liſten'd to God's Promiſes, without any Expreſſion of Diſtruſt; but, upon this freſh Aſſurance, he ventured, for the firſt Time, to expoſtulate with him, not knowing how theſe things poſſibly could be accompliſh'd whilſt himſelf continu'd *Childleſs*, and, to all Appearance, muſt be obliged to leave the Bulk of his Subſtance to *Eleazar*, his Houſhold-Steward. This indeed was a modeſt Way to try whether God deſigned to bleſs him with a Child; and God did not leave him long in ſuſpence. He told him, that not his Servant, but a Son of his own, begotten of his Body, ſhould be his Heir, and ſhould have a Race, deſcending from him, as *innumerable as the Stars*.

Enters into Covenant with God.

This was ſuch joyful News, as gave *Abram* freſh Courage, even to requeſt of God ſome ſenſible and viſible Token, whereby he might be aſſur'd of this Bleſſing: And accordingly God was pleas'd to comply with his Requeſt. That therefore they might enter into a formal Covenant upon this Occaſion, he ordered him to take an *Heifer*, a *Goat*, and a *Ram*, of three Years old each, with a *Pigeon* and a *Turtle-dove*, and to offer them up. *Abram* did as he was ordered: And, having killed the four-footed Beaſts, he † cut them in two, and laid the Halves, at proper Diſtances, directly oppoſite to each other, but the Fowls he left whole; and ſo, paſſing between the diſſected Bodies, (as the Manner of Covenanting then was) he made his ſolemn Vows of perpetual Obedience to God; and then ſitting down, in Expectance

† The only Place, beſides this, where we have any Intimation given us of this Cuſtom of making Covenants, by dividing the Beaſts then to be ſacrificed, and by the Parties, who covenanted, paſſing between the Parts of the Beaſts ſo divided, is in *Jer.* xxxiv. 18, 19. *I will give the Men, that have tranſgreſſed my Covenant, which have not performed the Words of the Covenant, which they had made before me, when they cut the Calf in twain, and paſſed between the Parts thereof; the Princes of* Judah, *and the Princes of* Jeruſalem, *the Eunuchs, and the Prieſts, and all the People of the Land, which paſſed between the Parts of the Calf; I will even give them into the Hand of their Enemies, and into the Hand of them, that ſeek their Life; and their dead Bodies ſhall be for Meat unto the Fowls of the Heaven, and unto the Beaſts of the Earth.* This certainly was a very antient Cuſtom: And, accordingly, we find in *Homer*, that ὅρκια πιστὰ ταμόντες is a very common Phraſe, upon which his Commentator, *Euſtathius*, has this Obſervation: Διὰ τομῆς ζώων θυομένων ὅτε ἐπὶ μεγάλοις ἔρχει ἠγίνετο, that in Matters of great Moment, Oaths, or Covenants, were generally made by *dividing* the Animals, which, upon ſuch Occaſions, were ſacrific'd; and the Deſign of this *Rite* (as the learned *Mede*, in a Diſcourſe upon the Subject, has expreſſed it) was as much as to ſay, *Thus let me be divided, and cut in Pieces, if I violate the Oath, which I have now made in the Preſence of God.* *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.



Pl. 16

And Melchizedek King of Salem brought forth Bread and Wine: and he was the Priest of the most high God.
And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God, possessour of Heaven and Earth. Gen: 14 C. 18, 19.

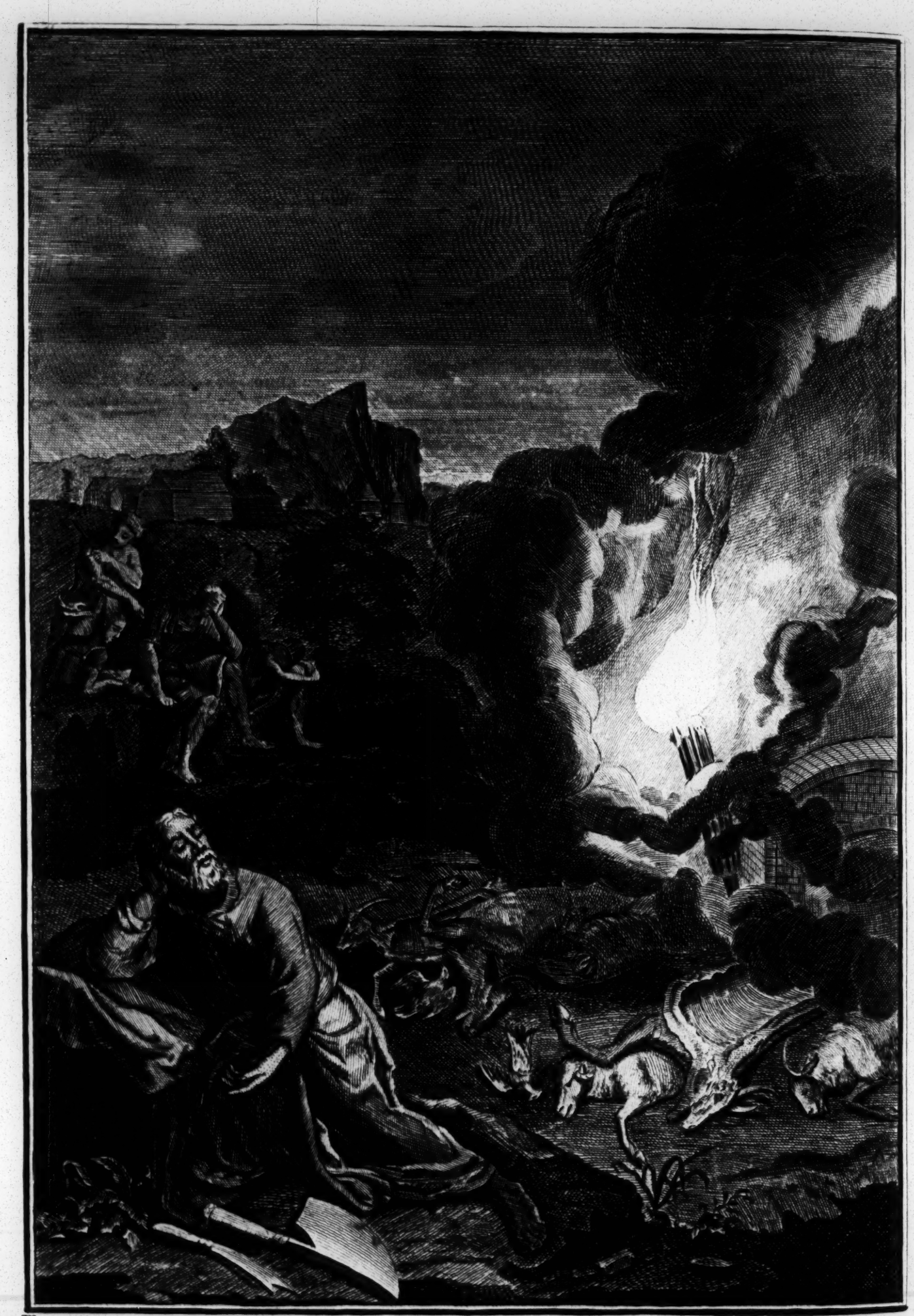
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Pl. 17 page 221.

And when the Sun was going down, a deep sleep fell upon Abram: & lo, an horror of great darkness fell upon him. Gen. 15. ver. 12

du Rosoir del. *M.L. Prieur sculp.*

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Expectance of what God would do on his Part, he took Care to drive away all Birds of Prey from ſettling upon the Sacrifice.

As ſoon as the Sun began to ſet, a deep Sleep, * attended with an horrible Darkneſs, and Dread of Spirits, fell upon him; during which, it was revealed to him, that he was not to expect an immediate Accompliſhment of the divine Promiſes; for tho' † himſelf was to die in Peace, and in a good old Age, yet his Poſterity were, after that, to ſojourn, and be afflicted in a ſtrange Country, † for the Space of four hundred Years; at the Expiration of which, God would puniſh their Oppreſſors, and conduct them ſafe to the Land, which he had promis'd them. And, for his Confirmation in this, he caus'd the Symbol of his divine Preſence, *viz.* † a ſmoaking *Furnace*, and a *burning Lamp*, to paſs between the divided Pieces of the Victims, and conſume them, in Ratification of his Part of the Covenant. From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

TEN Years had *Sarah* expected the Performance of God's Promiſe, and judging now, by the Courſe of Nature, that her Huſband's Iſſue muſt proceed from ſome other Woman, and not from her own Body, ſhe prevail'd with him to take her Handmaid † *Hagar* to be his *ſecondary* Wife, pleaſing herſelf with the Thoughts, that, if her Maid ſhou'd conceive by her Huſband, the Child would be reputed hers, and her Houſe be eſtabliſh'd in the Completion of the divine Promiſe. *Has a Son by* Hagar.

IT was not long before *Hagar* accordingly did conceive; and, forgetting now the

* That Horror and Dread of Spirits does frequently ſeize on thoſe, who ſee Viſions, is evident from what *Daniel* tells us of himſelf, *I was left alone, and ſaw this great Viſion, and there remained no Strength in me; for my Comelineſs was turned in me into Corruption, and I retained no Strength:* [Ch. x. 8.] but the Deſcription, which we have in *Job*, of this Matter, is in itſelf very awful and affecting. *In Thoughts from the Viſions of the Night, when deep Sleep falleth on Men, Fear came upon me, and Trembling, which made all my Bones to ſhake. Then a Spirit paſſed before my Face, the Hair of my Fleſh ſtood up. It ſtood ſtill, but I could not diſcern the Form thereof; an Image was before mine Eyes, there was Silence, and I heard a Voice*, Ch. iv. 13, &c.

† The Expreſſion in the Text is, *Thou ſhalt go to thy Fathers in Peace*, which ſome will have to be no more, than an *Oriental* Phraſe for going to the Grave; but ſince it cannot be ſaid of *Abraham*, that he did, in this Senſe, *go to his Fathers* (for as much as his Body was ſo far from being laid with them in the Sepulchre, that it was depoſited in a Country, that had no Manner of Communication with that of his Fathers) it muſt be allowed, that, from this Text, an Argument may juſtly be drawn for the ſeparate Exiſtence of human Souls. The Expreſſion however, of *going to our Fathers*, ſeems to have been formed from ſome ſuch Notion as this,———That the Souls of the Deceaſed do go to a certain Place, where thoſe of the ſame Family, or ſame Nation at leaſt, are ſuppoſed to live together, and in Communion: Which Notion certainly ariſes from that natural Deſire, which all Men, who think their better Part immortal, have to ſee and converſe with ſuch of their Relations or Countrymen, as have left behind them a great and laſting Fame. For, if the Soul of *Socrates*, ſays one, were permitted to go where it deſired, it would certainly aſſociate with the Worthies of *Greece*, with *Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, *Homer*, and thoſe ancient Demi-gods, who, in ſeveral Generations, were ſo renowned. Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Biblioth. Bib.* Vol. I. in *Locum*.

† Expoſitors have been very much divided in their Opinions, how to make it out, that *Abraham*'s Poſterity was in a State of Servitude and Affliction for the Space of *four hundred Years:* It may be obſerved however, that all this Difficulty is removed, if we ſuppoſe, that their State of Affliction is to be reckoned from the Time of *Iſaac*'s Birth, which, to the Deliverance out of the *Egyptian* Bondage, was juſt *four hundred and five Years*; but the *five* odd Years are therefore not mentioned, becauſe it is a common Cuſtom among all Writers, to take no Notice of *broken Numbers*, (as they call them) when they name a *round Sum*. And, if there be ſuppoſed a farther Difficulty, in that their Sojourning is (in *Exod.* xii. 40.) ſaid to have continu'd *four hundred and thirty Years*; in theſe Years, the Time of *Abraham*'s ſojourning (which was exactly twenty-five Years, from his Coming into the Land of *Canaan* to the Birth of *Iſaac*) may be comprehended, and then all the Difficulty vaniſhes; becauſe theſe *twenty five* Years, added to the *four hundred and five* before mentioned, exactly make up the *four hundred and thirty*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† By this *Symbol* God deſign'd to repreſent to *Abraham* either the future State of his Poſterity, *the ſmoaking Furnace* ſignifying *Iſrael*'s Miſery in the Land of *Egypt*, and the *burning Lamp*, their happy Eſcape and Deliverance; or (what ſeems more probable) to notify his own immediate Preſence, ſince both *Smoak* and *Fire* are, in ſeveral Parts of Scripture, mention'd, as *Emblems* and *Repreſentations* of the *divine Appearance*. And therefore, as it was a Thing cuſtomary, and eſpecially in *Chaldea* (from whence *Abraham* came) for Perſons, covenanting together, to *paſs* between the *Pieces* of the Sacrifice; ſo God, who had no Body to do it *viſibly* for him, did it in this *Type* and Emblem. *Pool*'s Annot. and *Bibliotheca Bib.* in Loc.

† In *Concubinage*, theſe *ſecondary*, or Wives of a lower Order, were accounted *lawful* and *true* Wives; had an equal Right to the Marriage bed with the chief Wife, and their Iſſue was reputed as *legitimate*; but, in all other reſpects, they were inferior. And as they had no Authority in the Family, nor any Share in Houſhold Government; ſo, if they had been *Servants* in the Family, before they came to be *Concubines*, they continued in that State afterwards, and in the ſame Subjection to their Miſtreſſes, as before. *Howell*'s Hiſtory of the Bible.

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the former Condition of her Life, ſhe began to value herſelf upon it, and to treat her Miſtreſs with Inſolence and ill Manners. *Sarai*, impatient to ſee herſelf inſulted by a Slave, could not forbear breaking out into bitter Complaints againſt her to her Huſband; but he, willing to make her eaſy, and withal to diſcountenance any diſreſpectful Carriage towards her, left her to treat her Maid juſt as ſhe pleas'd. This Licence gave *Sarai* an Opportunity of expreſſing her Reſentment with too much Severity, which the other not able to bear, She ſtole from her Maſter's Houſe, and was making the beſt of her Way to her own Country, which was *Egypt*; when, in her Travels thro' the Wilderneſs, meeting with a Fountain, ſhe tarried to reſt, and refreſh herſelf there. As ſhe was revolving her Sorrows in her Mind, an Angel came to her, and, after ſome previous Queſtions, advis'd her to return Home, and be ſubject to her Miſtreſs, becauſe it wou'd not be long before ſhe ſhou'd be delivered of a Son (whom he order'd her to name † *Iſhmael*) whoſe Poſterity wou'd be very numerous, a ſtout and warlike People, living upon Plunder in the Deſarts, and apt to annoy others, tho' not eaſily vanquiſhed themſelves.

HAGAR, hearing this comfortable News, was ſoon perſuaded to take the Angel's Advice, and, in Memory of this ſurprizing Viſion, having call'd firſt the Fountain where ſhe ſat *Beer-lahai-roi*, which ſignifies, *the Well of him, that lives and ſees me*, ſhe made what haſte ſhe cou'd Home, and, in a ſhort Time, after her Return, was deliver'd of a Son, according to the Angel's Promiſe. From Gen. xii.—xxv. 11.

Is promis'd one by Sarah.

At the Birth of *Iſhmael*, *Abram* was 86 Years old; and, leſt in the Exceſs of his Joy, he ſhould miſtake this Child for the Heir of the Promiſes, which had been made to him, about thirteen Years after, God renew'd his Covenant with him; inſtituted the Rite of Circumciſion upon a ſevere Penalty; changed † his Name from *Abram* to *Abraham*, and his Wife's from *Sarai* to † *Sarah* (where the Difference in Senſe is much more, than in Sound) and, to compleat his Happineſs) gave him a Promiſe, that his Wife *Sarah* ſhould bear him a Son. This ſeem'd a Thing ſo ſtrange, and almoſt impoſſible, that *Abraham*, falling on his Face, began to intercede for the Life and Preſervation of *Iſhmael*, as thinking it unreaſonable to aſk, or wiſh for any Thing more; but the Almighty ſoon aſſur'd him, that theſe great Bleſſings were not deſign'd for *Iſhmael*, but for a Son to be born of the once-barren *Sarah*, (and therefore to be named † *Iſaac*) which wou'd certainly come to paſs within the Compaſs of a Year. That he might not however ſeem wholly to neglect his Requeſt for *Iſhmael*, he promis'd to make him a great Nation, and the Father *of twelve Princes*, tho' the Son begotten of *Sarah* ſhou'd only be entitled to the Covenant and Promiſe of *making all the Nations of the Earth bleſſed*. This was the Purport of the Viſion; and, as ſoon as it was ended, *Abraham* delayed not (according to the divine Command) to circumciſe himſelf, his Son, and all the Males in his Family;

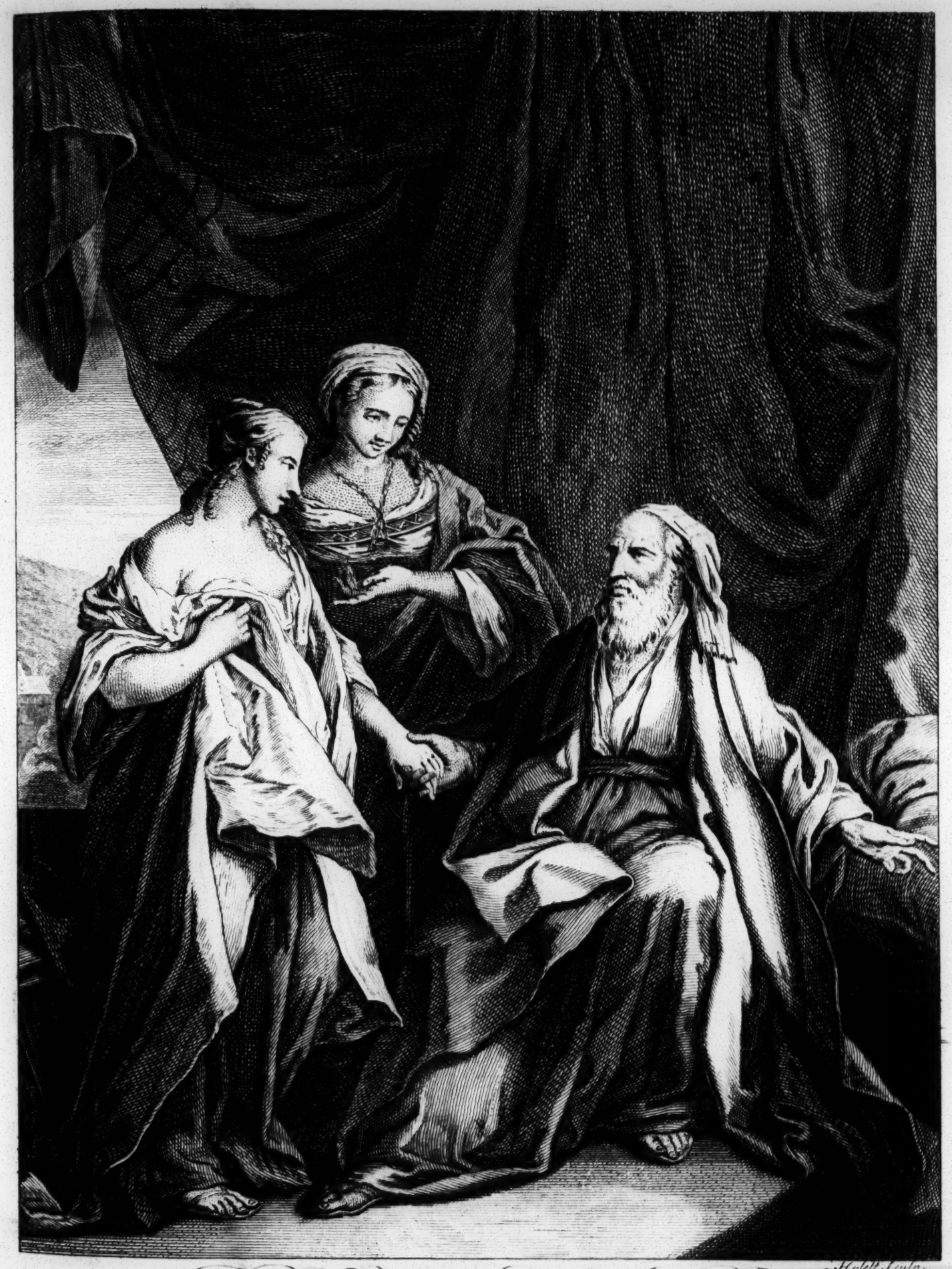
† *Iſhmael* is compounded of the Words *Jiſhmea* and *El*, the Lord *hath*, or the Lord *will hear*: And the Reaſon of the Name is immediately ſubjoined by the Angel, namely, *becauſe the Lord hath heard her Complaint*.

† *Abram*, is compounded of two *Hebrew* Words, *Ab*, and *Ram*, which ſignify *high Father*; and *Abraham* is commonly derived from three, namely, *Ab-Ram-Hamon*, *the Father of a great Multitude*. But this is forced and ungrammatical, having nothing to ſupport it, but only the Reaſon, which God gives in the Text, for changing *Abram* into *Abraham*, viz. becauſe he was to make of him *a Father of many Nations*, as indeed he was; for not only the twelve Tribes, but the *Iſhmaelites*, the *Edomites*, and all the Poſterity of *Keturah*, deſcended from his Loins.

† *Sarai* ſignifies *my Princeſs*, or Princeſs of my Family only; but *Sarah*, the Name now given her, denotes *a Princeſs indefinitely*, and at large, according to the Prediction concerning her, *a Mother* (or Princeſs) *of many Nations ſhall ſhe be, and Kings of People ſhall come of her*, Gen. xvii. 16.

† *Iſaac*, or according to the *Hebrew*, *Iſchack*, ſignifies *he* or *ſhe has*, or *ſhall laugh*; and this Name *Sarah* gave him, becauſe, when the Angel promis'd that ſhe ſhou'd become a Mother, tho' ſhe was not of an Age to have Children, ſhe privately laugh'd at the Prediction, and when the Child was born, ſhe ſaid, *God hath made me to laugh, ſo that all that hear will laugh with me*, Gen. xxi. 6. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

Pl. 18



Hulett Sculp.

Abram hearkned to the Voice of Sarai.

Sarai Abrams Wife took Hagar & gave her to her Husband Abram to be his Wife. & he went in unto Hagar & she conceivd. GEN. Chap. XVI. Ver. 3. 4.

Pl. 18

page 99



Is any thing too hard for the Lord? At the time appointed will I return unto thee, according to the time of life, and Sarah shall have a Son. Gen. 18. ver. 14.

G. Hoet del.

P. 29



A. M. 2107, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1897, &c.

Is viſited by the Angels.

Family; an Ordinance, which the *Hebrews* have ever ſince obſerved very religiouſly.

ABRAHAM continu'd ſtill to dwell at *Mamre*; and, as he was ſitting, one Day, at the Door of his Tent, he eſpied three Perſons, whom he took to be Travellers, coming towards him. He therefore went out to meet them; and having, in a very civil and reſpectful Manner, invited them to take a ſmall Refreſhment with him, (which they conſented to) he immediately gave Orders for an Entertainment to be made ready, † which, accordingly was ſerv'd in, and himſelf waited at the Table, under the Covert of a ſhady Oak.

WHILE they ſat at Table, † one of the Gueſts, enquiring after *Sarah*, and being told, that ſhe was in the Tent, he then addreſſed himſelf to *Abraham*, and aſſur'd him, that he had ſtill in Remembrance the Caſe of his Wife *Sarah*, who, at the End of the Year, ſhou'd certainly have a Son. *Sarah*, who was liſtening at the Tent-door, and thought herſelf far enough paſt Child-bearing, † could not refrain from laughing within herſelf; and when the Stranger aſk'd the Reaſon of it, with ſuch a ſerious Air, as ſtruck her with Terror, and ſhe endeavour'd to deny it, he diſmiſs'd her with this gentle Reproof—— That it was highly wrong in her to miſtruſt what he had ſaid unto her, ſince *nothing was impoſſible with God.*

From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

UPON this, the Converſation ceaſed, and the three heavenly Gueſts riſing up to proceed on their Journey, *Abraham* very courteouſly attended them ſome Part of the Way. Their Way lay towards *Sodom*, whither two of the Gueſts advanc'd with more Haſte; but the third, continuing with *Abraham*, began to reveal a moſt dreadful Secret, *viz.* That the Iniquity of *Sodom*, and the other neighbouring Cities, was come to ſuch a prodigious Height, that he was now going down, with an Intent to deſtroy them, * if, upon Enquiry, he found their Abominations equal to the Report of them.

The Wickedneſs of Sodom *and* Gomorrah.

† The Scripture informs us, Gen. xviii. 8. *that* Abraham *took Butter and Milk, and the Calf,* (i. e. the choiceſt Parts of the Calf) *and ſet it before them, and they did eat:* Where *the Eating* of theſe Angels muſt be underſtood, according to the Nature of the Bodies, we may ſuppoſe them to have aſſum'd. If their Bodies were *aërial*, their Eating muſt have been in Appearance only; if *ſubſtantial*, their Eating might have been real, *i. e.* they might have receiv'd the Meat into their Bodies, which, afterwards, by a divine Power, was conſum'd there. *Pool*'s Annot. and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† It is very obſervable, that one of theſe Angels (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* calls them, Ch. xiii. 2.) appear'd more honourable, and ſuperior to the other two, and therefore *Abraham* makes his Addreſs to him as the *Chief*, and the Hiſtorian ſtiles him *Jehovah*, which the Generality both of *Jews* and *Chriſtians* do look upon, as the *incommunicable* Name of God; and therefore it is believ'd by the far greateſt Part of the *latter*, that it was the *Son of God*, who appear'd in that Form. There are others however (particularly ſome *modern* ones) who maintain, that it was no more than an *Angel*, who ſpoke to him in the Perſon of God; tho' it hardly ſeems probable, either that *Moſes* ſhould call an Angel by *that Name*, or that *Abraham* ſhould intercede with him, as he does, when he ſaith, *That be far from thee to deſtroy the Good with the Wicked, ſhall not the Judge of all the Earth do right?* Or that an Angel ſhould peremptorily ſay, *If I find forty righteous Men in the Place, for their Sakes I will not deſtroy it.* So that the moſt probable Opinion is, that it was *Chriſt* himſelf, who is *emphatically* called *the Judge of all the Earth.* Univerſal Hiſtory. The *Jews* however have a Maxim, that no *Angel performs two Miniſtries*, or is ſent upon two Meſſages at once; and therefore they think, that theſe three Angels (as they ſuppoſe them) were diſpatch'd for different Purpoſes; one of them, who was the *Chief*, to bring a Confirmation of the Birth of *Iſaac*; another, to conduct *Lot* ſafe out of *Sodom*; and the third, to overthrow the Cities of the Plain: And therefore when one of them had deliver'd his Meſſage to *Abraham*, there were but two, that held on their Courſe to *Sodom*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† In the preceding Chapter (Ver. 17.) we read that *Abraham* laughed upon the ſame Occaſion, and yet was not reprov'd; but the Difference of their Conduct might be this, ——That *Abraham* laughed for Joy upon hearing the glad Tidings of a Son, but *Sarah*'s Laughter proceeded from a Spirit of Diſtruſt and Infidelity. *Pool*'s Annotations.

* Here is a wonderful Inſtance of God's Patience and Goodneſs, who, tho' he knew all without Enquiry, yet would not condemn even the moſt flagitious, without good Examination and Trial. Before the *Flood*, God proceeded againſt the *old* World upon ocular Evidence; *God* ſaw *that the Wickedneſs of Man was great*, Gen. vi. 5, 12. At the Building of *Babel*, it is ſaid, that *the Lord came down to ſee the City and the Tower, which the Children of Men had built*, Gen. xi. 5. And now again, before the Deſtruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, tho' *the Cry againſt them was great*, becauſe of the Grievouſneſs of their Sin, yet the Lord would not proceed againſt them upon common Fame; *But I will go down*, ſaith he, *and ſee, whether they have done according to the Cry of it; and if not, I will know*, Ch. xviii. 21.

And

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them. This Condeſcenſion of God, in communicating his Deſign to *Abraham*, gave him Encouragement to make Interceſſion for the wicked Inhabitants of theſe Cities, which, in ſix *petitionary* Propoſitions, he manag'd ſo well, as, by a gradual Decreaſe of the Number every Time, to bring him at laſt to a Conceſſion, that if *even ten* juſt Perſons were found in *Sodom*, he would not deſtroy it: And with this conditional Promiſe he left *Abraham*.

In the mean Time, the two other Gueſts, (who (as we ſaid) went before, and were indeed the *miniſtring Angels*, whom God had appointed to execute his Judgments upon the *Sodomites*) held on their Courſe towards the City, where they arriv'd in the Evening, when *Lot* was ſitting in the Gate. As ſoon as he ſaw them, he roſe up to meet them, and, after proper Salutations, † invited them to his Houſe to refreſh and repoſe themſelves that Night; which, at firſt, they declin'd, but afterwards, with ſome Importunity, comply'd with. But before it was Time to go to Reſt, the Inhabitants of the City, both young and old, being inform'd that *Lot* had Strangers with him, and, in all Probability, tempted with the beautiful Forms which the Angels had aſſum'd, encompaſs'd the Houſe, and demanded of him to deliver them up, † that they might abuſe them. From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

Lot thinking, by mild and ſoft Words, to appeaſe his outrageous Neighbours, ſteps out of the Door, and, ſhutting it after him, intreats them to offer no Affront to his Gueſts, nay, rather than have the Laws of *Hoſpitality* violated, he offers to give up his two Virgin-Daughters to their Diſcretion. But all would not do; they threaten to uſe him worſe than his Gueſts, *a pragmatical Stranger that pretended to controul them in any Thing!* and were preſſing forward to break open the Door; when the two Angels, with more than human Strength, forced their Way out, took in their Hoſt again, and, then ſhutting the Door, † ſtruck all that were round it with Blindneſs, ſo that they were not able to find any more where it was.

Whilst

And hereupon we may obſerve, that the *appearing* of Gods, in the Manner of Strangers, to puniſh or reward Men, was a common Tradition among the *Heathens*.

Καὶ τε Θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἐοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι,
Παντοῖοισι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστρωφῶσι πολήας,
Ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες. Hom. Odyſſ. B.

† In the *Eaſtern* Countries of late indeed ſome few *Caravanſaries* have been ſet up, but in the Time, we are now ſpeaking of, there was no ſuch Thing, as *Inns*, for the Accommodation of Strangers; and therefore all Travellers, when they came to a Town, if they were not entertain'd in a *private* Houſe, were forc'd to abide all Night in the *Streets*. It was therefore a cuſtomary Thing for thoſe of the better Sort to receive ſuch *Way-faring* Men (whether they knew them, or knew them not) into their Houſes, and there entertain them with great Civility. And this is the Reaſon, why both in *ſacred* and *profane* Authors, we meet with ſuch large Commendations of this Act of *Hoſpitality*, and particularly, in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* (Ch. xiii. 2.) have a Precept to this Effect, alluding to the very hiſtorical Paſſage now before us, *Be not forgetful to entertain Strangers, for thereby ſome have entertained Angels unawares.* *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. Thus we read in *Homer*, that *Minerva*, coming in the Shape of *Mentor*, to make *Telemachus* a Viſit

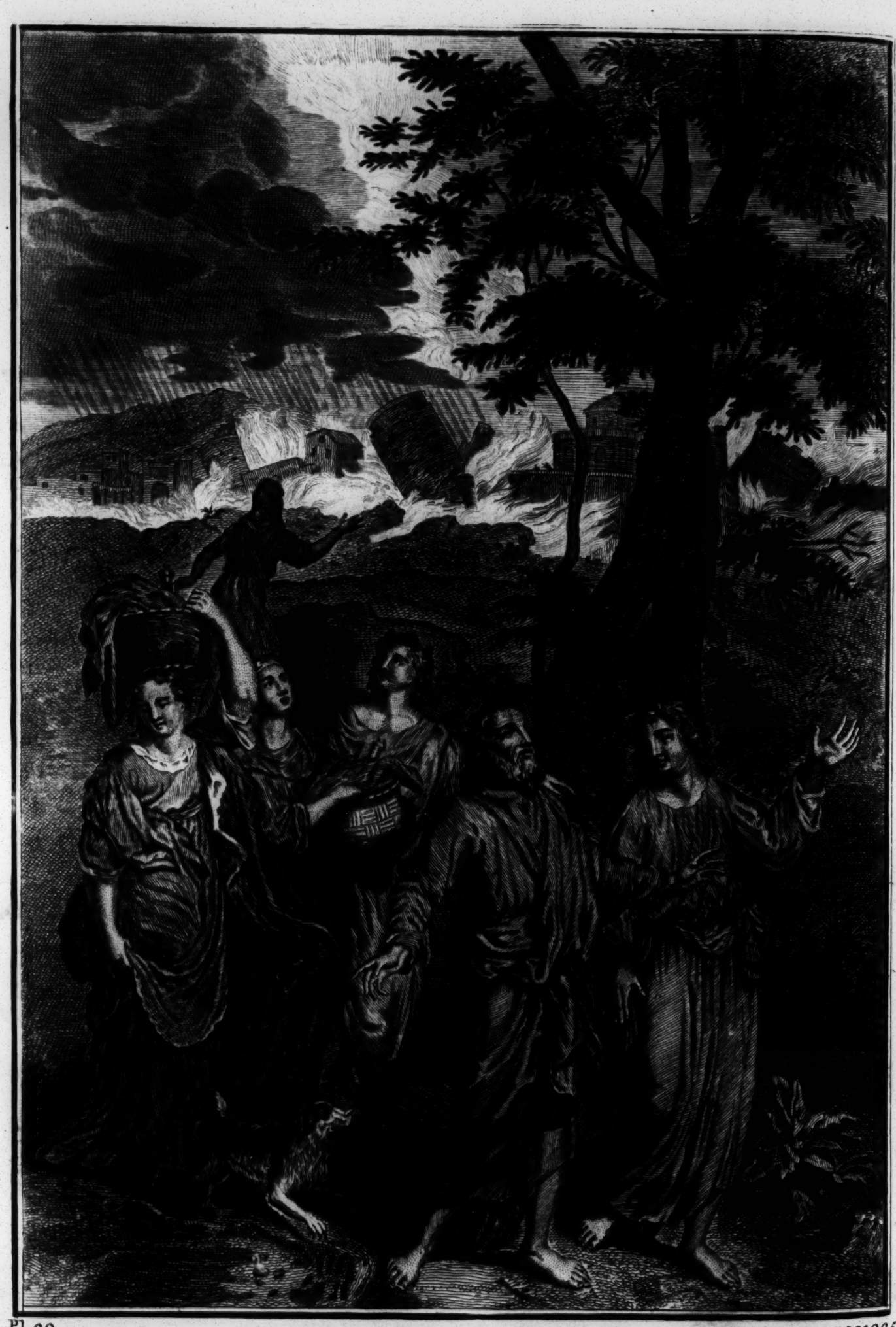
Στῆ δ' ἰθάκης ἐν δήμῳ ἐπὶ προθύροις Ὀδυσῆος

until he ſaw her, and thereupon went to her, and very kindly invited her in

——————————— εἶσι δ' Ἀθήνη
Βῆ δ' ἰθὺς προθύροιο, νεμεσσήθη δ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
Ξείνον δηθὰ θύρῃσιν ἐφίσαμεν ἐγγύθι δὲ τὰς
Χεῖρ' ἕλε δεξιτερὴν, —— &c. Odyſſ. A.

† That is, in an unnatural and prepoſterous Manner, which was afterwards expreſsly forbidden in the Law, *Levit.* xviii. 22. and thereby made capital, Ch. xx. 13. which vile Sin continu'd among the *Gentiles*, even in the *Apoſtle*'s Time, (as may be gather'd from *Rom.* i. 27. and 1 *Cor.* vi. 9.) and was ſo generally practiſed among the People of *Sodom*, that from thence it took the Name of *Sodomy*, and the Practiſers of it are call'd *Sodomites*, both in the Holy Scriptures, and our *Engliſh* Laws, which (as did the Law of God of old) do ſtill make the Puniſhment of it to be Death. *Howell*'s Hiſtory.

† It is a probable Opinion, that theſe Men were ſtruck, not with *actual* Blindneſs, but with a Dizzineſs, which diſturb'd their Sight, and repreſented Objects falſely and in Confuſion, in the ſame Manner, as the *Syrians* were, when ſent to take *Eliſha*, 2 Kings vi. 18. And this was no hard Matter for the Angels to do, by making a ſmall Alteration, either in their Sight, or in the Air, whereby either the *Door* might appear to them like the *ſolid* Wall, or the ſeveral Parts of the *Wall* like ſo many Doors. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.



Pl. 20 page 225.

But his wife looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of Salt. Gen. 19. v. 26

I. B. del. N. Parr Gucht Sculp.

A. M. 2107, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1897, &c.

WHILST they were thus groping about in vain, the two Angels acquainted *Lot* with their Commiſſion; that their Errand was to execute the divine Vengeance upon that execrable Place; and therefore they adviſ'd him, if he had any Friends for whoſe Safety he was concern'd, that he wou'd immediately let them know their Danger, and warn them to depart in Time. *Lot* had no Relations, but only † two Sons-in-law, to whom his Daughters were contracted; but theſe, when he went to them early in the Morning, deſiring them to go along with him, and leave that accurſed Place, took the old Man to be crazy, or beſide himſelf, and made a Banter and Ridicule of all that he ſaid.

IN the Morning, as ſoon as it was Day, one of the Angels obſerving *Lot* to linger (poſſibly to pack up ſome of his moſt valuable Goods) took him, his Wife and his two Daughters by the Hand, and carried them in a Manner forcibly, out of the City, bidding them to flee for their Lives; and, leſt they ſhou'd be involv'd in the common Ruin, to make the beſt of their Way to the Mountains. *Lot* looking before him, and perceiving the Mountains to be at a good Diſtance, began to fear that he ſhou'd not be able to reach them in Time; and therefore intreated the Angel, that he might be permitted to eſcape to a ſmall City, not far from *Sodom*, then called *Bela*, but afterwards *Zoar*, which he accordingly granted, and for his Sake ſpared the City; but then he urg'd them to be expeditious, and to make all poſſible Haſte thither, becauſe they cou'd not begin to execute their Commiſſion, until he was ſafely arriv'd. From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

WHAT the Angels enjoin'd them, at their Departure, was neither to tarry in the *Plain*, nor to look behind them. But, before they got to *Zoar*, ſo it was, that *Lot*'s Wife, either out of Forgetfulneſs of the Prohibition, or out of Love to the Place of her Habitation, looking back, was turn'd into a Pillar of * *metallick* Salt, a laſting Monument of God's Vengeance on obſtinate and unbelieving Offenders: And no ſooner were the reſt arriv'd at *Zoar*, but the angry Heavens began to pour down Showers of *liquid* Fire upon *Sodom and Gomorrah*, and the other wicked *Cities of the Plain*, which, within a ſhort Time, ſo totally conſumed them, that, when *Abraham*, the next Morning, looked towards the Country, he ſaw it all in a Smoak, like the Smoak of a large Furnace. *The Fate of Lot's Wife.*

THE Judgment indeed was ſo very terrible, that *Lot*, not thinking himſelf ſafe at *Zoar*, withdrew to the Mountains, to which he was firſt directed, and, for want of Houſes, liv'd there, with his two Daughters in a Cave. His Daughters had loſt their eſpouſed Huſbands in *Sodom*, and, now deſpairing of having any *other*, they plotted together to deceive their Father, and have Iſſue by him. The Elder was the Forwarder of this wicked Contrivance; and therefore repreſenting *Lot's Inceſt with his two Daughters.*

† Several Tranſlators, as well as ſome *Rabbins*, ſuppoſe, that theſe were the Huſbands of ſome other of *Lot*'s Daughters, who were actually married, and had left their Father's Houſe; which ſeems to be confirm'd by the Angels ordering him to take his Wife, and his two Daughters, that *were there preſent*: But the *original* Words, which in our Verſion are render'd, *his Sons in-Law, which married his Daughters*, may be tranſlated, according to the Interpretation of *Onkelos*, *his Sons-in law, which* were *to marry*, &c. the Contract having been paſſed, but the Marriage not conſummated by Co-habitation. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 4.

* It is not agreed by *Commentators*, what was the Crime, for which *Lot*'s Wife was ſo ſeverely puniſh'd. Some are of Opinion, that ſhe deſerv'd it, merely for diſobeying the Commandment of the Angel, and expreſſing too much Concern for a People, that deſerv'd no Compaſſion. Others, ſay, that, being anxiouſly ſollicitous for her Daughters that were married there, and turning about to ſee, whether they follow'd her, ſhe ſaw the divine *Shechinah*, or Majeſtick Appearance of God, deſcending to deſtroy the Place, which was the Occaſion of her *Metamorphoſis*. Others ſuppoſe, that, being in Confederacy with the *Sodomites*, ſhe told them that her Huſband was *diſtracted*, and gave them Notice, when any Strangers came to lodge with him, by a Sign of Smoak by Day, and of Fire by Night; whilſt others again imagine, that the Scripture does not repreſent the Fate, which ſhe met with, as a Puniſhment for any Crime, but as a Thing merely accidental. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 4. There is one Circumſtance however in the Text, *viz* that *ſhe looked from behind her Huſband*, whom ſhe follow'd, which ſeems to be mention'd, as the Reaſon of this her Preſumption, becauſe ſhe could do it without her Huſband's Obſervation or Reproof; to which ſhe ſeems to have had a greater Regard, than to the all ſeeing Eye of God. *Pool*'s Annotations.



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from S[illegible] then called *Bela*, but after-
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them, that when *Abraham* the next
Morning looked towards the Country, he
saw it all in a Smoke, like the Smoke of
a large Furnace.

THE Judgment indeed was so terri-
ble, that *Lot* [illegible] at *Zoar*, withdrew to the Mountains, to
which he was [illegible] and for
want of Houses [illegible] there, with his
two Daughters [illegible] Daugh-
ters had left their expected Husbands in
Sodom, and, notwithstanding [illegible]
Abraham, they plotted together to deceive
their Father [illegible] him. The
Eldest was the Forwarder [illegible]
Contrivance; and therefore [illegible]

A. M. 2107, &c. Ant Chriſ. 1897, &c.

to her Siſter the Condition they were in, ſhe propoſed the Expedient of making her Father drunk with Wine; and, accordingly, one Evening they put their Project in Execution. For, having intoxicated the old Man, they put him to bed, and the Elder, lying with him without his Privity, obtain'd her End. The next Night they employ'd the ſame Artifice, and the Younger had her Turn: So that, in the Event, they had each of them a Son from this inceſtuous Commerce, * whereof the *Elder*'s was called *Moab*, and the *Younger*'s *Ammon*, from whom the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* (both bitter Enemies, in after Times, to *Iſrael)* were deſcended. But to return to *Abraham*.

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1896, &c.

Abraham's *Intercourſe with* Abimelech.

After the Deſtruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, he remov'd from *Mamre*, (probably to avoid the Stench of the Vale of *Siddim)* and came and dwelt not far from † *Gerar*, a City of the *Philiſtines*, at a Place nam'd afterwards *Beerſheba*, between *Cadeſh* and *Shur*, where the ſame Adventure happened to him, which he had met with in *Egypt*. The King of *Gerar*, ſuppoſing *Sarah* to be no more than *Abraham*'s Siſter (for here likewiſe ſhe paſſed under that Character) † notwithſtanding her advanc'd Age, ſaw Charms enough in her, to invite her unto his Bed; but God appear'd to him in a Dream, and threaten'd him with immediate Death, if he did not return her untouch'd to her Huſband. Whereupon *Abimelech* (for that was the common Name, in thoſe Days, of all the Kings of *Paleſtine)* calls for *Abraham*, and expoſtulates the Matter with him; who, in Excuſe for the Fiction, alledg'd his Fears, leſt the Beauty of his Wife ſhou'd have endanger'd his Life: Tho' it was not altogether a Fiction *(as he ſaid)* becauſe ſhe was ſo near a Relation to him (eſpecially by his Father's Side) as might properly enough be called a Siſter. This Apology pacify'd the King; ſo that he not only reſtor'd him his Wife, but giving her † a thouſand Pieces of Silver, deſir'd her ‖ to buy a Veil with the Money, which might not only be a *Covering to her Face*, From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

* *Moab* ſettled himſelf in the Parts adjoining *Eaſtward* to the *Salt-ſea*, or *Lacus Aſphaltites*, and in the neighbouring Tract, on the River *Jordan Eaſtward*: For we plainly learn, that great Part of the Kingdom of *Sihon*, King of the *Amorites*, did formerly belong to the *Moabites*, Numb. xxi. 21. *Ammon* ſeated himſelf in the Parts adjoining to *Moab*: For it is evident from Scripture, that the *Ammonites* were formerly poſſeſs'd of the Parts on the *Eaſt* of *Jordan* about the River *Jabbock*, or of the *Northern* Part of that, which was afterwards the Kingdom of *Sihon*. Vid. Numb. xxi. 13. Joſh. xiii. 25. and Judg. xi. 13, 23. But theſe Things we ſhall have Occaſion to illuſtrate more fully, when we come to deſcribe the Courſe of the Travels of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*, into the Land of *Canaan*. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I.

† *Gerar* was a *regal* City, ſituate not far from the Angle, where the *South* and *Weſt* Sides of *Paleſtine* meet; and the Country, to which it gave the Name, extended itſelf pretty far into *Arabia Petræa*. *Beerſheba* ſignifies the *Well of the Oath*, becauſe here *Abraham* made a Covenant with *Abimelech* King of *Gerar*, concerning a Well, which he had digg'd hard by. Here he likewiſe planted a Grove, and inſtituted an *Oratory*, or Place of divine Worſhip; and, in Proceſs of Time, here was a City, or conſiderable Town built, which is taken Notice of by *heathen* Authors under the Name of *Berzimma*, or *Berſabe*. *Kadeſh* was a City, lying on the Edge of the Land of *Canaan*, to the *South* of *Hebron*; *Shur* was the Name of that Part of *Arabia Petræa*, which joins *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea*; and ſomewhere between theſe two, was that *Well*, near to which *Abraham*, when he left *Mamre*, fixt his Habitation. *Wells*'s Geog. of the Old Teſt. Vol. I.

† Sarah was now ninety Years old, when *Abimelech* took her into his Family; whence it may ſeem very ſtrange, that a Woman of her Age ſhould look ſo very well, as to be deſir'd by a King, who, in thoſe Days, might have commanded the moſt youthful Beauties in his whole Dominions. But, according to ſome Interpreters, People of *ninety* then were as freſh and vigorous as thoſe of *forty now*; and *Sarah* might, even in that Reſpect, excel her Co-evals, by Reaſon of her *Sterility*, which is a great Preſerver of Beauty: Tho' others are of Opinion, that God, having taken away her Sterility, her Beauty returned with her Fruitfulneſs; for, by this Time, it is computed, that ſhe had conceived her Son. *Howell*'s Hiſt. l. 1.

† The original Word does not ſo properly mean *Pieces*, as *Weight*, becauſe Money was then paid by Weight; and may therefore be interpreted a Thouſand Shekels of Silver, *i. e.* about 57 Pounds in the Value of our preſent Money. *Bedford*'s Script. Chronol. l. 3. c. 4.

‖ The Words in the Text, according to our Tranſlation, are theſe, ——— *And unto* Sarah *he ſaid, behold I have given to thy Brother a thouſand Pieces of Silver; behold he is to thee a Covering of the Eyes unto all, that are with thee, and to all others; thus ſhe was reproved.* Where we muſt obſerve, in the firſt Place, that the Word, which we render *reprove*, does more properly ſignify to *inſtruct*, which muſt certainly be the right Senſe of the Word here, conſidering that



Pl. 22

Lots Escape from Sodom.

The Angels hasten'd Lot, saying, Arise, take thy Wife & two Daughters, which are here, least thou be consumed in ye Iniquity of the City. And while he linger'd ye Men laid hold upon his hand. And said escape to ye Mountains, least thou be consumed. But his Wife looked back from behind him & she became a Pillar of Salt. — Genesis. XIX. ver. 15, 16, 17, 26.

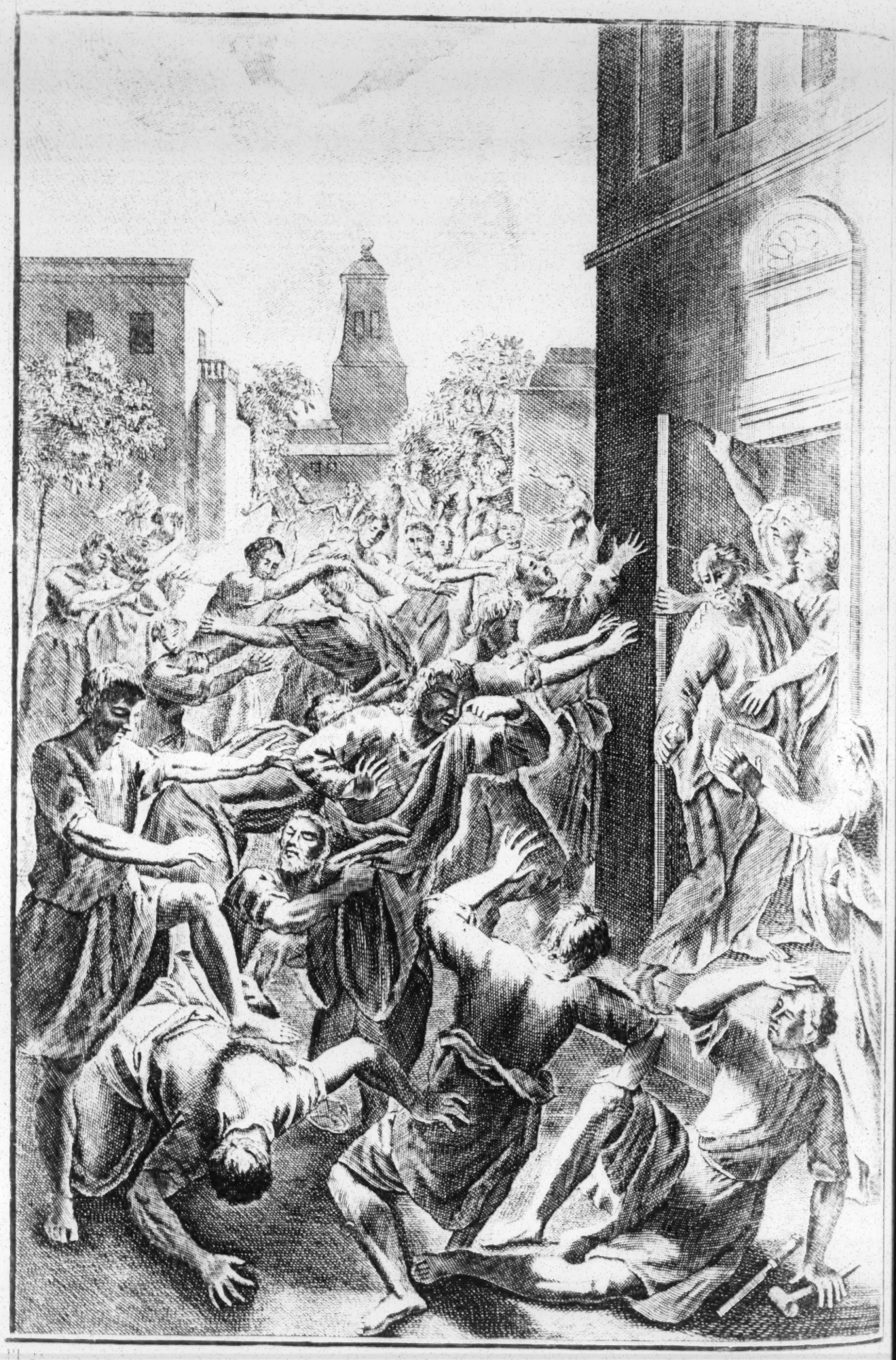


Lot's and his two Daughters Incest.

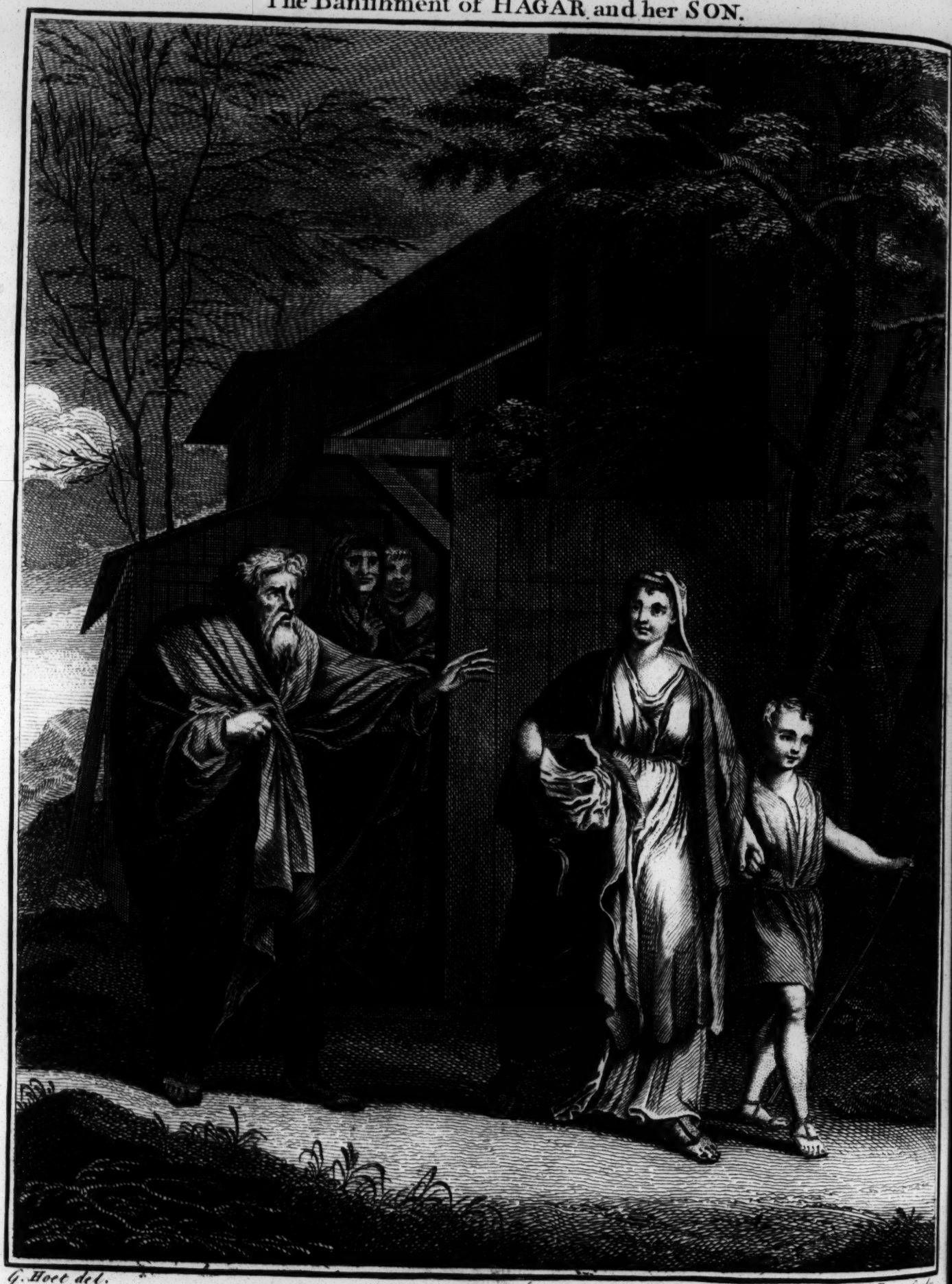
GEN. XIX. Chap. Ver. 32 —


FEB

29 61



The Baniſhment of HAGAR and her SON.



G. Hoet del. *R. Parr Sculp*

Sarah said unto Abraham, Cast out this Bond Woman & her Son

Pl. 24 *Gen. 21. v. 10.* page 227

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1896, &c.

Face, and in every Country an Indication likewiſe of her being a married Woman, becauſe he held it inconvenient for her any more to paſs for her Huſband's Siſter. On her Huſband he beſtow'd in like manner plenty of other Kind of Wealth, and made him a free Offer to live where he pleas'd, in his Dominions; which generous Treatment engag'd *Abraham* to intercede † with God, † to remove the *Diſability*, which he had inflicted on the King, in order to reſtrain him from *Sarah*; and to reſtore the Queen, and the other Women of the Nation, to their wanted *Fertility*, which for ſome Time ſeems to have been obſtructed.

The Birth of Iſaac, and Expulſion of Iſhmael.

A YEAR was now paſs'd, and the Time appointed come, when *Sarah* brought forth a Son, whom *Abraham*, according to the divine Direction, call'd *Iſaac*, and circumcis'd him the eighth Day. They were now in the *Zenith* of their Happineſs. *Sarah* ſuckled the Child herſelf, and * weaned him at the uſual Time; and *Abraham*, upon this joyful Occaſion, made a great Feaſt: But, in the midſt of their Feſtivity, *Sarah* perceiving that *Iſhmael* treated her Son with Contempt and Deriſion, was ſo enrag'd againſt him, that ſhe never ceas'd importuning her Huſband, to turn both Mother and Son out of Doors. From Gen. xx—xxv. 11. *Abraham* had the Tenderneſs of a Father to his Child. He loved *Iſhmael*, and was loth to part with him: And therefore apply'd himſelf to God, in this arduous Juncture, for Direction. But God confirming what *Sarah* had requeſted, and promiſing moreover to make of *Iſhmael* (becauſe he was his Son) a populous Nation, tho' his Portion and Inheritance was not to be in that Land, which was all along deſign'd for the Deſcendants of *Iſaac*, he was at laſt prevail'd on to ſend him and his Mother away.

CALLING *Hagar* therefore, one Morning, to him, he order'd her to take her Son, ſome Water, and other Proviſions with her; to go into the neighbouring Wilderneſs, and to tarry by the Side of a certain Fountain, ſhe wou'd meet with there, until ſhe ſhou'd hear farther from him. She did as ſhe was ordered: but, miſtaking their Way, and miſſing of the Fountain, they had quite exhauſted the little Water they had, and her Son being in an high Fever, and ready to die with Thirſt, to ſhade him a little from the ſcorching Heat, ſhe placed him under a Tree, whilſt

that *Abimelech* had already accepted of *Abraham*'s Apology, and was ſo far from irritating either him, or *Sarah* by Reproaches, that, on the contrary, he was endeavouring to win their Friendſhip with very conſiderable Preſents. But then, as to *the covering of* Sarah's *Eyes*, this may be variouſly expounded, according as the Words refer, either to *Abraham*, or to the *Pieces of Silver*. If they refer to *Abraham*, then the Meaning of the King's Words will be, *Thou needeſt no other Defence of thy Chaſtity, than he; nor haſt thou any reaſon hereafter to ſay*, he is thy Brother; *for ſo dear is he to God, that God will defend him, and he will defend thee; and not only him, but all that are with thee, and that even among Strangers, without any ſuch Shifts and Equivocations, as you have hitherto thought fit to make uſe of.* But if the Words refer to the *Preſent* of a Thouſand Pieces, then the Senſe muſt be, *I have given him that Sum of Money to buy thee a Veil, that all, who converſe with thee, here, or in any other Country, where thou ſhalt come, may know thee to be a married Woman.* This Senſe indeed is countenanc'd by the LXX: But others have thought, that it might better be render'd thus,——*This Money, which I have paid thy Huſband, as a Mulct, for my having endeavour'd to take thee from him, will be a Means to deter all others from having any Concern with thee, when once they ſhall hear, how much I have ſuffer'd upon that Account.* The Reader is left to his own Option; but we ſhould rather think, that the laſt of theſe Interpretations is preferable. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† The Text tells us, that *God had faſt cloſed up all the Wombs* of the Houſe of *Abimelech*, which Phraſe, in Scripture, does frequently denote *Barrenneſs*; but that it cannot do ſo here, is pretty plain from hence—That the Hiſtory of this Tranſaction is of too ſhort a Continuance, to give Space for a Diſcovery of this Kind, *viz.* whether the Women, by God's Infliction, were become actually barren or no: And therefore the other Opinion is more probable, *viz.* that it was ſuch an Indiſpoſition, or Sore, or ſwelling in the ſecret Parts, that the Men could neither enjoy their Wives, nor the Women, who were with Child, could be delivered. *Poel*'s Annotations, and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

* It is not eaſy to gueſs, how long it was, that Women gave Suck in thoſe Days, becauſe the ancient *Hebrews* are divided about it: Some affirming that *Iſaac* was weaned, when he was *two*, ſome *five*, and others, not till he was *twelve* Years old. If however we will judge by what the young *Maccabee*'s Mother ſaid to him, *My Son, remember I have ſuckled thee three Years*, 2 Maccab. vii. 27. that Time will appear the moſt probable. For there is no Reaſon to believe, that *Iſaac* was weaned before the uſual Term, for Want of Care, or Affection in his Mother. *Patrick*'s Commentaries, and Univerſ. Hiſt. l. i. c. 7.

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1896, &c.

whilſt herſelf, deſpairing to find any Succour in the Place, and not bearing to ſee him expire before her Eyes, withdrew a little, and began to bemoan her hard Fate, while, with earneſt Cries and Tears, the Child was imploring the divine Help and Commiſeration. The divine Help was not long a coming: For ſuddenly an Angel from Heaven bids the weeping Mother dry up her Tears, and fear not; tells her, that God had heard the Child's Prayer, and would make of him a great Nation; and, for their preſent Relief, points her to a Well of Water, which ſhe had not perceived before; and directs her how to cure her Son. Refreſh'd with this Water, and ſupported with other Things, which *Abraham*, (very probably) from time to time, might ſend them; inſtead of going into *Egypt*, as they firſt intended, they here took up their Abode in the Wilderneſs of *Paran*, where *Iſhmael*, in a ſhort Time, growing a very expert *Archer*, was able to get Proviſions both for himſelf, and his Mother; and when he grew up unto Man's Eſtate, his Mother, who was herſelf an *Egyptian*, married him to a Woman of her own Country, * by whom he had twelve Sons, who dwelt from *Havilah* unto *Shur*, *i. e.* in ſeveral Parts of *Arabia Petræa*, whereof the *Weſtern* Part, towards *Egypt*, is, in Scripture, call'd *Shur*, and the *Eaſtern* Part, towards the *Perſian Gulph*, *Havilah*.

ABRAHAM, in the mean Time, having accepted of *Abimelech*'s Offer, continu'd to live in the Land of *Paleſtine*, and, as his Riches and Power every Day increas'd, *Abimelech* fearing, leſt, at ſome Time or other, he might attempt Something in Prejudice of him, or his Succeſſors in the Government, came, with the *General* of his Forces, whoſe Name was *Phicol*, and made a ſolemn League of Friendſhip with him. Some † little Difference had ariſen between *Abimelech*'s Servants and *Abraham*'s, about a Well, which *Abraham*'s Servants had digg'd. But, after a little Expoſtulation, they quickly came to a good Underſtanding. The Well was reſtor'd to *Abraham*, and the Place, where they enter'd into this ſolemn Covenant, was thenceforth call'd *Beerſheba*. Here *Abraham*, intending to end his Days, unleſs God ſhou'd otherwiſe diſpoſe of him, planted a Grove for a Place of religious Worſhip, and built an Altar, and call'd on *the Name of the Lord, the everlaſting God*; who was minded ‖ to make one Trial more of his Faith and Fidelity, and a ſevere Trial it was.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11. Abraham's *Covenant with* Abimelech.

God had order'd him to ſend away *Iſhmael*, and given him Aſſurance, that the Bleſſings, promis'd to his Poſterity, were not to take Place in any Part of that Branch of his Family, but that *Iſaac* ſhou'd be the Son of the Promiſe, and his Deſcendants, Heirs of that Happineſs and Proſperity,

Is order'd to Sacrifice his Son Iſaac.

* The Names of theſe Sons are, *Nebajoth*, *Kedar*, *Adbeel*, *Mibſam*, *Miſhma*, *Dumah*, *Maſſa*, *Hadar*, *Tema*, *Jethur*, *Naphiſh*, and *Kedemah*, *twelve Princes according to their Nations*, Gen. xxv. 13, &c. and as their Deſcendants were, from their Father, denominated by the common Name of *Iſhmaelites*; ſo, from *Hagar*, the Mother of *Iſhmael*, they are alſo called *Hagarens*, or *Hagarites*, under which Name we find ſome Footſteps of them in *Heathen* Authors; but certain it is, that the *Arabians* do, to this very day, value themſelves upon their being deſcended from *Iſhmael*. *Wells*'s Geogr. of the Old Teſt. Vol. I.

† It will not ſeem ſtrange, that *Abraham* ſhould look upon the loſing of a Well as a Matter of ſuch Conſequence, conſidering how ill furniſhed theſe *Eaſtern* Countries were with Water; and 'twas highly prudent of him to complain of Grievances now, before he enter'd into Covenant with *Abimelech*, that, they being once redreſſed, there might remain no Occaſion of Quarrels afterwards. *Bibliotheca Bib.* Vol. I.

‖ The Words in the Text are, *that God did tempt* Abraham, but God is ſaid to *tempt no Man*; and therefore all that he could be ſuppoſed to do in this Caſe, was only to make Trial of him; and *that* too, not to inform himſelf of the Sincerity and Steadineſs of his Faith, but in order to the holy Patriarch's own Juſtification, and to make him an illuſtrious Pattern of an entire Dependance on the Almighty, to future Saints, and Confeſſors. The *Jews* reckon up ten Trials of *Abraham*, of which the laſt was the greateſt. 1. God's Command to him to leave his Country. 2. The Famine, which forced him to go into *Egypt*. 3. *Pharaoh*'s taking his Wife from him. 4. His War with the four Kings. 5. his Deſpair of having *Iſaac* by *Sarah*, and marrying *Hagar* on that Account. 6 His *Circumciſion* in his old Age. 7. His Wife's being again taken from him by *Abimelech*. 8. The Expulſion of *Hagar*, when ſhe was with Child by him. 9. His Expulſion of her, and *Iſhmael*. And, 10. His Oblation of his only Son *Iſaac*. *Bibliotheca Bib.* Vol. I.

HAGAR and her SON in the Wilderneſs.



Le Brun Pinxt. *F. Roocker Sculp.*

And Hagar went & sate her down over against him a good way off, as it were a Bow-shot: for she said, let me not see the Death of the Child.

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Pl. 26

And he said, lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him: for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not with held thy Son, thine only Son from me. Gen. 22. v. 12

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1896, &c.

ſperity, which he had made over to him; and now he was pleas'd to require him, with his own Hands, to deſtroy this *his Son, his only Son* Iſaac. A cruel Injunction! But *Abraham*, we ſee, never ſtay'd to expoſtulate about the Severity, or Unlawfulneſs of it, but, on the very next Morning, without ſaying a Word to any of his Family, gets all Things ready, and, leaving it to God to make good his own Promiſes, reſolves to obey. To that Purpoſe, taking his Son *Iſaac* with him, and ſome Servants, with Proviſions, and Inſtruments, proper for the Sacrifice, he ſets out; and, * in three Days Time, came within ſight of † Mount *Moriah*, the Place which God had appointed for that dreadful Scene. Here, leaving his Servants behind, that they might not diſturb him with their Interceſſions or Lamentations, he goes up to the Mount, without betraying any Sign of Grief or Concern, that might raiſe a Suſpicion in his Son. His Son, on the other Hand, laden with the Wood, and the other Materials for a Burnt-offering, but perceiving nothing proper for a Victim, cou'd not forbear aſking his Father, *Where it was?* Such a Queſtion, at ſuch a Time, was enough to have ſtagger'd any Heart leſs firm than *Abraham*'s, who only anſwer'd calmly, *That God wou'd provide himſelf with one*; little thinking how *prophetically* he ſpake: For he had no ſooner bound his Son upon the Wood, and ſtretched out his Hand to give the fatal Blow, ‖ but God was pleas'd to ſtop him ſhort ‖ by a Voice from Heaven, forbidding him to do it, and declaring a Satisfaction in this laſt Teſt of his Obedience. Surpriz'd at the Voice, *Abraham* turns about to ſee whence it came, and ſpies a Ram, caught by the Horns in a thick Buſh, which he immediately took and offer'd up for a Burnt-offering inſtead of his Son; and, in Memory of the whole Tranſaction, called the Place, where it was done, *Jehovah-jireh*, in Alluſion to the Anſwer, which he gave to his Son's Queſtion, *God will provide himſelf a Lamb.*

From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

THUS

* The better to explain, how *Abraham* came to know the Place, which God had appointed, the *Jews* have a *Tradition*, that when God bad him go thither, and offer his Son, he aſked how he ſhould know it? To which the Anſwer was, That whereſoever he ſhould ſee the *Glory of the Lord*, that ſhould be the Place; and that, accordingly, when he came within ſight of Mount *Moriah*, he beheld a *Pillar* of *Fire*, reaching from the Earth to the Heavens, whereby he knew that *that* was the Place. *Hottingeri* Hiſtoria Orient. p. 36.

† This Mountain, whereon *Abraham* was ordered to offer his Son *Iſaac*, was certainly the ſame, on which the Temple was afterwards built by *Solomon*, and on Part of which, *viz.* Mount *Calvary*, *Chriſt* did afterwards actually offer himſelf unto God for the Redemption of Mankind: Which Offering of his, as it ſeems to have been deſignedly prefigured by the *intentional* Offering of *Iſaac*; ſo it might ſeem good to divine Reaſon to aſſign the ſame, for the *typical* Offering of *Iſaac*, where, in due Time, the *Antitype*, our Redeemer, was to be offer'd. But, inſtead of *Moriah*, the *Samaritans* read *Moreh*, and pretend that God ſent *Abraham* towards *Sechem*, where certainly was *Moreh*, [Gen. xii. 6. and Deut. xi. 30.] and that it was upon Mount *Gerizim*, that *Iſaac* was brought, in order to be ſacrificed. But this, in all Probability, is no more than a Contrivance to inhance the Glory of their Temple. *Wells*'s Geogr. and *Calmet*'s Hiſtory.

‖ The Words of God are, *Lay not thy Hand on the Child, neither do any Thing unto him*, Gen. xxii. 12. and yet in *Heb.* xi. 17. we are told, *that* Abraham *offer'd up* Iſaac, *when he was tried.* But this is eaſily reconcil'd, if we do but remember, that God always takes that for done, (whether in the Commiſſion of Sin, or Performance of Duty) where there is a Will and Intention to do it, ſuppoſing the Perſon to have an Opportunity. *Street*'s Dividing the Hoof.

‖ The Words in the Beginning of the Chapter, are, *that God tempted* Abraham, bidding him to go and ſacrifice his Son: But in Ver. 11. it is ſaid, that the *Angel of the Lord* forbad him to do it: From whence ſome may infer, that *Abraham* obey'd the Angel, who bad him ſpare his Son, againſt the Command of God, who bad him ſlay him. But, to ſolve this Difficulty (if it be thought any) we muſt obſerve, that, whenever the holy Scriptures tell us, that God ſaid any thing, or that an Angel ſpake, we are always to underſtand both of them to have been preſent; for the Angels ever attend upon the *Divine Majeſty*, and, being his Miniſters, do nothing but by his Order: So that when he is ſaid to ſpeak, it is, *by them*; and when they are ſaid to ſpeak, it is *from him.* It is the Lord therefore that ſpeaks, whoſoever be the Miniſter. *Patrick*'s Comment. And the Speech, which God made to *Abraham*, upon this weighty Occaſion, the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian comments upon in this Manner, "Hold thy Hand, and ſpare thy Son; for I did not re-"quire it of thee, out of any Delight I take in *human* Blood, or that I would make a Father the *Aſſaſſin* of the very "Child, which I myſelf have given him; but to ſee how far thou would'ſt ſubmit to thy God, in a Self-denial to thine "own Inclination and Nature. But now, ſince I find thy Piety to be Proof againſt all Temptations, I do here con-"firm over-again to thee all my former Promiſes, *&c. Joſeph.* Antiq. l. 1. c. 14.

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1896, &c.

THUS having perform'd an Act of ſuch perfect and heroick Obedience, as engag'd God to renew his Promiſe, with great Amplifications, and to confirm it to him with an *Oath*, he went, and rejoin'd his Servants; and, returning to *Beer-ſheba*, was no ſooner arriv'd, but he was welcom'd with the joyful News of the Increaſe of his Family, *viz.* that *Milcah*, his Brother *Nahor*'s Wife, * had borne him a numerous Iſſue, which † determin'd him, at a proper Time, to ſend thither for a Wife for his Son *Iſaac*: But, * before he did that, it happen'd that his own Wife *Sarah* died, in the 127th Year of her Age, at *Kirjatharba*, afterwards called *Hebron*, in the Country of *Canaan*.

Sarah's *Death and Burial.*

† *ABRAHAM* was then probably at *Beer-ſheba*, but, being inform'd of her Death, he came to *Hebron*, there to mourn and perform his laſt Offices for her; but what he wanted was a convenient Burying-Place. He therefore addreſſed himſelf to the People, aſſembled in a Body † at the *Gate of the City*, intreating them to allow him the Liberty of burying his Wife among them; but, as he was a Stranger in the Country, and had no Land then of his own, he could pretend to no Right of giving honourable Interment to his Dead, in the Sepulchres of the Country, without the Conſent of the Proprietors. He therefore deſir'd *Ephron*, one of the principal Inhabitants, † to ſell him the Field, called *Machpelah* †, with the Cave and Sepulchre belonging to it. The Purchaſe

From Gen. xii.—xxv. 11.

* The Children of *Nahor*, by *Milcah*, were *Huz*, *Buz*, *Kemuel*, *Chezed*, *Hazo*, *Pildaſh*, *Jidlaph*, and *Bethuel*, who begat *Rebecca*, the Wife of *Iſaac*; and by his Concubine, whoſe Name was *Reumah*, he had *Tebah*, *Gaham*, *Thahaſh*, and *Maacah*, from whom the City of *Maacah*, or *Abel-Beth-Maacah*, whoſe Territories are ſuppoſed to have been ſituate between the two *Lebanons*, might probably receive its Name, Gen. xxii. 20, &c.

† *Nahor*, very probably either removed with his Father *Terah* (as *Abraham* did) from *Ur* in *Chaldea*, and ſettled at *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*, or, not long after, followed them thither; becauſe, after that the Family left *Ur*, the firſt News, that we hear of him, is, that he was ſettled at *Haran*, and there had got a numerous Family; and 'tis upon the account of his Brother's reſiding there, as well as that himſelf had once lived there, that *Abraham* calls it his *own Country*, and the Place *where his Kindred dwelt*, Gen. xxiv. 4.

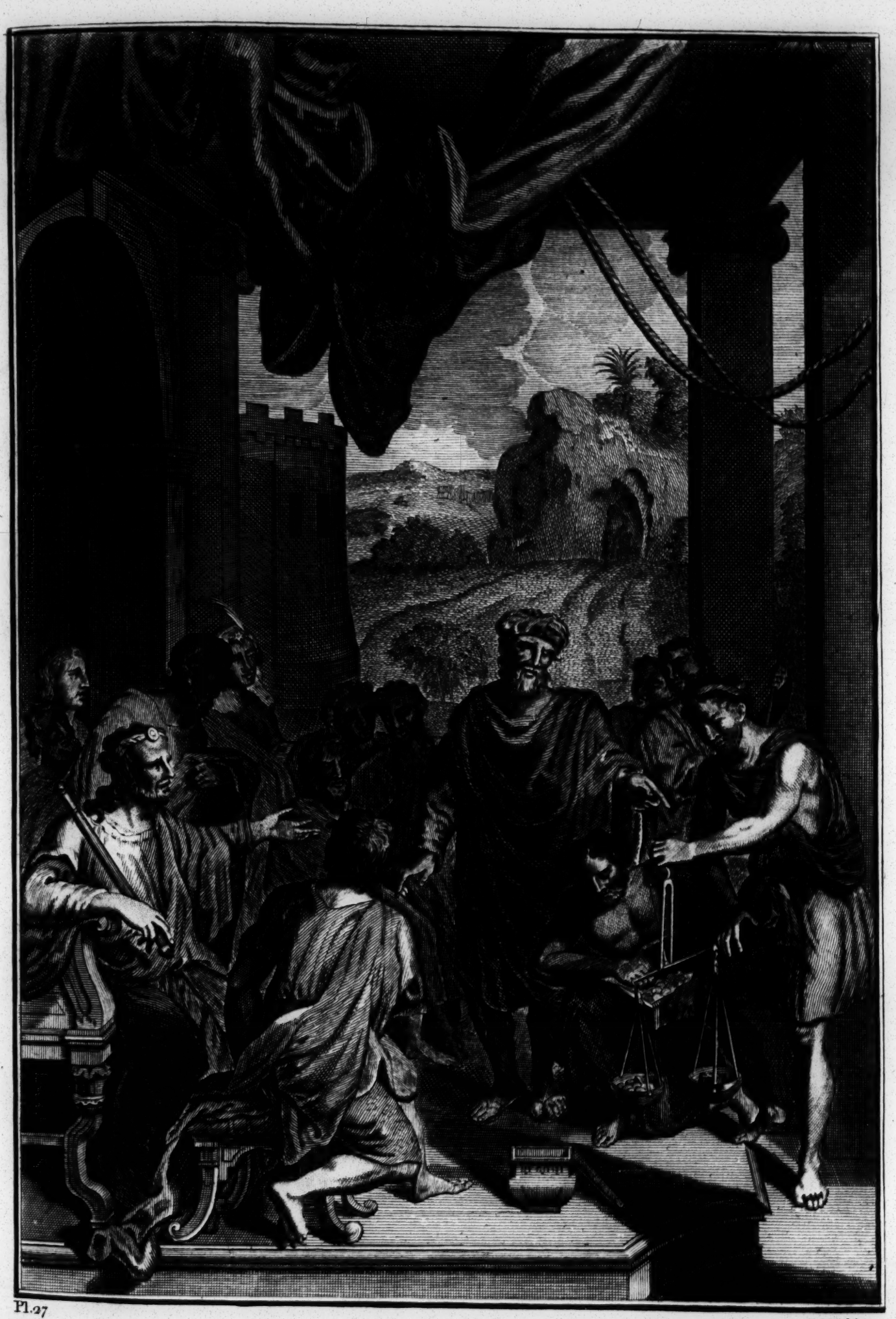
* Some of the *Arabian* Writers tell us, that, when *Sarah* heard that *Abraham* had taken her only Son into the Mountain, to ſacrifice to God, ſhe fell into a very great Agony, which brought on a Fit of Sickneſs, whereof ſhe died. *Eutychii* Annales, p. 74. *Joſephus* indeed informs us, that ſhe died ſoon after this Event; but if (as he ſays) *Iſaac* was five and twenty Years old, when his Father would have ſacrificed him, *Sarah* was ninety Years old when ſhe bore him, and 125 when ſhe died, ſhe muſt (according to his own Calculation) have lived eleven or twelve Years after it, and this our learned *Uſher* makes the Difference between his Sacrifice and her Death. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

† There is ſomething of Obſcurity in this Paſſage of the Hiſtory. *Sarah* is ſaid to have died at *Hebron*, and yet we have no Notice of *Abraham* removing from *Beer-ſheba*, to that Place; ſo that, upon ſome Occaſion or other, we muſt ſuppoſe them to have been parted, and that *Sarah* went to *Hebron*, while *Abraham* kept ſtill in his own Habitation: For to ſay that *Abraham* came from his own Tent to that of his Wife's, to make Lamentation for her, is not conſiſtent with the Sequel of the Text.

† The Gates of Cities, in theſe Days, and for many Ages after, were the Places of *Judicature*, and common Reſort. Here the Governors and Elders of the City went to hear Complaints, adminiſter Juſtice, make Conveyances of Titles and Eſtates, and, in ſhort, to tranſact all the publick Affairs of the Place: And from hence is that Paſſage in the *Pſalmiſt*, *they ſhall not be aſham'd, when they ſpeak to their Enemies in the Gate*, Pſalm cxxvii. Ver. ult. *i. e.* when they are accuſed by them before the Court of Magiſtrates. It is probable that the *Room*, or Hall, where theſe Magiſtrates ſat, was over the *Gate*, becauſe *Boaz* is ſaid to *go up to the Gate*; and the Reaſon of having it built there, ſeems to have been for the Conveniency of the Inhabitants, who, being all Huſbandmen, and forced to paſs and repaſs every Morning and Evening, as they went, and came from their Labour, might be more eaſily call'd, as they went by, whenever they were wanted to appear in any Buſineſs. So that, from the whole it appears, that *Abraham* cou'd not have made his Purchaſe from *Ephron*, without his having made Recourſe to the City Gates. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

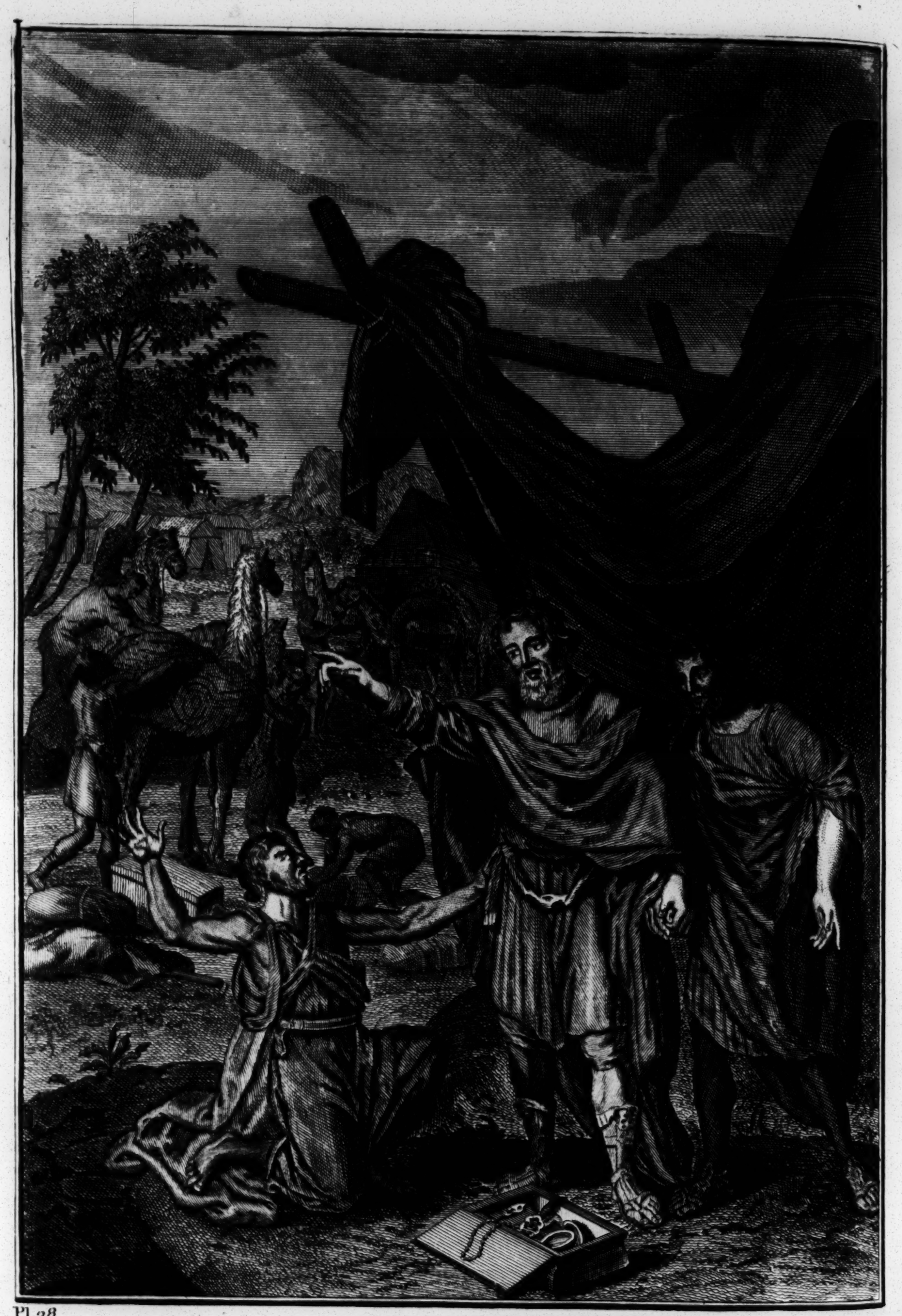
† It is an Obſervation of all thoſe, who have written about the *Sepulture* of the Antients, that their *Dormitories*, or Burying-Places, were never in Cities, much leſs in Temples or Churches, but always in the Fields or Gardens. The Uſe of Grotto's or Vaults is certainly very ancient. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I.

† The Word in *Hebrew* ſignifies *double*, whence it is ſuppos'd by ſome, that there was one Cave within another, or two or more contiguous to each other, in one of which *Sarah* was buried, and afterwards *Abraham* in another. But thoſe, who derive it from the *Arabick*, tell us, that, in that Language, it ſignifies *ſhut up, or walled up*, which, in *Eaſtern* Countries, was a common Way of making their Tombs, to prevent Thieves from harbouring in them, or to hinder them from being, in any Manner, violated or profan'd. And, if this be the right *Derivation*, then may *the Cave of* Machpelah be tranſlated, *the Cave that was ſhut up*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.



Pl.27

And he spake unto Ephron in the audience of the people of the land, saying, but if thou will give it, I pray thee hear me: I will give thee money for the field; take it of me, & I will bury my dead there. Gen. 23. v. 13.



Pl.28

And the Servant put his hand under the Thigh of Abraham his Master & sware to him concerning that matter.

And the Servant took ten Camels of the Camels of his Master, and departed &c

Gen 24 C.9.10.

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chaſe was made before all the People of *Hebron*, at the Price of 400 Shekels of Silver, *i. e.* about ſixty Pounds Sterling; and there he buried *Sarah*, after that he had mourn'd for he, † according to the Cuſtom of the Country.

Iſaac's *Marriage with* Rebecca.

BY this Time *Abraham* was well advanc'd in Years; and, being deſirous to ſee his Son *Iſaac* marry'd, and ſettled in the World, before he died, he called *Eliezar*, the Steward of his Hoſhold, and, † having taken an Oath of him (in Caſe he died firſt) to procure his Son a Wife * of his own Kindred, and not of the *Canaanites*, he ſent him into *Meſopotamia*, with full Inſtructions and Authority to conclude the Marriage, and with a Train ſuitable to ſuch an Embaſſy.

ELIEZAR, in coming to *Haran*, the Place where his Maſter's Relations dwelt, ſtopped at the publick Well, (whither it was cuſtomary for the young Women of the Place to come every Morning and Evening for Water) to reſt, and refreſh his Camels; and, being penſive and ſollicitous how to perform this Meſſage to his Maſter's Satisfaction, he made a mental Prayer to God, that he would be pleas'd to give this Token of the Succeſsfulneſs of his Journey, *viz.* That the Perſon, deſign'd for his young Maſter's Wife, might diſcover it by ſome Token of Curteſy to him. In the mean Time * *Rebecca* came to the Well: And, when *Eliezar* deſir'd her to give him a Draught of her Water, ſhe offer'd her Service, not only to draw for him, but for his Camels likewiſe, which (being the very Sign he requeſted of God) he permitted her to do, for his fuller Conviction.

From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

WHILE he ſaw her thus employ'd, he took Notice that the Damſel was exceeding beautiful; and, having enquir'd into her Relations and Family, he found that ſhe was his Maſter's Brother's Granddaughter: Whereupon he immediately took out a Pair of *Gold Ear-rings*, to the Weight of two *Shekels*, and a Pair of *Bracelets*, which weighed about *ten*, with which he preſented her, deſiring, at the ſame

† What the *Rites* of *Mourning* for the Dead, in thoſe Days, were, 'tis hard to determine, becauſe we have, as yet, no Particulars of it Recorded in Scripture. From the ſubſequent Practice however we may infer, that they ſhut themſelves up from Company, neglected the Care of their Bodies, and abſtained from their ordinary Food. They faſted, and lay upon the Ground; they wept, tore their Cloths, ſmote their Breaſts, went bare-foot, and pull'd off their Hair and Beards. The *Time* of Mourning was uſually for ſeven Days; but it was commonly lengthen'd or ſhorten'd according to the State or Circumſtances, wherein they found themſelves. And, during this Period, they did not dreſs themſelves, nor make their Beds, nor cover their Heads, nor ſhave themſelves, nor cut their Nails, nor go into the Bath, nor ſalute any Body, nay, nor ſo much as read the Book of the Law, or ſay their uſual Prayers. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Mourning*.

† The Form, in which *Eliezar* took his Oath, was, we are told, by *putting his Hand under his Maſter's Thigh*. This is the firſt Time we read of that Ceremony, which was afterwards us'd by *Jacob*, and *Joſeph*, when they were a dying; and the Oddneſs of it has inclin'd ſome judicious Authors to think, that it implies a more ſolemn *Myſtery*, than Men are aware of. Some ſuppoſe that it was ſwearing by the *Meſſias*, who was to come out of *Abraham*'s Loins or Thigh, (*Gen.* xlvi. 26.) others, by the Covenant of *Circumciſion*, the Part circumciſed being near the Thigh: But the moſt probable Conjecture is,———That as it could not well be done but in a kneeling Poſture, ſo it was a Token of Subjection and Homage from a Servant to his Lord, he ſitting, and his Servant putting his Hand under him; and thereby implicitly declaring, *I am under your Power, and ready to do whatever you ſhall think fit to command me.* The Cuſtom however afterwards in ſwearing was, *to lift up the Hand to Heaven*, (Gen. xiv. 22. and, upon Account of both theſe Ceremonies, the *Greek* Word ὅρκος, which ſignifies an *Oath*, is ſuppos'd to be derived from the *Hebrew Jereck*, a *Thigh*, as the Word ὀμνύω, to *ſwear*, is ſuppos'd to come from the *Hebrew Jamin*, which is the *Right Hand*. *Ainſworth*'s Annotations.

* Not but that *Laban* and his Family were Idolaters, as well as the *Canaanites*, but then he was much better than they, becauſe he ſtill retain'd the Worſhip of the true God, as appears from the Sequel of the Hiſtory, [Chap. xxiv. 37.] tho' blended and corrupted with very groſs Mixtures and Additions of his own, whereas the *Canaanites* had utterly revolted from it. *Grot.* Par.

* Great was the *Simplicity* and *Humility* of thoſe early Days, when Perſons of the beſt *Rank*, and of the *Female* Sex too, did not diſdain to be employ'd in ſuch ſervile Offices. Thus, in the following Age, *Jacob* found his Couſin *Rachel* watering her Father's Sheep; and, ſeveral Ages after that, the ſeven Daughters of *Jethro*, who was a Prince, as well as a Prieſt of *Midian*, kept their Father's Flocks, and uſed to draw Water for the Cattle. So well as our Author expreſs'd that Simplicity of Manners, which we may obſerve in *Homer*, or *Heſiod*, or any of the moſt antient Writers. *Howell*'s Hiſtory, l. 1.

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ſame Time, that, if they had any Room at her Houſe, he might be permitted to lodge there that Night. Her anſwer was, that *that* he might do very conveniently; and ſo, accepting of the Preſents, ſhe made haſte home to acquaint the Family with this Adventure, leaving *Eliezar* full of Contemplations, and Acknowledgments to the divine Favour for this happy, ſurpriſingly happy Incident.

As ſoon as *Laban* had heard what his Siſter had to tell him, he went immediately, and, inviting the Stranger into his Houſe, order'd all proper Proviſion to be made for the civil Reception, both of himſelf and his Retinue. At his firſt Introduction, *Eliezar* opened to the Family the Occaſion of his Coming; acquainted them with the Succeſs, that had attended him in his Journey; and gave them a full Account of the Circumſtances of his Maſter's Family; of the Wealth and Proſperity, wherewith God had bleſſed him; of the Son and Heir, which he had given him in his old Age; and of the large Expectances, which this his Heir had, not only from the Prerogative of his Birth, but from the Donation and Entail of all his Father's Poſſeſſions: And, having, in this Manner, deliver'd his *Credentials*, he demanded immediately, even before he did either eat or drink with them, their poſitive Anſwer.

† *LABAN* and *Bethuel* were both of Opinion, that the Divine Providence was very viſible in this whole Affair; and therefore concluded, that it wou'd be mighty wrong to refuſe *Rebecca* upon this Occaſion, they conſented that he ſhou'd carry her to her intended Huſband, as ſoon as he pleas'd: So that Matters being thus far agreed on, he thought it now proper to preſent her with the *Jewels* of Silver, and Gold, and fine Raiment, which he had brought for her; and he having, at the ſame Time, made ſome conſiderable Preſents to her Mother, and Brethren, the Remainder of the Day they devoted to Feaſting and Mirth. In the Morning, *Eliezar*, who began to think the Time long till his Maſter was acquainted with the good Succeſs of his Negociation, deſir'd to be diſmiſs'd. The Requeſt a little ſtartled them. They promis'd themſelves, that at leaſt, he wou'd ſtay ten Days longer: But, he perſiſting in his Reſolution, the Thing was referr'd to *Rebecca*, who conſented to go with him, as ſoon as he pleas'd: So that, all Things being preſently made ready, and having * the *Bridal* Bleſſing beſtow'd upon her, ſhe took her Leave and departed, with her Nurſe (whoſe Name was *Deborah*) and other Servants appointed to attend her. From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

Whilst *Eliezar* was conveying his fair Charge to his Maſter's Houſe, Providence had ſo order'd the Matter, that *Iſaac*, taking a ſolitary Walk in the *Fields* that Evening, happen'd to eſpy his Servants and Camels upon the Road, and thereupon went forwards to meet them. As ſoon as *Rebecca* was inform'd who he was, ſhe alighted, and * throwing her Vail over her Face (as the Manner of Women then (was

† This *Bethuel* cou'd not be her Father, becauſe, had he been ſo, it wou'd have been improper to have had *Laban*, either nam'd before him, or given anſwer to *Abraham*'s Meſſenger, when his Father was by; and therefore, ſince *Joſephus* makes the Damſel tell *Eliezar*, that her Father had been dead long ago, and that ſhe was left to the Care of her Brother *Laban*, this *Bethuel*, who is here nam'd after *Laban*, and is never more taken Notice of during the whole Tranſaction, muſt have been ſome younger Brother of the Family. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

* The Bleſſing is compriz'd in theſe Words, *Be thou a Mother of Thouſands of Millions, and let thy Seed poſſeſs the Gate of thoſe that hate them*; which was afterwards made a ſolemn Form of Benediction in leading the Bride to her Bridegroom.

* The Uſe of the *Vail* was the univerſal Practice among all Nations, as far as Hiſtory can inform us, except the *Spartans*, who are reported to have been ſingular, in that their Virgins were permitted to appear without a Vail, but, after they were married, they were never to be ſeen in publick without it. It was from this Practice of Vailing the Bride, when ſhe was brought to the Bridegroom, in Token both of Modeſty and Subjection, that the *Preſents*, which he made her upon this Occaſion, were, by the *Greeks* called ἀναϰαλυπτήρια: And thus the Poets, in celebrating the Marriage of *Proſerpine* to *Pluto*, have this Fiction ——— That, upon unvailing his Bride, he preſented her with the Iſland of *Sicily*, in Lieu of her Vail, which he took from her. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I.

REBECCA Receiving the Jewels.



Paul Veronese Invt J. Hulett Sculp

And it came to pass as the Camels had done drinking that the Man took a golden ear ring of half a Shekel weight and Bracelets for her Hands of ten Shekels weight of Gold.

Gen. 24. ver. 22.

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1897, &c.

was) ſhe waited to receive his firſt Compliments. † *Iſaac*, with great Reſpect, addreſs'd himſelf to her, and conducted her into his Mother's Tent, which was fitted up for her Appartment. Not long after they were married together, and *Iſaac* grew ſo fond of her, that the Love, he had for his Wife, help'd to alleviate the Grief he had long conceived for the Loſs of his Mother.

Abraham's Marriage with Keturah, *and his Death.*

AFTER this happy Marriage of his Son, *Abraham*, ſtill finding himſelf ſtrong enough to make a new Addition to his Family, took another Wife, † whoſe Name was *Keturah*, by whom he * had ſix Sons: But, leſt they ſhould interfere with *Iſaac* in his Inheritance of *Canaan*, as they grew up, he portion'd them off, and ſent them away towards the *Eaſt*, where, ſettling in *Arabia* and *Syria*, they became, in Time, Heads of different Nations; whereof we have Foot-ſteps both in *Sacred* and *Profane* Hiſtory.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

THIS is the Subſtance of what the *Sacred* Hiſtory relates concerning the great Patriarch *Abraham*. † At length, laden with honours, and out-worn with Age, after he had lived the Space of an hundred and ſeventy-five Years, he took leave of this World: and, by his two Sons, *Iſhmael* and *Iſaac*, was buried in the Cave of *Machpelah*, (where, above forty Years before, he had repoſited the Remains of his beloved Wife, *Sarah*) leaving a Name, famous to all Poſterity, behind him.

† It may ſeem a little ſtrange, that, upon ſo ſingular an Occaſion, no mention ſhould be made of *Abraham*, who was a principal Perſon concern'd herein; but for this ſome account by ſuppoſing, that *Abraham*, before this, had married *Keturah*, (tho' not to break in with the Account of his Son's Marriage, the Hiſtory relates it later) and reſign'd his Eſtate, and the Government of his Family into the Hands of *Iſaac*, chuſing to live the Remainder of his Days in Retirement with his new Conſort.

† *Keturah* is ſuppos'd, by ſome *Jewiſh* Interpreters, to be the ſame with *Hagar*, whom *Abraham*, after his Wife's Death, ſent for again, and by her had all the ſix Sons here mention'd: But, beſides that *Hagar* muſt, by this Time, have been above 80 Years of Age, and, conſequently, too old to bear ſo many Children, the Text itſelf ſeems to be againſt this Suppoſition; For it informs us, that *Abraham added*, or *proceeded to take* another Wife, which is a different Thing to his *recalling* the *old* one. The more probable Opinion therefore is, that this *Keturah* was a Domeſtick of his own, a *Canaanite* perhaps, whom he had converted to the true Religion; but then the Difficulty is, how *Abraham* cou'd diſpoſe of ſo many Sons, in ſo ſhort a Space, as that which interven'd between his Wife's, and his own Death. To ſolve this, ſome have ſuppos'd, that this *Keturah* became his Wife, *i. e.* Wife of the *ſecond Order*, long before the Death of *Sarah*, even immediately after he parted with *Hagar*; but then this Suppoſition is contrary to the Senſe of the *Original*; and therefore, if we are minded to adhere to that, we muſt ſay, that *Abraham*'s living almoſt forty Years after *Sarah*'s Death gave him Time enough to diſpoſe of the Sons begotten of *Keturah*, as the Renovation of his Strength, which was certainly miraculous, (for forty Years before, he is ſaid to have been *dead* to all ſuch Purpoſes, *Rom.* vi. 19.) enabled him to beget them. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, *Ainſworth*'s Annotations, and Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

* His Sons were, *Zimram*, *Jokſham*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Iſhbak*, and *Shuah*, whereof *Jokſhim* had *Sheba*, and *Dedan*: *Dedan* had *Aſhurim*, *Letuſhim*, and *Leumim*: And *Midian* had *Ephah*, *Epher*, *Hanock*, *Abidah*, and *Eldaah*, Gen. xxv. 2, &c. And the Footſteps we find of theſe in Hiſtory (according to the beſt Conjectures) are ſuch as follow. From *Zimram*, in all Probability, were deſcended the *Zamarens*, a People mention'd by *Pliny*, Natural Hiſtory, l. 6. c. 28. From *Sheba*, the *Sabeans*, mentioned in *Job* i. 15. From *Dedan*, the *Dedamim*, mentioned in *Iſaiah* xx. 13. From *Midian*, the *Midianites*, mentioned in ſeveral Places. From *Shuah*, the *Shuites*, mentioned in *Job* ii. 11. From *Epha*, was a Town of the ſame Name, mentioned by *Iſaiah* lx. 6. From *Hanock*, a Country call'd *Canauna*, mention'd by *Pliny*, Natural Hiſtory l. 6. c. 28. And (to name no more) from *Medan*, a Country call'd *Mediana*, in which is the famous City of *Mecca*, where *Mahomet* was born. *Bedford*'s Chronology, l. 3. c. 4. and *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I.

† This Account of *Abraham*'s Death is given by way of *Anticipation*: for when the Text has recited his Sons, and their Settlement, it brings him, and *Iſhmael* to their Graves; not that they died before the Birth of his two Grandſons, *Jacob* and *Eſau*, as the Text has plac'd Things (for *Abraham* liv'd till they were *fifteen* Years old, and *Iſhmael* till they were *ſixty three*) but, having no more to ſay of the Father and the Son, *Moſes* here concludes their Hiſtory at once. *Lightfoot*.

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1896, &c.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

The OBJECTION.

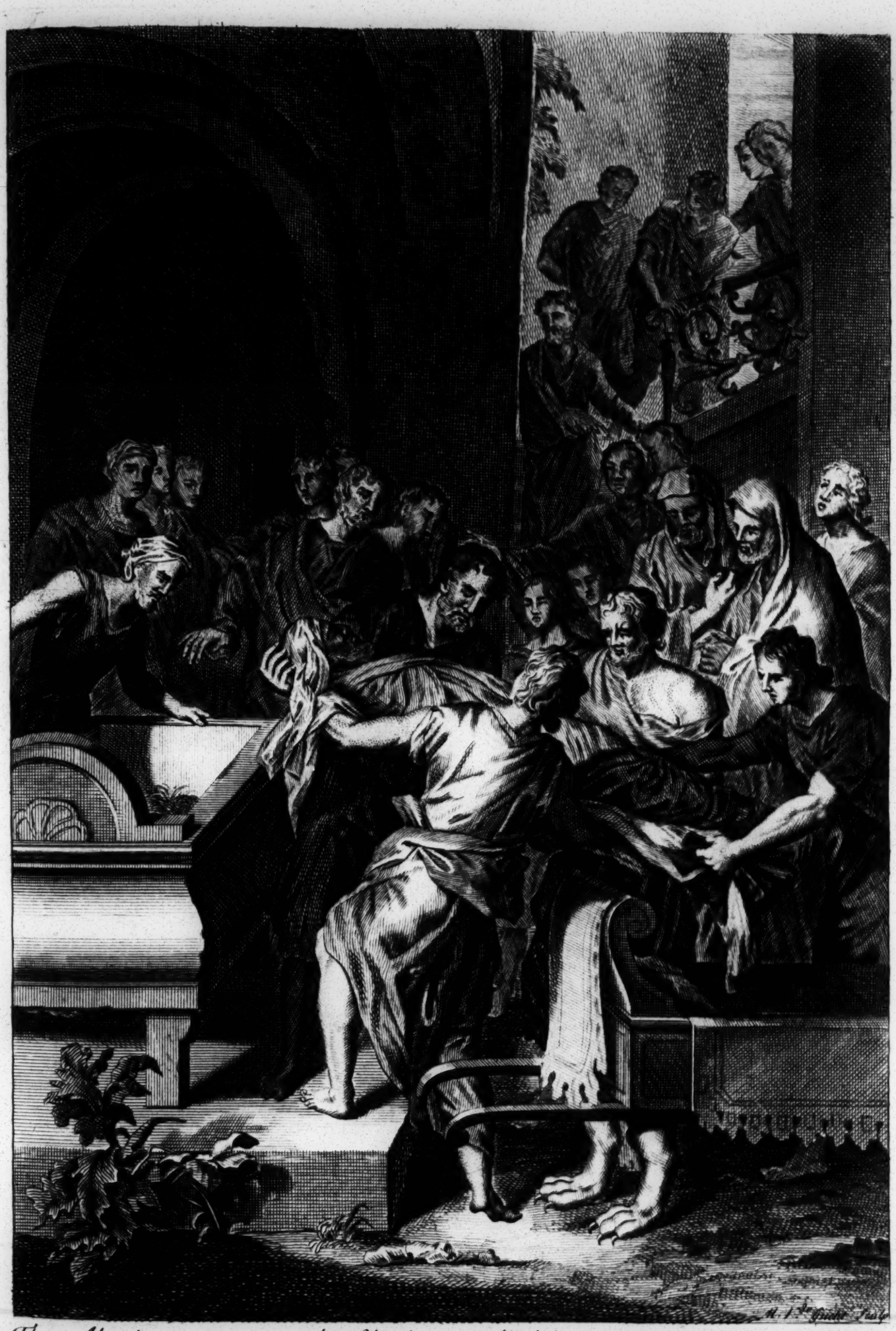
"BUT how great ſoever the Name "of the Patriarch *Abraham* may "be thought, there are ſome Grounds "to believe, that he did not deſerve pro- "perly all the Commendations, that have "been heap'd on him. The ſacred Hiſto- "rian indeed has been very copious upon "this Subject. He has employ'd no leſs "than ſeventeen *Chapters* in recording the "Tranſactions of his Life, and has drawn "ſome Parts of his Character in very fair "Colours. He has repreſented him * as "a ſtrenuous Oppoſer of Idolatry, and a "zealous Promoter of the true Worſhip "of God; wiſe and prudent, humble and "condeſcenſive, generous and hoſpitable; "with a Courage undaunted, a Faith "impregnable, and a Reſolution able to "ſurmount all Difficulties; honour'd and "beloved by his own Family, familiar "with Kings and Princes, converſant with "Angels, and intimate with God. But "notwithſtanding * all this Profuſion of "Praiſe, upon a nearer Enquiry, we ſhall "find, that ſome Paſſages have fallen from "his Pen, which darken, and obſcure "his Hero's Character not a little. For,

"*(b)* WHAT Apology can be made for "his Denial of his Wife, at his going "down into *Egypt*, and at *Gerar*? He, "who was under the immediate Guidance "of God, and by whoſe Direction he left "his Country, might have adventur'd to "tell the Truth, and, in ſo doing, have "committed his Wife to the divine "Protection, with a much better Grace, "than in the Method he took of enga- "ging her in the Prevarication. Had he "done this but once indeed, we might "have called it the Effect of ſome violent "Fear, or Apprehenſion of Danger, "which put him upon an Evaſion not ſo "commendable; but when we find him "repeating the ſame Fallacy to *Abimelech*, "that he had us'd before to *Pharaoh*, and "laying it down for a conſtant Rule of "Practice, that his Wife, becauſe ſhe was "beautiful, ſhould in every ſtrange Coun- "try, paſs for his Siſter; we can hardly "forbear thinking, *(c)* that he had a ſecret "Intent

* The *Jewiſh* Writers tell us, that *Abraham* was bred up in the Religion of the *Zabii*, who, in thoſe early Times, made Images or Repreſentations of the Sun, Moon, and Stars to worſhip, and that his Father *Terah* was a Maker, and Seller of theſe Images; that *Abraham*, being well ſkill'd in the Aſtronomy of thoſe Times, learn'd from thence, that the celeſtial Bodies could neither make, nor move themſelves by their own Power, but that there was one only God, who created, preſerv'd, and govern'd all other Things, and that therefore they ought to Worſhip him alone; that his Father *Terah*, going from home about particular Buſineſs, and leaving *Abraham* in the Shop to ſell the Images, he, in his Abſence, broke them all, except the largeſt of them; that, upon this *Terah* being angry, brought *Abraham* before the chief King of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy to be puniſh'd for this Crime; that the King being one of the *Magi*, commanded *Abraham* to worſhip the Fire, and, upon his Refuſal, order'd him to be thrown into an hot burning Furnace, but that *Abraham* came out unhurt in the Preſence, and to the Admiration, of them all. *Maimonides* in *Mor. Nevoc.* l. 3. c. 29. *Jad. Chaz.* de Idololatriâ, c. 1. *Shalſheleth*, p. 8. *Inchaſin*, Part 9. Fol. 1. But ſome think that this whole Story roſe from taking the Word *Ur* to ſignify *the Fire*, as it is in the *Hebrew*, and thence interpreting the Saying of God to *Abraham* in this Manner, *I am the Lord, that brought thee out of the* Fire *of the* Chaldeans, *to give thee this Land to inherit it.* Since it is expreſsly ſaid, however, (Gen. xi. 31.) that *Terah, Lot, Abraham*, and *Sarah* his Wife, came all forth together out of *Ur of the* Chaldees, it may therefore very properly be taken for a City dedicated to the *Fire*, which was there principally worſhipped, and from thence it might take its Name.

* *Profane* Authors (if poſſible) ſay more in the Praiſe and Commendation of *Abraham*, than do the *ſacred*, but there is Reaſon enough to believe, that their Accounts are loaded with Fictions. Some have averred, that he reigned at *Damaſcus*; others, that he dwelt a long Time in *Egypt*, and taught the *Egyptians* Aſtronomy and Arithmetick. Some ſay that he invented Letters, and the *Hebrew* Language; that he was the Author of ſeveral Works, and, among others, of a famous Book, intituled *Jezira*, or the *Creation*: And, among the *Perſians*, ſo great a Man was he accounted, that the *Magi*, or Worſhippers of Fire believe *Zoroaſtres*, who was their Prophet) to be the ſame with the Patriarch *Abraham*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

(b) *Bayle*'s Dictionary under the Word *Sarah*. *(c)* Chriſtianity as old, &c. p. 248.



Then. Abraham gave up the Ghost, and died in a good Old Age, an Old
P.30 Man, and full of Years, and was gathered to his people. page 234
And his Sons Isaac & Ishmaël buried him in ỹ Cave of Machpelah
in ỹ Field of Ephron ỹ Son of Zoar ỹ Hittite, wch is before Mamre Gen 25

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" Intent in this Tranſaction to betray her " Chaſtity, and, by an infamous Lye, to " make a Market of her Honour and Vir- " tue; ſince the Hiſtory acknowledges, " that, by this Conduct, he got from one " King, *(d) who treated him well for her* " *Sake*, Cattle in Abundance; and from " the other, *(e) a thouſand Pieces of Sil-* " *ver, beſides Sheep, and Oxen, and Men* " *Servants, and Women Servants.*

" WHAT Apology can be made for " his taking *Hagar* to Wife, and there- " by not only eſtabliſhing Polygamy (for " which he has been quoted ever ſince) " but expreſſing a Diſtruſt likewiſe of " God's Veracity, by endeavouring to " have Children by her, when God had " ſo often promiſed him Iſſue by *Sarah?* " *Sarah*, perhaps might be a Woman " of an eaſy Temper, and ready to con- " nive at her Huſband's Failings: But to " have her introduced, as ſolliciting her " Huſband to commit Adultery with her " Maid, is ſomewhat incongruous; and " the more rational Suppoſition is, that " what he did of this Kind was more " from his own Appetite, than his Wife's " Requeſt, and poſſibly, with a Purpoſe " to make the Experiment on which Side " the Default, in their not having Children, " might lie.

" WHAT Apology can be made for " his ſevere Treatment of *Hagar* and " *Iſhmael*, in ſending them both away " into the wide World, in order to ſeek " their Fortune? *Iſhmael*, perhaps, might " be a waggiſh Boy, that, upon one " Occaſion or other, had put ſome little " Trick upon *Iſaac*, which his Mother " perceiving might fall into a Paſſion, " and pertinaciouſly inſiſt, that both the " Mother and Son ſhould, that Moment, " be turned out of Doors, which the poor " Patriarch, to preſerve Family-Peace, " might poſſibly be induced to do; but " then he ſhould have certainly ſent them " away in a better *Plight*, than we find he " did. *(f)* He is all along repreſented as " a Perſon of great Wealth and Opulence: " and therefore to have made ſome compe- " tent Proviſion for her and her Son is no " more than what Juſtice, as well as com- " mon Compaſſion, exacted of him; but " to ſend a Woman into a deſolate Wil- " derneſs, with a little Child in her Arms, " and with no more than one Bottle of " Water, and ſuch a Quantity of Bread as " ſhe could carry, out of a Family, where " ſhe had for a long Time, lived in " Affluance and Plenty, is ſuch cruel and " barbarous Uſage, as can hardly be ſup- " poſed to proceed from the *divine* " *Direction.*

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

" ABOVE all, what Apology can be " made for his Intent to ſacrifice his Son " *Iſaac?* *(g)* That God is to be obeyed " above all Things, and even in Oppoſi- " tion ſometimes to the Paſſions and Af- " fections, which he hath made connatural " to us, is not to be deny'd: And yet this " we may lay down for a certain Maxim, " that the Lord of the Univerſe governs " himſelf by the eternal Rules of Rea- " ſon, and can neither himſelf act, nor " command his Creatures to act, in any " Inſtance, contrary to them. Since " therefore, the Command of ſlaying an " innocent Child is a Contradiction of that " eternal Rule of Reaſon, by which Pa- " rents are obliged to preſerve their Off- " ſpring, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that " ſuch a Command ever came from God. " Much more probable it is, that it might " be the Deluſion of ſome wicked Spirit, " delighting in Cruelty and Blood; and " yet we find the Patriarch not making " the leaſt Demur upon this Occaſion, *(h)* " nor once expoſtulating for the Life of " his Son; tho', at another Time, he could " be importunate enough for the Pardon " of an impious, inhoſpitable, and inceſtu- " ous City.

" *(i) He believed in the Lord*, we are " told, *and his Faith was imputed to him* " *for Righteouſneſs*; and yet, in the very " next Verſe but one, we find him doubt-

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(d) Gen. xii. 16. *(e)* Chap. xx. 16. *(f)* *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 6. *(g)* Chriſtianity as old, &c. p. 97. *(h)* Lord *Shaftſbury*'s Characteriſticks, Vol. III. p. 10. *(i)* Gen. xv. 6

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" ing of the divine Promiſe concerning the " Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan*, and " requiring ſome Sign or Token from God, " *whereby ſhall I know that I ſhall in-* " *herit it?* A Friend he was reputed to " the true Worſhip of God, and a bitter " Enemy to all Idolatry; and yet we find " him planting ſuch Groves, as were *(k)* " afterwards *forbidden*, and ordered to be " *cut down, and burnt with Fire:* And, " as he gave Occaſion for theſe idolatrous " Places, ſo it is not unlikely, that the " barbarous Cuſtom of Men's *ſacrificing* " *their Children to Devils*, might be " introduced, in Imitation of this At- " tempt of *Abraham*'s to offer up his " Son.

" So that, upon the Whole, this great " *Friend*, and *Favourite* of God, as he is " call'd, was not a whit better than his " Neighbours; ſince to his Wife *Sarah* " he was *perfidious*, and to his Wife *Ha-* " *gar inhumane*; turned the latter away " ſhamefully, and would have proſtituted " the former for Gain; to both his Sons " was *cruel* and unnatural, for as much as " he *expelled* the one, and would have " *deſtroyed* the other; was guilty of *Lying* " and Diſſimulation towards Men, of " *Diſtruſt* and Diffidence towards God, " and perhaps gave Occaſion to the moſt " horrid Kind of *Idolatry*, that ever was " invented, *The Oblations of Sons and* " *Daughters to infernal Spirits.*

" The like, if not worſe, may be ſaid " of his Nephew *Lot*; for *(l)* what can " we conceive more vile and abominable, " than the offer of Proſtituting his own " Daughters to a Pack of outragious *So-* " *domites?* The Laws of Hoſpitality may " engage a Man indeed to do much, but " never ſurely to commit ſuch an Enor- " mity, even for the Acquiſition of the " greateſt Good. His Daughters too ſeem " to have had to deep a Tincture of the " Vices of *Sodom*, when they were not " afraid to make their Father drunk, in " order to go to bed to him; nor aſham'd " to call their inceſtuous Iſſue by ſuch " Names, as would perpetuate the Me- " mory of the Fact. From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

" Had the Father indeed fallen into " theſe Crimes but once, ſomething might " have been imputed to the Imbecility of " his Age, and the intoxicating Quality " of the Liquor, which at firſt perhaps " he might not perceive; but to be guilty " of Drunkenneſs and Inceſt two Nights " ſucceſſively, argues a propenſity to Vice, " and is no ſmall Indication of an aban- " doned Character.

" In this Light has *Moſes* repreſented " ſome Part of the Conduct of the Uncle " and his Nephew, and in the Courſe of " their Hiſtory, has related ſeveral other " Things, highly incredible, and incon- " gruous to Reaſon. For,

" What an odd Character is that of " *Melchizedeck*, a Kind of Linſey-wool- " ſey Brother, part King, and part Prieſt, " *to whom* Abraham *gave the Tithes of* " *all*; and eſpecially, if we take in the " additional Titles, which the Author to " the *Hebrews* gives him *(m)* of *being* " *without Father, without Mother, with-* " *out Deſcent; having neither Beginning* " *of Days, nor End of Life; but being* " *made like unto the Son of God, and abid-* " *ing a Prieſt continually.*

" What a ſtrange Prophecy is that " concerning *Iſhmael*, *(n) he will be a* " *wild Man*, or, as it is in the Original, *a* " *wild Aſs-man; his hand ſhall be againſt* " *every Man, and every Man's Hand* " *againſt him, and he ſhall dwell in the* " *Preſence of all his Brethren?* Cold Com- " fort, one would think, it ſhould be " to *Hagar*, in her diſtreſſed and diſcon- " ſolate Condition, and enough indeed to " frighten her out of her Senſes, to be " told by an Angel, that what ſhe had " conceived in her Womb would become " a Monſter, part Man, and part Aſs; " and whoſe Fortune ſhould be to live all " his Life long by Thieving and *Mo-* " *roading*.

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(k) Deut. xvi. 21. *(l)* *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. *(m)* Heb. vii. 3, &c. *(n)* Gen. xvi. 12.

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† WHAT a ſenſeleſs, as well as immodeſt a Rite, is that of Circumciſion, (ſuppoſing it to be of *divine* Inſtitution) for a Sign of a Covenant between God and *Abraham?* Where is the Senſe of mutilating the Infant's Body, and thereby endangering its Life, as ſoon as it is born? If a corporeal Mark was abſolutely neceſſary to diſtinguiſh *Abraham*'s Poſterity from the reſt of Mankind, the Divine Wiſdom, one would think, ſhould have pitched upon ſome other Part of the Body, rather than that, which common Modeſty labours to conceal. *(o)* The more probable Opinion therefore is, that a Practice, ſo unaccountable in itſelf, was not of God's Appointment, but what *Abraham* learnt when he was in *Egypt*, and afterwards impoſed upon his Poſterity to make them more acceptable to that Nation, on whom he foreſaw that they were for ſome Ages to depend.

"WHAT a *romantick* Story is that of *Abraham*'s fighting four victorious Kings, and putting them to the Rout, with a ſmall Handful of his own Domeſticks; eſpecially when theſe Kings (according to the Senſe of the beſt Commentators) were no petty Princes, but the Governors of vaſt Provinces, under the Command of the *Aſſyrian* Monarch? From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

"WHAT a ridiculous Attempt is that of *Abraham* to ſacrifice his Son, who, (according to the beſt Computation) was then in the Prime of his Life, at leaſt, of an Age ſufficient to make a Reſiſtance; and Reſiſtance we may be ſure he would not fail to make, rather than ſuffer himſelf to be *butcher'd?*

"BUT above all, what an incredible Story is that of *Lot*'s Wife's *Metamorphoſis*, of her being chang'd into a Pillar of Salt, merely for turning about to ſee the Deſtruction of the City, where ſhe had ſo long liv'd; * eſpecially conſidering the ſeveral Improvements which later Hiſtorians have made upon the Account, too light, and too improbable, ever to be named?

"THESE, and many more, are the Incongruities, which occur in this Period of Time; enough to ſtagger our Belief, and to call the Authority of the *ſacred* Penman into Queſtion."

BUT,

† The Manner of this Ceremony's being perform'd, whether in the publick Synagogue, or in private Houſes, is this, ——— The Perſon, who is appointed to be the *God father*, ſits down upon a Seat, with a Silk-cuſhion provided for that Purpoſe, and ſettles the Child in a proper Poſture on his Knees, when he, who is to circumciſe him (which by the bye, is accounted a great Honour among the *Jews*) opens the Blankets. Some make uſe of Silver Tweezers, to take up ſo much of the *Prepuce*, as they deſign to cut off, but others take it up with their Fingers. Then he, who circumciſes the Child, holding the Razor in his Hand, ſays, *Bleſſed be thou, O Lord, who haſt commanded us to be circumcis'd*; And, while he is ſaying this, cuts off the Thick Skin of the *Prepuce*, and then, with his Thumb Nails, tears off a finer Skin ſtill remaining. After this he ſucks the Blood, which flows plentifully upon this Occaſion, and ſpits it out into a Cup full of Wine: Then he puts ſome Dragons Blood upon the Wound, ſome Coral Powder, and other Things to ſtop the Bleeding, and ſo covers up the Part affected. When this is done, he takes the Cup, wherein he had ſpit the Blood; moiſtens his Lips therewith; and then, bleſſing both that, and the Child, gives him the Name, which his Father had appointed, and, at the ſame Time, pronounces theſe Words of *Ezekiel*, *I ſaid unto thee, when thou waſt in thy Blood, live*, Ezek. vi. 16. after which, the whole Congregation repeats the 128th Pſalm, *Bleſſed is every Man, that feareth the Lord*, &c. and ſo the Ceremony concludes. Only we muſt obſerve, that beſides the Seat, appointed for the God-father, there is always another left empty, and is deſign'd, ſome ſay, for the Prophet *Elias*, who, as they imagine, is inviſibly preſent at all Circumciſions. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Circumciſion*.

(o) Lord *Shaftſbury*'s Charact. Vol. III. p. 52. *Marſham*'s Can. Chron. p. 72. and Chriſtianity as old, &c. p. 94.

* The *Jewiſh* Doctors, as well as ſome *Chriſtian* Fathers, labour to perſuade us, that it was extant in their Days; that it was no Ways impair'd, and would laſt as long as the World endur'd; that what it loſes by any Accident, or the Injuries of the Weather, is daily ſupplied, ſo that it continues ever the ſame; and, in ſhort, that it has all the Signatures and infirmities of the Sex attending it, even as if it were alive. *Saurin*'s Diſſertations 18. Whether it was *Tertullian*, or St *Cyprian*, that was the Author of theſe Verſes, but ſo it is, that the Poet, be he who he will, has tack'd together ſeveral of theſe incredible Things:

In fragilem mutata ſalem ſtetit illa, Sepulchrum
Ipſaque Imago ſui, formam ſine Corpore ſervans.
Durat adhuc etenim nudâ ſtatione ſub Æthram,
Nec pluviis dilapſa, ſitu, nec diruta ventis.
Quinetiam ſiquis mutilaverit advena formam,
Protinus in ſeſe ſuggeſtu vulnera complent.
Dicitur & vivens alio ſub Corpore ſexûs
Munificos ſolito diſpungere ſanguine Menſes.

Watſin. Miſcel. Sacra, Tom 2.

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Anſwer'd by ſhewing why Moſes *is ſo prolix in the Hiſtory of* Abraham.

BUT we certainly judge wrong of the Merits of any Author, when we ſuffer our Prejudice to blind our Underſtanding, and to hinder it from attending to its chief Drift and Deſign. The great End which *Moſes* had in writing this Part of his Hiſtory, was to inſtruct the *Jews* in their Riſe and Original, their Election and Separation from the reſt of Mankind: And therefore fit it was, when he enter'd upon the Hiſtory of their great Founder *Abraham*, in whom they became a *peculiar People*, a choſen Generation, and a Royal Prieſthood, (as the Apoſtle *(p)* ſtiles them, that he ſhould lay aſide his uſual *Conciſeneſs*, and endeavour to expatiate a little upon ſo uſeful, and ſo agreeable a Subject.

THE Spirit of God very well foreſaw, that *Abraham*'s Character would become renown'd in future Generations; that not only the *Jews*, but ſeveral other Nations wou'd lay claim to him, as their Progenitor; that not only the Saints and Prophets in the *Old* Teſtament wou'd make him the chief Pattern of Faith, and Obedience to God's Commands, but that, even under the *New*, his Example wou'd be propounded for our Imitation, and *(q) his Boſom* be made the happy Receptacle of the Souls of the Righteous, between their Death and their Reſurrection; and therefore it is no Wonder, that he led the holy Penman into a longer Recital of the Life and Adventures of a Perſon, who is ſtil'd the *Friend of God*, and *Father of the Faithful*; who was the great Founder of the very Nation, he was now writing to; whoſe Sons were to be *Kings* and *Princes* in their ſeveral diſtant Countries, and in *whoſe Seed all the Nations of the Earth were to be bleſſed*.

That the Patriarch were not impeccable.

WE muſt obſerve however, that one great Error in thoſe, that have *undertaken* to vindicate the Holy Scriptures, is, their Unwillingneſs to ſuppoſe any Faults in the Lives of the antient *Patriarchs*; and therefore they ſtudy to apologize for every thing they did, and ſometimes labour even to conſecrate their very Vices. Their Opinion is, that the *Holy Spirit* has preſcrib'd them as *Patterns*, every Way worthy of our Imitation; and therefore they think it a Diſparagement to the Scripture themſelves, if any Blemiſh or Defect ſhould occur in theſe Men s Characters; whereas the Scriptures have no Manner of Concern in any ſuch Thing. Their Purpoſe is to repreſent Mankind, as they are cloath'd with Infirmities, and beſet with Temptations to Sin; and it is a glorious Inſtance of their Truth and Veracity, when we find the Faults and Failings of ſome of their greateſt *Worthies* related, as they really happened, and ſet in a true Light, without Extenuation or Excuſe. "The "moſt celebrated of the Saints of God, "*(r) ſays St* Auſtin, are not impeccable; "and from their Faults there is no arguing "to the Prejudice of the *Book*, in which, "as we find them recorded as Matter of "Hiſtory, ſo we find them condemn'd as "Matter of *Morality*. God has informed "us, *ſays he*, of what paſs'd, but not au-"thoriz'd it, and ſet the Example before "us, not for a *Pattern*, but for a *Warn-"ing*." From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

ABRAHAM, in the Age wherein he liv'd, was certainly accounted a Man of great Piety and Worth. *(s)* We have the Teſtimony of ſeveral *Heathen* Authors in his Favour, and *Beroſius* in particular, *(t)* (as he is quoted by *Joſephus)* gives us this Character of him, *viz. That in the tenth Generation, after the Flood, there was a Man among the* Chaldeans, *who, was very juſt, and great, and ſought after heavenly Things*. But, notwithſtanding this, it muſt be acknowledg'd that, in this Inſtance of denying his Wife *Sarah*, he was guilty, at leaſt, of a manifeſt Diſſimulation. *That* Abraham, *in denying his Wife* Sarah, *was culpable.*

'TIS in vain to ſay, *(u)* that ſhe was really his Siſter by another Wife, whom his Father *Terah* might marry, after the Death of his Mother; for this brings upon him the Charge of *Inceſt*. 'Tis in vain to ſay,

(p) 1 Pet. ii. 9. *(q)* Matt. viii. 11. *(r) Fauſtus*, l. 22 c. 41. *(s)* Vid. *Grot.* de Vetit. l. 1. § 16. *(t)* Lib. 1. c. 8. *(u) Calmet*'s Dictionary under the Word *Sarah*.

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ſay, *(x)* that, as he was a *Prophet*, he was directed by the Holy Spirit to make uſe of this *Subterfuge*, in order to preſerve his Life; for this is making God the *Author of Sin*. 'Tis in vain to ſay, *(y)* that what he declared was Truth, tho' not the whole Truth; that he conceal'd what was proper, and told nothing that was falſe; becauſe his declaring her to be his Siſter was in Effect denying her to be his Wife, which was a direct *Falſhood*. Men certainly have a Right to conceal their Sentiments, upon ſeveral Occaſions, by a prudent Silence; but whenever they make Uſe of Words, and pretend thereby to diſcover their Thoughts, they impoſe upon their Hearers, if they do not really expreſs what they pretend: And in this the very Formality of Lying does conſiſt, namely, in a ſettled Intention to deceive others. "*(z)* For, whatever is ſaid, "whether in itſelf it be true or falſe, "whether it agrees with the Thoughts of "the Speaker or not, yet, if it plainly "tends to deceive the Hearer; if he, who "ſays it, perceives the Tendency, and ac-"cordingly uſes it to this End, however "diſguis'd it is, under whatever Forms "it is expreſs'd, it is to all Intents and "Purpoſes, a Lye"

'TIS in vain then to pretend to aſſoil the *Patriarch* from the Imputation of Lying or Diſſimulation in this Caſe; but then this may be ſaid in Extenuation of his Fault,——That it proceeded from a Weakneſs of Faith, and a Prevalency of Fear, which are ſometimes found to be incident to the beſt of Men. He conſider'd himſelf as a Stranger, among a licentious Sort of People, and expos'd to the Power of an *arbitrary* Government; and, from a Principle of worldly Caution, both to preſerve his own Life, and his Wife's Modeſty, he concluded that this would be the beſt Expedient: But much more wiſely had he done, had he committed the whole Matter to God's Management, in Reliance on his Promiſes, and in Confidence of his Protection.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

IT cannot however, with any tolerable Conſtruction, be charged upon him, that he went about *to betray his Wife's Chaſtity*, ſince, according to his preſent Sentiments, he took the moſt effectual Method to prevent it. *(a)* For, in declaring her to be his Siſter, he made it known that ſhe was committed to his Care and Diſpoſal; and from hence he ſuppos'd it would come to paſs, that, if any of the Country was minded to make his Addreſſes to the Siſter, he would, of Courſe, come and apply himſelf to the Brother. The firſt Motions of Love he knew were moſt impetuous, and apt to hurry Men into Violence and Outrage; and therefore he thought with himſelf, that, if he ſhould paſs for her Huſband, ſuch, as were in Love with her, wou'd have no other Way of accompliſhing their Deſires, but at the Expence of his Life: Whereas, if he paſs'd for her Brother, Time might be gain'd, the Treaty of Marriage prolong'd, and ſeveral unforeſeen Accidents happen, that might give the divine Providence a ſeaſonable Opportunity to interpoſe in his Favour, as we find it did.

But he had no Deſign to betray her Chaſtity.

NOR can the Preſents, which both *Pharaoh* and *Abimelech* gave *Abraham* upon the Delivery of his Wife, with any Juſtice, be imputed to his Management; ſince they were *voluntary* Acknowledgments for his interceding for them; Oblations of *Gratitude* for their Recovery from the *ſore Plagues*, wherewith God had afflicted them; and a Kind of Commutation for the Injury and Affront, they had put upon Perſons, ſo highly favour'd by God, that, *(b) at what Time they went from one Nation to another, from one Kingdom to another People, he ſuffer'd no Man to do them wrong, but reprov'd even Kings for their Sakes.*

HAGAR, according to the Opinion of ſome of the *Rabbins*, who love to magnify

In marrying Hagar *he was excuſable.*

(x) Vid. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriarch. Vol. II. Exercit. 4. (y) *Waterland*'s Scripture Vindication, Part I.
(z) Biſhop *Smalridge*'s Sermon of *Lying*. (a) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 4. (b) Pſal. cv. 13, 14.

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nify every Matter, was one of the Daughters of *Pharaoh*, King of *Egypt*, whom he ſent along with *Abraham*, when he diſmiſſed him ſo honourably: She was an *Egyptian* indeed, very probably one of thoſe *Servants*, that were given to *Abraham*, and was employ'd about *Sarah*'s Perſon as her Waiting-Maid: but we have no Grounds to think, that a Woman of her Extraction (had ſhe been *Pharaoh*'s Daughter) wou'd have condeſcended to ſerve in any Capacity. However this be, *Sarah*, ſeeing herſelf now grown old and barren, and knowing that God had promis'd a numerous Poſterity to *Abraham*, believ'd that, in order to contribute to the Accompliſhment of theſe Promiſes, ſhe ought to give her Servant to him for a Wife; and accordingly ſhe is introduc'd, as making the firſt Offer: *(c) Behold, now the Lord hath reſtrain'd me from bearing, I pray thee go in unto my Maid; it may be, that I may obtain Children by her.* This Propoſal, (as St *Chryſoſtom (d)* obſerves) and the ſoft Manner of making it, diſcover'd a very uncommon Love and Reſpect to her Huſband; that ſhe herſelf ſhou'd perſuade, and urge him to this Expedient, in order to make him eaſy in that Particular, which gave him ſo much Diſturbance, *the Want of Iſſue*, the Default of which ſhe ſuppos'd to be owing to herſelf: * And, 'twas purely in Compliance to this Solicitation of her's, that he took *Hagar* to his Bed. *Sarah*, undoubtedly, was by far the more beautiful Woman, at leaſt if ſo good Judges, as the King of *Egypt* and his Subjects, may be depended on: *Abraham* had now liv'd many Years, without giving any Occaſion to have his Modeſty and Continence ſuſpected: *Hagar* too was no more than his Wife's Servant, and inferior to her in Perſon, as much as in Condition: In a ſhort Time after, when upon her Conception, ſhe grew undutiful to her Miſtreſs, *Abraham* never interpoſed in her Favour, but left her entirely to her Lady's Diſcretion: From all which Circumſtances it appears, that his taking *Hagar* to be his *concubinary* Wife was not from any Motive of Senſuality, but from a true Principle of conjugal Affection to *Sarah*.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

(e) God had indeed promis'd him the Land of *Canaan*, and a numerous Iſſue, to ſucceed him; but whether that Son, from whom that Iſſue was to ſpring, was properly to be his own, or only *adoptive*; or, if his own whether begotten of *Sarah*, or ſome other Woman, was not reveal'd to him. Seeing, therefore, he had no child of his own, and yet ſteadfaſtly believed the Promiſes of God; the only Way that he could deviſe, whereby to have theſe Promiſes accompliſh'd, was by Way of *Adoption*, and therefore he ſays, *(f) Lo! one born in my Houſe is my Heir*; upon which God clears the *firſt* of theſe Doubts to him, *viz.* whether his Seed was to be *natural*, or *adoptive*; *(g) This ſhall not be thine Heir, but one that ſhall come forth out of thine own Bowels, ſhall be thine Heir:* But ſtill the *ſecond* Doubt remain'd, whether he was to be his Heir by *Sarah*, or by ſome other *Woman*, which, for the farther Trial of his Patience, God thought proper to conceal. No Wonder then, if *Abraham* (having no longer Hope of Iſſue by his Wife, finding her indeed as impatient for a Child, as himſelf, and deſirous to have ſuch a Child, as ſhe might account her own, being begotten by her Huſband and her Maid) yielded to her Importunity, not ſo much to pleaſure himſelf, as to gratify her Deſire. And this ſeems to be the Reaſon why *Sarah* made Choice

(c) Gen. xvi. 2. *(d)* In Locum, Hom. 38.

* The Words of St *Auſtin* upon this Occaſion are very nervous, and very ſignificant. Uſus enim eſt *Hagare* (ſcilicet *Abraham)* ad generandam prolem, non ad explendam Libidinem, non inſultans, ſed potius obediens Conjugi; quæ ſuæ ſterilitati credidit eſſe ſolatium, ſi fœcundum ancillæ uterum (quoniam natura non poterat) voluntate fecerit ſuum. Nulla hic eſt cupido Laſciviæ, nulla nequitiæ turpitudo. Ab uxore, cauſâ prolis, ancilla marito traditur; à marito, cauſâ prolis, accipitur. *De Civit. Dei.* l. 16. c. 25. where he concludes, with theſe exclamatory Words, O virum viriliter utentem fœminis, conjuge temperanter, ancillâ obtemperanter, nullâ intemperanter!

(e) Auguſtinus contra *Fauſtum*, l. 22. c. 32. *(f)* Gen. xv. 3. *(g)* Ver. 4.

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Choice of a *Slave* (as *Hagar* is call'd in the Text) rather than a *free Woman*, to bring to her Huſband's Bed, *viz.* *(h)* that the Child, which the *former* might happen to bear, might, *imputatively* at leaſt, be accounted hers; whereas one conceiv'd by a Woman that was *free*, would properly belong to the Mother herſelf.

WHETHER *Polygamy*, in the Age of the Patriarchs, was innocent or no, is a Queſtion that has much employ'd the Pens of the Learned. * Moſt of the antient Fathers of the Church maintain its *Lawfulneſs*, and *(i)* ſome of our later Divines can hardly perſuade themſelves, that a Practice, which the moſt holy and venerable Men ordinarily engag'd in, and, during that Engagement, continued an intimate Converſation and Familiarity with God; a Practice which God never blam'd in them, even when he ſharply reproves other Vices, and for which they themſelves never ſhewed the leaſt Remorſe, or Tokens of Repentance, ſhou'd be deteſtable in the Sight of God. Our bleſſed Saviour, who has reſtor'd Matrimony to its primitive Inſtitution, has certainly declar'd it to be *criminal*; but whether it was ſo, under a leſs perfect Diſpenſation, is not ſo well agreed. At preſent, if we ſuppoſe it only *tolerated* by God in the Time of the *Patriarchs*, we ſhall ſoon perceive another Inducement for *Abraham*'s complying with his Wife's Requeſt; and that is, *viz.* The paſſionate Deſire for a numerous Progeny, which, in thoſe Days, was very prevalent; ſo very prevalent, that we find Men accounting of their Children as their Riches, their Strength, their Glory, and ſeveral Families reckoning them up with a Sort of Pride, and placing the chief of their Renown in the Multitude of them; *(k) for Children, and the Fruit of the Womb, are an Heritage and Gift, that cometh of the Lord; like as Arrows in the Hand of a Giant, ſo are young Children. Happy is the Man, that has a Quiver full of them; he ſhall not be aſhamed, when he ſpeaketh with his Enemies in the Gate.*

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

THUS the Deſire of a numerous Iſſue, the Entreaty of a beloved Wife, and the ſuppos'd Innocence of *Concubinage* in that Age, may, in ſome meaſure, plead *Abraham*'s Excuſe in aſſuming *Hagar* to his Bed: But, then, what ſhall we ſay for his turning her away ſo abruptly, and in a ſtarving Condition, after ſhe had lived ſo long with him in the Capacity of a Wife, and had borne him a Son? To clear up this Matter, we muſt enquire a little into the Time and Occaſion, as well as the Manner, and Conſequence of this her Diſmiſſion.

In diſmiſſing her, and her Son, was not cruel, or hard-hearted.

THE whole Account of this Tranſaction is thus related by the ſacred Hiſtorian: *(l) And the Child* (meaning the Child *Iſaac) grew, and was weaned, and* Abraham *made a great Feaſt the ſame Day, that* Iſaac *was weaned. And* Sarah *ſaw the Son of* Hagar, *the* Egyptian, *which ſhe had borne unto* Abraham, *mocking; Wherefore ſhe ſaid unto* Abraham, *caſt out this Bond-Woman, and her Son, for the Son of the Bond-Woman ſhall not be Heir with my Son, even with* Iſaac. *And the Thing was very grievous in* Abraham's *Sight, becauſe of his Son. And God ſaid unto* Abraham, *let it not be grievous in thy Sight, becauſe of the Lad, and becauſe of thy Bond-Woman; in all that* Sarah *hath ſaid unto thee, hearken unto her Voice; for in* Iſaac *ſhall thy*

(h) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 6.

* The Words of St *Ambroſe*, l. 1. c. 4, concerning the Patriarch *Abraham* are very remarkable, and comprehend indeed the Sentiments of moſt of the reſt. Conſideremus primum, quia ante legem *Moſis*, & ante Evangelium, fuit, nondum interdictum adulterium videbatur. Pœna criminis ex tempore legis eſt, quæ crimen inhibuit, nec ante legem ulla rei damnatio eſt, ſed ex lege. Non ergo in legem commiſit *Abraham*, ſed legem prævenit. Deus in *Paradiſo* licet *Conjugium* laudaverit, non tamen *Adulterium* damnaverat. *Durandus*, *Toſtatus*, *Selden*, *Grotius*, and others, are clearly of Opinion, that, before the Promulgation of the Law, *Polygamy* was no Sin; but as their Error turns upon this, that the firſt Inſtitution of Marriage between one Pair in Paradiſe was not deſign'd by God for a Law, ſo have they receiv'd an ample Confutation from the learned *Heidegger* in his Hiſtoria Patriar. Vol. I. Exercit. 1, and Exercit. 7. and Vol. II. Exercit. 6.

(i) Vid. *Saurin* in Diſſertation 19. *(k)* Pſal. cxxvii. 3, &c. *(l)* Gen. xxi. 8, &c.

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thy Seed be called: and alſo of the Son of the Bond-Woman will I make a Nation, becauſe he is thy Seed. And Abraham *roſe up early in the Morning, and took Bread, and a Bottle of Water, and gave it unto* Hagar *(putting it on her Shoulder) and the Child, and ſent her away, and ſhe departed, and wandered in the Wilderneſs of* Beer-ſheba.

The Nature of Weaning-Feaſts.

What the Manner of celebrating this *Weaning-Feaſt*, or Feaſt of *Initiation*, was, we can only conjecture from certain Circumſtances, and ſome parallel Paſſages, and Cuſtoms. There are no more, than the Weaning of *Iſaac*, and the Weaning of *Samuel*, (two very extraordinary Perſons, both foretold by the Spirit of Prophecy, and both miraculouſly born) which are taken Notice of in the ſacred Hiſtory. And (if we may be allow'd to ſuppoſe a Parallel between them) as the Feaſt at the Weaning of *Samuel* was a ſacred Feaſt, and kept (*m*) *before the Lord*, (for the Child was brought by his Mother to the *Sanctuary*, there preſented, and there *initiated*, or dedicated by the High-Prieſt, whereupon a *Sacrifice* firſt, and then a *Feaſt did* enſue;) ſo we may ſuppoſe, (*n*) 1. That, at the Weaning-Feaſt of *Iſaac*, there was a Burnt-Sacrifice, which *Abraham*, as *Prieſt* and *Prophet*, might early in the Morning offer, in order to ſanctify both the Feaſt, and thoſe, that were to communicate in it: 2. That there were Changes of Raiment given to all the Gueſts, and to all the Servants, to keep the Feaſt in, and that, without theſe *Feſtival Robes*, no one was allow'd to ſit down at the Table: 3. That a new Sort of Veſture was given to *Iſaac*, as an Habit of Diſtinction, by which he was declar'd Heir of the Family, and the moſt honourable, next to his Father: 4. That there was a Dedication of the Child, or an holy *Initiation* of him, in a very religious and ſolemn Manner, perform'd by both the Parents: 5. That there was probably a Commemoration of the Entertainment of Angels in *Pilgrims-Habit*, and of the joyful Meſſage then brought, together with the killing of the fatted Calf, and other Proviſions made for them: And, 6. That, upon this Occaſion, there was certainly a ſumptuous Entertainment made for their Gueſts, ſuitable to the Character of the Maſter of the Feaſt, who was a Prince, as well as a Prophet, and anſwerable to the End and Deſign of it, which was to commemorate the higheſt divine Bleſſing that could be given, not to one Family only, but to all the Generations of the World.

From Gen. xx.—xxv. 11.

On this Feſtival Occaſion it was, very probably, that *Sarah* perceiv'd *Iſhmael* treating her Son with Contempt and Deriſion. The Initiation of *Iſaac*, and his Father's Declaration concerning him, which *Iſhmael*, who thought he had a *prior* Right, was not able to bear, was enough to exaſperate his rough Nature to commit ſuch Rudeneſs, as could not but break the Merriment of the Feaſt, and thereupon provoke *Sarah* to exert her Authority, by ſhewing the Difference between the Son of a *Bond-Woman*, and the Heir apparent of the Family. I ſay, *to exert her* Authority; (*o*) For, as *Hagar* was *Sarah*'s *Dotal* Maid-Servant, ſhe was entirely at her Diſpoſal. *Abraham* had no Cognizance of her; from his Juriſdiction ſhe was exempt, and by Marriage-Articles (as we call it) reſerv'd to her Miſtreſs *in Property*; and therefore we find God interpoſing in the Affair, and adviſing *Abraham*, in all that *Sarah ſhould ſay unto him, to hearken to her Voice* (*p*).

The Expulſion of *Hagar* and her Son is repreſented indeed, by our Tranſlation, under Circumſtances ſomewhat dolorous; but, if we enquire into Particulars, we ſhall find them not near ſo full of Diſtreſs, as this Repreſentation ſeems to make them. *Abraham* is ſaid to have ſent them away *early in the Morning*; but this might be done on purpoſe to prevent what might paſs between them, at ſo ſorrowful a Parting

(*m*) 1 Sam. i. 24. (*n*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſional Annot. 24. (*o*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſional Annot. 32. See alſo the Note at the End of the Objection, Chap. III. of this Book. (*p*) Gen. xxi. 12.

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ing, from being obſerv'd by too many Eyes. He is ſaid to have *given them Bread, and a Bottle of Water*; but, as Bread and Water include *Eatables* and *Drinkables* of all Kinds, ſo there is no doubt to be made but that *Iſhmael* was able enough to carry an handſome Competency of Proviſion for a few Days, or that his Mother might very well carry a large Bottle of Water, or other Liquor, to ſupport them for a Week, or ſo, while they were travelling thro' the Wilderneſs. Their whole Misfortune was, in miſtaking their Way, and wandering about in the Deſert, until their Water was conſum'd; but this was a mere Accident, wherein *Abraham* had not the leaſt Concern.

ISHMAEL indeed is, in ſeveral Places, call'd *a Child*, and from thence we may ſuppoſe, that he was a Burthen and Incumbrance to his Mother: But, if we look into his Age, we ſhall find, that, when *Iſaac* was born, he was *fourteen*; and therefore allowing two Years between *Iſaac*'s Birth, and his *Weaning*, he could not be leſs than *ſixteen*, when *Abraham* ſent him and his Mother away, and was, conſequently a Youth capable of being a Support and Aſſiſtance to her. *(q)* For the Circumſtances of the World, we may obſerve at this Time, were ſuch, that it was an eaſy Matter for any Perſon to find a ſufficient and comfortable Livelihood in it. Mankind were ſo few, that there was, in every Country, Ground to ſpare; ſo that any one, who had Flocks, or a Family, might be permitted to ſettle any where, to feed and maintain them, and ſo grow, and increaſe, and become wealthy; or Creatures in the World were ſo numerous, that a Perſon, who had no Flocks or Herds, might, in the Wilderneſs, and uncultivated Grounds, (as *Iſhmael* we find became an *Archer*) find Game enough of all Sorts, whereby to maintain himſelf, and his Dependants, without doing any Injury, or being moleſted for ſo doing.

ISHMAEL indeed had, for ſixteen Years, continu'd in *Abraham's* Family, and at firſt perhaps it might be diſputed, whether he, or his Brother *Iſaac*, ſhould ſucceed to their Father's Inheritance: But, after that this Point was determin'd, and God-himſelf had declar'd in the Favour of *Iſaac*, he muſt of Courſe have become *Iſaac*'s Bond-Man or Servant, had he continued in *Abraham*'s Family. So that it was both kindly, and prudently done of his Father, to take Occaſion from *Sarah*'s Diſguſt againſt him, to *emancipate*, and ſet him free, by ſending him abroad to acquire an *independent* Settlement, which was all the Proviſion that Parents, in thoſe Days, cou'd make for their *younger* Children. 'Twas the ſame Proviſion, that his Father *Abraham* made for the Sons, which he afterwards had by his Wife *Keturah*; for ſo we are told, that *(r) he gave all that he had unto* Iſaac, *but unto the Sons of his Concubines he gave Gifts, and ſent them away from* Iſaac *his Son, Eaſtward, unto the Eaſt-Country.* Nay, it was the ſame Proviſion, which *Iſaac* made for his Son *Jacob*, tho' he was the Heir of the Bleſſing. When he went from his Father's Houſe to *Padan-Aram*, we read of no Servants or Equipage attending him, nor any Accommodations prepar'd for his Journey. He was ſent (as we call it now-a-days) to ſeek his Fortune, *(s)* only inſtructed to ſeek it among his Kinsfolk, and Relations, and he went to ſeek it upon ſo uncertain a Foundation, that we find him moſt earneſtly praying to God to be with him *in the Way he was to go*, not to ſuffer him to want the Neceſſaries of Life, but to *give him Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on:* And yet we ſee, that, by becoming an hired Servant to *Laban*, *(t)* he both married his Daughters, and, in a few Years, became Maſter of a very conſiderable Subſtance.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

IT is our Miſtake in the Cuſtoms of the Times therefore, that makes us imagine, that *Hagar* and *Iſhmael* had any hard Uſage in their Ejectment. Whatever the Nature of their Offence might be, or whatever

(q) Shuckford's Connection, Vol. II. l. 7. *(r)* Gen. xxv. 6. *(s)* Ibid. xviii. *(t)* Ibid. xxx. 43.

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whatever Grounds *Sarah* might have for her Indignation againſt them, there is no Reaſon to accuſe *Abraham*'s Conduct in this Affair, ſince what he did was purſuant to a divine Direction, which he durſt not diſobey; was agreeable to the Practice of the Times, wherein he liv'd; and no more than what all other Fathers, in thoſe Days, impos'd upon their younger Sons: Since the Hardſhips they ſuffered, were *accidental*, but the Benefits which accru'd to them, were *deſign'd*: Since *Abraham*, by this Means, reſcu'd them from a State of Servitude for ever; and, according to the divine Prędiction, was perſuaded, that this would be the only Expedient to make of *Iſhmael* a flouriſhing Nation.

Abraham's *Obedience, not to be paralell'd.*

ABRAHAM's great Readineſs to ſacrifice his Son, upon the firſt Signification of the divine Pleaſure, is an Inſtance of Duty and Obedience, not to be equall'd in all the Records of Hiſtory. *Sanchoniatho* indeed (as he is quoted by *(u) Euſebius)* tells us of one *Chronus*, King of *Phœnicia*, who, in a Time of great Diſtreſs, and extreme Peril of War, took his Son *Jeud* (which, according to the *Phœnician* Language, means *only-begotten)* and, with his own Hand, ſacrificed him on an Altar of his own erecting. But, as * this Action was certainly ſubſequent to the Times we are now ſpeaking of, there are good Reaſons to believe, that the whole Account of it is no more than a Relation of *Abraham*'s intended Sacrifice of *Iſaac*, bating ſome Additions and Miſtakes. *(x)* For, whereas it is ſaid of this *Chronus*, that he was the Son of a Father, who had three Children; that himſelf had one Son only by his Wife, but more by other Women; that he circumcis'd himſelf and his Family; and that he ſacrific'd his only Son with his own Hands; all theſe Circumſtances concur in the Caſe of *Abraham*: The chief Difference is, that *Chronus* is by the *Phœnicians* call'd *Iſrael*, which was properly the Name of *Abraham*'s Grandſon; but this is a ſmall Miſtake, conſidering that moſt of the *Heathen* Writers had a general Notion, that *Iſrael* was the Name of ſome one famous Anceſtor of the *Iſraelites*, but were not exact in fixing it upon the right Perſon. From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

(y) The only Inſtance, which ſeems any Ways to come near the Caſe before us, is that of *Agamemnon*'s conſenting that his Daughter *Iphigenia* ſhould be ſacrific'd; but the Diſparity ſoon appears, if we conſider, that *Agamemnon*, in all Probability, had other Children, and a Queen neither barren, nor old, and yet, ſore againſt his Will, did he comply, and perhaps for Fear of provoking his Subjects in Arms; nor cou'd he bear the Sight of his Daughter's laſt Minutes, tho' he attain'd thereby his End, *viz.* the Gratification of his ambitious Views in the War, wherein he was embark'd. Whereas *Abraham* had no other, nor cou'd expect any other Child by his Wife, but this Son, who was a Pledge from Heaven of all the glorious Bleſſings, that God had promis'd him; and yet, upon this harſh Command, we find him in no Uneaſineſs or Confuſion, but perfectly compos'd and eaſy, fix'd and reſolv'd to put it in Execution, and waving the Weapon in his own Arm, ſtretch'd out to take away his own Child's Life; tho' he could not but foreſee, that, by ſuch an inhuman Act, he wou'd not only exaſperate his own Family againſt him, but expoſe himſelf likewiſe to the Hatred and Indignation of all the Nations round about him.

The Truth is, ſeveral Examples there have been, eſpecially of Perſons of a *publick*

(u) Præp. Evan. l. 1. c. 10.

* A learned Author, in his *Connection of ſacred and profane* Hiſtory, having, by two different Ways of Computation, prov'd, that *Abraham* was older than *Chronus*, ſubjoins theſe Words, "And thus, by both theſe Accounts, "*Chronus* cannot be more antient than *Abraham*, rather *Abraham* appears to be more antient than he: And this muſt "be allow'd, to be more evidently true, if we conſider, that it was not *Chronus*, the Son of *Ouranus*, who made this "Sacrifice of his only Son, but rather *Chronus*, who was call'd *Iſrael*, and was the Son of *Chronus*, call'd *Ilus*, and "therefore ſtill later by one Generation." Vol. II. l. 6.

(x) Shuckford, ibid. Vol. II. l. 6. *(y) Bibliotheca, Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 28.

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lick Character, who have ſacrific'd themſelves or their neareſt Relations: But what has it been to? Even to Deſperation, or the Apprehenſion of human Force and Power; to a wicked and ſuperſtitious Cuſtom; to Pride and Vain-glory; or to the Hopes of preventing or ſtopping ſome dreadful and publick Calamity: But the Caſe of *Abraham* is ſo ſingularly circumſtantiated, that none of all theſe can be imputed to it: The only Motive we can poſſibly imagine, muſt have been his earneſt Deſire to teſtify his Obedience to God, in all, even his moſt arduous Commands.

How he cou'd certainly know that ſuch a Command came from God, will beſt appear by enquiring a little † into the ſeveral Ways, wherein we find God revealing himſelf to this beloved Patriarch. And, to this Purpoſe, we muſt obſerve, that, at firſt, he left his own Country and Kindred, by the expreſs Command of God, and went into a ſtrange Land, which God had promis'd to give his Poſterity. We are not told, indeed, in what Manner God appear'd to him, when he gave him this Command; but we can hardly think, that a Perſon of his Gravity and Years wou'd incline to ſeek unneceſſary *Adventures*; nor can we imagine, why his aged Father ſhould accompany him in them, unleſs there was a manifeſt Conviction that the Call was from God. From Gen. xx.—xxv. 11.

How he was convinc'd, that the Command of ſacrificing his Son *came from God.*

AFTER he had been for ſome Time ſettled in *Haran*, long enough to have his Family and Fortune increas'd in it, and probably long enough to like it, and be contented with it; God commands him thence into another ſtrange Country, in all Appearance no better than that where he then was, and conſequently none of his own Option; and there he appear'd to him the ſecond Time, and renew'd his former Promiſe of giving him *the Land*, whereinto he had thus conducted him *(z)*.

AFTER this, when he was driven by Famine into *Egypt*, God ſufficiently manifeſted his ſignal Protection of him, by plaguing *Pharaoh* and his Houſe upon his Account. Upon his Return to *Canaan*, he renew'd his Aſſurance of giving him the promis'd Land; and then it is ſaid, that *the Word of the Lord came to him in a Viſion*, wherein the Promiſe of an Heir, and a numerous Poſterity, is added to that of *Canaan*; and, as *Abraham* requeſted a Sign in Confirmation of all this, ſo God was pleas'd to comply with his Requeſt, and, accordingly, again, he appears to him in a Viſion, repeats again the Promiſe to him, ſupports the Promiſe

† The uſual Ways, recorded in the *Old Teſtament*, of God's revealing himſelf to his Servants, were by Dreams, by Voices, and by Apparitions. 1. *Dreams* are, in ſome Places, call'd *Viſions*, and *Viſions of the Night*, becauſe Perſons, under this Form of Revelation, ſaw Things, and heard Voices, as plainly to all Imagination, as if they had been awake: But what ſort of Ideas and Images affected their Minds at ſuch a Time, and how they diſtinguiſh'd *divine* Dreams from ſuch, as were purely *natural*, we are no where told; only if we may be allowed to conjecture, 1ſt, Such Dreams, as were *Divine*, had none of thoſe confus'd and idle *Phantoms*, which are found in other Dreams, but diſtinctly repreſented to their Minds whatever Things, or Beings, God was pleas'd to ſend, without any Mixture of foreign Images, or Words: 2dly, They were more *lively*, than other Dreams; their Images were ſtrong and vigorous, and fix'd deeply in the Soul; and, 3dly, they were either attended with the Voices of God or Angels, ſpeaking diſtinctly to them, or had ſome particular Inſtinct, always accompanying them. 2. *Voices* were frequently heard without any Appearance or Repreſentation, and proceeded ſometimes from the Clouds, from out of the Fire, out of the Whirlwind, &c. in which Caſes, to judge of the Veracity of a Revelation, it was generally thought, that when the Voice was greater, than any human Voice, (as it was on the Top of the Mountain when God deliver'd the Law) or proceeded from a Place, where no human Creature was, (as in the Inſtance before) that it came either from God himſelf, or from ſome Meſſenger ſent from Heaven. 3. At other Times, a Figure or Reſemblance has appear'd to Perſons awake, talk'd with them, and done ſeveral Things in their Company, as if it had been an human Creature; and yet the Event has ſhewn, that it was either God himſelf, or an Angel conceal'd in human Shape. And, in this Caſe, the Way of diſcerning them ſeems to have been, either by the Air and Majeſty of their Looks, (as in the Angel that appear'd to *Manoah*'s Wife) or by ſome miraculous Actions, that were above the Power of human Performance (as in that, which appear'd to *Gideon*). In any of theſe Methods of Revelation, where theſe ſeveral Circumſtances concurr'd, it was always preſum'd, that the *Dream*, or *Voice*, or *Viſion*, was from God; ſince it is not to be ſuppos'd, that he, who ſees and hears all Things, and himſelf is a Lover of Truth, wou'd ever ſuffer thoſe, that love and fear him, to be impos'd upon by evil Spirits, or even perplex'd by the phantaſtical Operations of Nature itſelf. Vid. my *Body of Divinity*, Part ii. c. 3.

(z) Revelation examin'd, Vol. II. Diſſertation 8.

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by a Miracle, and confirms a Covenant by Fire from Heaven, to conſume the Sacrifice, which he had commanded him to offer.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

Again, when *Abraham* was ninety-nine Years old, God appear'd to him, and that his Appearance was in ſome glorious viſible Form or Figure, is ſufficiently clear from the Text, which tells us, *that* Abraham *fell upon his Face, while God convers'd with him.* Here *Iſaac* is promis'd, and *Circumciſion* inſtituted, a painful hazardous Rite, which the Patriarch wou'd never have comply'd with, but from a full Conviction of a divine Command.

After this, he appear'd unto him under the Tree of *Mamre*, in the Shape of a Pilgrim, and, by his whole Converſation with him, concerning the Fate and Iniquity of *Sodom*, diſcover'd himſelf to be God, or (to ſpeak more properly) the *Meſſias* in human Shape. Soon after this, he appear'd to *Abimelech* in *Abraham*'s Behalf, and inflicted a Diſtemper upon his whole Houſe, which was remov'd upon *Abraham*'s Prayer; and, ſoon after this, God's Promiſe of an Heir was fulfill'd in the Birth of a Son from a barren Woman, which was a Proof equivalent to a thouſand Miracles.

Once more, God commanded *Abraham* to comply with his Wife's Requeſt, in caſting out *Hagar* and her Son, though the Text implies that he lov'd them both very tenderly. This was a Command ſo ſeemingly cruel and ſevere, that nothing but a full Conviction of its coming from God cou'd have exacted *Abraham*'s Submiſſion to it: And now, after all theſe Manifeſtations of himſelf to the Patriarch, God commands him to offer up his Son *Iſaac*; and will any one ſay, that *Abraham*, by this Time, had not ſufficient Evidence that this Command was of the ſame Original with the reſt? God had, ſome Way or other, appear'd, and manifeſted himſelf to him, nine Times before this Command. Twice in Viſion, twice in Miracle, twice under ſome ſenſible Appearance, and thrice in ſome Manner, not explain'd. He had given him three preceding Commands, which no Man in his Senſes cou'd obey, without full Aſſurance that they were enjoin'd from above. He had often, before this Time, call'd to him, ſpoke to him, convers'd with him, and, on one Occaſion, very familiarly and long; and, as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that he always ſpoke with the ſame Voice, there is no Doubt to be made, but that he certainly knew that it was God, who ſpake to him upon this Occaſion. For why ſhou'd *Abraham* ſuſpect that God Almighty wou'd ſuffer an evil Spirit to delude him into the greateſt and moſt irretrievable Calamity, acting in the Honeſty and *Sincerity of his* Heart, and from a Principle of the moſt exalted Obedience to the divine Will? In ſo long a Succeſſion of Miracles, Diſcourſes, and Appearances, he muſt have acquir'd as certain and perfect a Knowledge of the *Deity*, whenever he vouchſafed to reveal himſelf to him, as another Man has of his *Friend*, when he hears his Voice, and converſes in his Preſence: And, if *Abraham* was fully ſatisfy'd in this, his Obedience could not fail of being built upon a good Foundation.

That upon ſuch Conviction he was oblig'd to do it.

'Tis allow'd, indeed, that there is ſomething ſhocking, at firſt Sight, in the Idea of a Parent's taking away the Life of his own Child; but then an expreſs Command, from a competent Authority, alters the Caſe, and makes that, which otherwiſe would be a Sin, become a Duty. It may juſtly be ſaid, that he is a barbarous Parent, who commands his Children to be beat to Death with Rods before his Eyes. —— This Poſition is undoubtedly true in the general; but does it follow from hence, that the firſt *Brutus* was either a bad Man, or a bad Parent, for commanding his Sons to be ſerv'd in this Manner, when the Duty, he ow'd to his Country, requir'd it? And did *Abraham* owe leſs Duty to God, than *Brutus* owed to his Country? A Captain, who ſhould command his valiant and victorious Son to be put to Death, for exerting his Proweſs upon the Enemies of his Country, muſt ſurely be a Monſter among Men. This

Poſition,

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Poſition, laid down without any Limitation, is undeniably true: But will it therefore follow, that *Manlius* was a Monſter, tho' he put his own Son to Death for killing *Geminius*, General of the *Latins*, contrary to the Diſcipline of the War? And yet it would badly become us to ſay, that the Diſcipline of War is a ſtronger Obligation, than an expreſs, poſitive, unerring Command, from the great Ruler of the World, the ſovereign Arbiter of Life and Death.

His Reaſoning hereupon.

So good a Man, as *Abraham* is repreſented, cou'd not but antecedently be ſatisfy'd, that a Being of infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs cou'd give no Command, that would *ultimately* terminate in Calamity upon Innocence and Obedience; and therefore, when a Command of an intricate and myſterious Nature was given him, what had he to do, but to obey? He knew this Son, whom God now demanded, was given him in an *extraordinary* Manner, and why might he not be taken away in a Manner as extraordinary? And, when he was taken away, he very well knew, that God cou'd again reſtore him in a Manner yet more extraordinary, and that raiſing him from the Grave had no more Difficulty with *infinite* Power than raiſing him from the Womb of a Woman, barren at firſt, and now, by the Courſe of Nature, long paſt the Power of Conception, which makes St *Paul*'s Reflection a lively Comment upon the Principles of *Abraham*'s Obedience on this Occaſion: *(a) by Faith* Abraham, *when he was tried, offer'd up* Iſaac, *and he, that had receiv'd the Promiſes, offer'd up his only begotten Son, of whom it was ſaid*, that in *Iſaac* ſhall thy Seed be called, *accounting that God was able to raiſe him up, even from the Dead, from whence alſo he receiv'd him in a Figure.*

And why he made no Remonſtrance.

AND this, by the Bye, ſuggeſts a Reaſon why the holy Patriarch, who, in other Caſes was charitable enough to intercede for the Wicked, does not ſo much as offer up one Petition for the Life of his innocent Son. He had that true Senſe of the Power and Veracity of God, that he was fully perſuaded, that the Fate of his Child and the Tenour of God's Promiſes wou'd, one Way or other, be made conſiſtent, and therefore he left it upon his infinite Wiſdom to find out the Means of unravelling this intricate Affair, without ever once murmuring, or making the leaſt Remonſtrance. But ſuppoſing that *Abraham* had taken upon him to expoſtulate with God upon this hard Injunction; yet, *(b)* what cou'd he have urged, but that the Perſon, whom he order'd him to ſlay, was his Son, his only Son, his Son whom he tenderly lov'd, and that he could not, without the greateſt Force upon paternal Affection, lay violent Hands upon him: But now all Pleas of this Kind were fully anticipated by the divine Command, *Take now thy Son, thine only Son* Iſaac, *whom thou loveſt, and get thee into the Land of* Moriah, *and offer him there for a Burnt-Offering, upon one of the Mountains, which I will tell thee of*, i. e. "notwithſtanding he is thy Son, thine "only Son, and a Son thou haſt ſet thine "Heart upon, yet muſt thou ſacrifice him "unto me." From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

IN the Caſe of *Sodom*, Almighty God is repreſented as deliberating and undetermin'd, and there *Abraham*'s Humanity and the Rectitude of his Mind were at Liberty, nay, were engag'd to interpoſe; but, in the Caſe of his own Son, God appear'd fix'd and determin'd, and there his Humility and the Deference due to his God forbad him to expoſtulate. Not to ſay, that, if he erred in the *firſt* Caſe, he knew it was the Error of an upright, a humane, and a generous Spirit; but an Error in the *latter* would be the Effect of Partiality and Self-intereſt; and *Abraham*'s Heart was too honeſt, and too enlarged to allow him in a Conduct, that could any way fall under the Suſpicion of ſuch mean and ſordid Principles. This ſeems to vindicate the Conduct of *Abraham* in paying a ready Obedience to the Divine Command;

(a) Heb. xi. 17, &c. *(b)* Revelation examin'd, Vol. II. Diſſert. 8.

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Command; but then, what ſhall we ſay to the Goodneſs and Juſtice of God in impoſing it?

Why God impos'd ſo hard a Command.

God indeed governs himſelf by the eternal Rules of Reaſon, and can give no Command in Contradiction to them; but then common Senſe tells us, that theſe are Rules not of *human* Reaſon, but *divine*, and, conſequently, ſuch Rules, as muſt reſult from the Relation, which the whole Univerſe and all the Parts thereof have to one another; an immenſe Compaſs and Variety of Things, which nothing, but infinite Wiſdom can comprehend! And therefore we take quite wrong Meaſures, when we eſtimate the Nature and Perfections of God from what we find in ourſelves; for, *as the Heavens are higher than the Earth, ſo are his Ways higher than our Ways, and his Thoughts higher than our Thoughts.*

Upon the Suppoſition however, that God really intended that *Abraham* ſhou'd have taken away his Son's Life, there cou'd have been no Injuſtice in the Injunction, ſince God, who is the Author and Giver of Life, has an undoubted Right to reſume it, when, and in what Manner, he thinks fit, and his infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs ſecure us from all Suſpicion of his taking it away *arbitrarily* or *unlawfully:* So that, had the Command been actually executed, we muſt have ſuppos'd it to have been wiſe, juſt, and good, becauſe a divine Command neceſſarily implies Wiſdom, and Juſtice, and Goodneſs, in the higheſt Degree, tho' the Reaſon of that Command ſhould not appear to ſuch limited, ſhort-ſighted Creatures as we are.

But this was not the Caſe: God never intended that this Command ſhould be put in Execution. His only Purpoſe was, to make a Trial of *Abraham*'s Obedience, not to inform himſelf in any Thing, who was *omniſcient*, and knew beforehand, both what was in *Abraham*'s Heart, and how he would acquit himſelf in this important Juncture; but to make him more *perfect by ſuffering*, and his Example more conſpicuous, *(c) that the Trial of his Faith* (as the Apoſtle words it) *being much more precious than of Gold, that periſheth (tho' it be tried by Fire) might be found unto Praiſe, and Honour, and Glory*; and that all future Generations, reading the Hiſtory of his Patience and Perſeverance, his Courage and Conſtancy, his Faith, and Hope, and Magnanimity, might glorify God in him, and look upon his Example, as a ſhining *Light*, which the Hand of Providence has ſet up in the *Firmament* of his *Church*, to guide ſucceeding *Saints* in the intricate and arduous Paths of their Duty.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

The Meaning of Abraham's *requeſting a Sign.*

Those, who would gladly find any Flaw in our Patriarch's Character, are apt to ſuggeſt, that his deſiring of God a Sign concerning the Land of *Canaan*, which had been ſo lately promiſed him, *(d) (whereby ſhall I know that I ſhall inherit it?)* proceeded from a Defect of Faith, for which, as ſome pretend, he was ſo renown'd: But without ſtraining any Point to get over this Difficulty, we may fairly own, that, *Abraham* is here doing no more, than what many *Worthies* of old are known to have done after him, when they were put upon any difficult Services; namely, requeſting of God ſome outward Token or Repreſentation, to ſtrengthen and confirm his Faith concerning the divine Promiſes, which is an Argument of Modeſty, not of any Diffidence in the divine Veracity; and therefore the Words are very properly paraphras'd, by St *Chryſoſtom:* "I "firmly believe, that, what thou haſt "promis'd ſhall come to paſs, and there- "fore I aſk no Queſtions out of Diſtruſt; "but I ſhall be glad to be favour'd with "ſome ſuch ſpecial Token, or Antici- "pation of it, as may ſtrongly affect my "Senſes, and raiſe my poor weak Ideas "and Imaginations about it."

His Practice gave no Occaſion to Idolatry.

Those, that are diſpos'd to find Faults, are always provided with an Handle; otherwiſe, one would wonder, that *Abraham*'s making *Groves* the conſtant Place of

(c) 1 Pet. i. 7. (d) Gen. xv. 8.

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of divine Worſhip, ſhou'd be ever brought as an Accuſation againſt him, merely becauſe, in After-Ages, they came to be perverted into Scenes of the groſſeſt Superſtition and Idolatry; or that, becauſe his Intention to offer up his Son gave Umbrage to human Sacrifices afterwards, he ſhould be thought chargeable with the Event. The Groves of *Moreh* and *Mamre*, which were the principal ones, that he planted, were *(e)* (as we hinted before) certain *Oratories*, or Sanctuaries, expos'd to the open Air, *(f)* but planted with Trees, for the Benefit of their Shade, and for the more ſolemn Compoſure of the Mind, and Recollection of the Thoughts for heavenly Contemplation. Before the Inſtitution of more commodious Receptacles for divine Worſhip, theſe and ſuch like Places were uſually frequented for that Purpoſe; and therefore they had ſometimes the Name given them of *the Houſes of God*, *the Courts of God*, and their Trees were call'd the *Trees of God*. In theſe Places it was that *Abraham* offer'd up his Morning and Evening Sacrifice with Acceptance; and if, in After-Ages, they, came to be applied to abominable Purpoſes, he is no more to be blam'd for that Abuſe, than *Moſes* was for ſetting up a *Brazen-Serpent* in the Wilderneſs, which was afterwards perverted to Idolatry, tho', in its *primary* Intendment, it was *ſanative* and *medicinal*.

AND, in like Manner, if the Cuſtom of ſacrificing Children took its Origin from ſome *Tradition* founded on the Hiſtory of *Iſaac*'s being offer'd, wherein, I pray, is either *Abraham* to be blam'd, or God, for appointing him to this Office; ſince, whether the Cuſtom was *prior*, or *ſubſequent*, to this Tranſaction, God has herein taken an effectual Care to diſcountenance it?

(g) FOR if, as ſome imagine, this impious and abominable Rite obtain'd at this Time; 'tis evident, that nothing cou'd be better calculated to aboliſh it, than this Command to *Abraham*, which was a plain Document to the whole World, that *human* Sacrifices were not acceptable to God: For, if they could be acceptable from any Hand, they muſt certainly have been ſo from *his*, who, of all Men in the World, ſtood higheſt in the Favour of Almighty God. And therefore, when it appears, in the Event, that this Command was only in Trial of Obedience, and that, when it came to the Point of Execution, *Abraham* was expreſsly forbid to execute it by a Voice from Heaven, and (to ſhew God's Averſion to human Sacrifices) by his Appointment, a Brute-Animal was ſubſtituted in the Place of *Iſaac*; when all this is conſider'd, I ſay, we can hardly think of a clearer Monition to Mankind upon this Head, than God's own Prohibition of that Practice by Command from Heaven, and a miraculous Interpoſition of a *vicarious* Oblation.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

ON the other Hand, if this impious Cuſtom had not yet obtained, but God, in his great Knowledge, foreſaw that Superſtition would ſoon introduce it; what could be a more effectual Means, either to prevent, or repreſs it, than the Atteſtation of all *Abraham*'s diſpers'd Servants and Deſcendants, vouching every where with one Voice, that God himſelf had prohibited their Maſter from practiſing it. And 'tis not improbable (from the Fable of the Goddeſs *Diana*'s ſubſtituting a Deer in the Room of *Iphigenia*, who was to be offer'd) that the Memory of God's prohibiting all human Sacrifices was handed down to late Poſterity.

How Lot *and his* Daughters *were to blame.*

THUS we have endeavour'd to vindicate ſome Paſſages in *Abraham*'s Life, which ſeemed moſt liable to Exception; and come now to enquire into the obnoxious Part of the Conduct of his Nephew *Lot*.

(h) IT is not to be doubted, but that *Lot*, who, by the Aſſiſtance of his Uncle *Abraham*, had done ſuch ſignal Services to the *Sodomites*, was, by this Time, become a Perſon of ſome Eminence among them;

(e) Vid. Page 215, in the Notes. Examin'd, Vol. II. Diſſertation 8.

(f) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 20.

(g) Revelation

(h) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 21.

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them; had probably married a Woman of a principal Family; and was admitted into ſome conſiderable Poſt of Honour and Authority. The *Jewiſh* Doctors will needs perſuade us, that he was now one of the Judges in *Sodom*, and, as ſuch, *ſat at the Gate of the City*, where the Courts of Judicature were uſually held. His *ſitting at the Gate* however ſeems rather to have been (according to the Hoſpitality of thoſe Days) with an Intent to invite Strangers into his Houſe, the better to ſecure them from the libidinous Outrage of his Neighbours.

Two Strangers (who afterwards prov'd two Angels) he had now under his Roof, when the Inhabitants, from all Parts of the City, flocking together, ſtorm'd the Houſe, and demanded the two Strangers to be brought out to them, that they might abuſe their Bodies: Whereupon *Lot*, deeply concern'd, leſt the Right of Hoſpitality ſhou'd be violated, is reſolv'd to expoſe both himſelf, and *his*, to the utmoſt Peril, rather than thoſe, whom he had taken under his Protection, ſhou'd come to any Harm. Upon this Principle he ventures out of Doors alone among this lewd licentious Rabble, that he might calmly expoſtulate the Matter with ſome of the chief of them, and divert them, if poſſible, from the Violence, they intended againſt his Gueſts.

The Offer, which he made them upon this Occaſion, *viz.* to give up his two Daughters to their Luſt, ſeems to be a ſtrange one; but then we are to conſider, that, as it was made in the utmoſt Perplexity of Mind, and out of a vehement Deſire to ſecure his Gueſts; ſo may it, after all, imply no more than this,—— "God forbid, my Friends, that you ſhould "make yourſelves guilty of a Crime of ſo "high a Nature, as to offer the leaſt In-"dignity to theſe noble Strangers, whom "I have receiv'd into my Houſe, and "whom I therefore cannot put in your "Power upon any Terms whatever. "Much rather had I part even with my "own dear Daughters, who are in my "Power, and who are alſo marriageable, "than with theſe, whom I am not autho-"riz'd to diſpoſe of. Wherefore, I be-"ſeech you, Brethren, deal not fool-"iſhly in this Matter, but conſider what "ye are now going to do; and ſince, of "two Evils, 'tis better to commit the leſs "than the greater, are there not Women "among you, whom ye may chuſe for the "ſatisfying the Deſires of your Fleſh, and "not ſin againſt the Order of Nature? But "if there are none found, that can pleaſe "you, and you will nevertheleſs perſiſt, I "proteſt to you, Sirs, I will ſooner loſe my "own Children, with all that I have in the "World, than even once conſent to de-"part from my Word, which I have gi-"ven to theſe worthy Perſons. There-"fore do as you pleaſe with me, and "mine, ſeeing that I am in your Hand; "only touch not *theſe* *." This ſeems to be, in a great Meaſure, the Purport of *Lot*'s Propoſal to the Men of *Sodom*; and yet, with all this Mollification, it has not unjuſtly incurr'd the Cenſure of *(i)* St *Auſtin*. *We muſt not conſider*, ſays he, *the Offer, which* Lot *made to the Inhabitants of* Sodom, *as proceeding from a wiſe, ſober, and a premeditated Deſign, but rather as a Speech, which dropp'd from a Man, ſtruck with Horror at the Thoughts of the abominable Sin, they were going to commit, and who, by the Surprize and Trouble that he was in, had loſt the Uſe of his Reaſon and Diſcretion. For, if once we lay it down for a Rule, that there may be a Compenſation of Sin* (as he calls it)

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

* *Le Clerc*, in his Commentaries upon the Place, aſſigns another Reaſon, why *Lot* might, with better Courage, make an Offer of his Daughters to the *Sodomites*. For, ſuppoſing him to be a conſiderable Man in the City, and his Daughters both betroth'd (as we find they were betroth'd, *Gen.* xix. 14.) to two young Gentlemen of Eminence, he might ſafely propoſe the Thing, as knowing very well, that they neither *durſt*, nor *wou'd* accept of it. That they *durſt not*, for Fear of Puniſhment from Perſons of their Rank and Authority; and that they *wou'd not*, becauſe Brothers in Iniquity (however outrageous they may be againſt others) affect always to maintain ſome Form of Decency between themſelves. But it is hard to ſay, what Perſons of their Complexion wou'd either have been *afraid* or *aſham'd* to do, had the Bent of their Inclination tended that Way.

(i) In Gen. Tom. 4. Quæſt. 46. & contra Mendatium, c. 9. & c. 7.

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it) *i. e. that we may commit leſs Sins, in order to prevent others from running into greater, we ſhall, in a ſhort Time, lay waſte all Bounds, and ſee every Manner of Wickedneſs come ruſhing in upon us without Controul.*

AFTER the Deſtruction of *Sodom*, and *Lot*'s Departure from *Zoar*, he retired, we are told, into a *Cave*, where his two Daughters betrayed him into the double Sin of *Drunkenneſs* and *Inceſt*; and, with what Deſign they did it, *(k)* the Authors, who would fain apologize for their Conduct, do generally run into this Strain, *viz.* that theſe two *Maids*, having ſome Notions of a general *Conflagration* of the World, and ſeeing their own City and Country conſumed by Fire, were fully perſuaded, that the divine Indignation, which had conſumed the *Sodomites*, had fallen over the Face of the whole Earth, and that their Father was the only Man left, from whoſe Body Mankind was to be repropagated. They were *young*, and unexperienced, *ſay they*, and might therefore very well be ignorant, that ſeveral Parts of the Earth were inhabited, as well as the Plain of *Sodom* had been. As far as their Eye would reach, they ſaw nothing, but ſulphureous Flames and a wide Theatre of Perdition; and this they look'd upon as the final Cataſtrophe, which, as they had been told, was to put a Period to Nature. They had unaccountably loſt their Mother too; ſo that they concluded, that they, and their Father were the only Survivors of human Nature, (as *Noah* and his Family had been after the Flood) and that therefore 'twas their Duty to take Care to prevent the Extinction of the *Species*. And, tho' they knew it to be a very grievous Sin in itſelf, to betray their own Father into a carnal Knowledge of themſelves; yet they thought they ſhou'd be more inexcuſable, if they ſhould rate the Chaſtneſs of their Bodies ſo high, as not to part with it, rather than Mankind ſhould be no more.

From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

BUT all this is no more than a plauſible Fiction, without any Foundation to ſupport it. They had lately left *Zoar*, and knew that it was well inhabited; and were therefore convinc'd, that they and their Father were not the only three Perſons left alive in the World: But this they knew very well, *(l)* that there was not ſo much as one of all their Kindred left, by whom they could raiſe up Seed or Succeſſors to their Father; thoſe, of their Father's Side, being at a vaſt Diſtance from them; and thoſe, of their Mother's, every one deſtroyed in the Conflagration of *Sodom*.

NOW it was at that Time an univerſal Law, which became afterwards a particular one of the *Jews*, that Marriages ſhou'd be contracted within the Family, to preſerve Inheritances, and to avoid the Mixture of Seeds: So that the two Siſters here argu'd very juſtly upon the Principles then univerſally admitted, *i. e.* upon the general Law of Nations. For, ſeeing they had no Brother to keep up their Name and Family, and their Father had loſt their Mother, by whom he might have had other Children, and they themſelves, their Huſbands, before Conſummation, in the common Deſtruction; there was no apparent Poſſibility of preſerving their Fathers Family from utter Extinction after their three Lives, or of averting the ſaid *Curſe of Exciſion*, but by the very Method, which, at laſt, they concerted between them. So that they had the Plea of Neceſſity on their Sides to excuſe, if not to juſtify them: And, that they were not led by any Spirit of Uncleanneſs to this Action, we have theſe Preſumptions to believe:——That, in the Midſt of all the Impurities of the moſt wicked City under Heaven, they had preſerv'd their Innocence and Virginity; that they unanimouſly joined together in the ſame Contrivance, whereas vicious Intrigues are ſeldom communicated, and, whenever they are, always occaſion Quarrels; that, what they did once they never

(k) Origen's Hom. 5. p. 15. col. 2. St *Ambroſe* de *Abrahamo*, l. 1. and St *Chryſoſtom*'s Hom. in Locum. *(l) Bibliotheca Bib.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 23.

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never repeated, and ſo cannot be ſuſpected of having been incited by brutal Luſt; and, laſtly, that they were ſo far from being conſcious to themſelves of having acted upon any baſe and ſinful Inducement, that, in the Names of their Children, they took Care to perpetuate the Memory of it to Poſterity; which they never would have done, had they thought it a Reproach to their Father's Name.

THEIR Father too in the Matter of Inceſt, may in ſome Meaſure be excus'd, for as much as he offer'd no Violence to his Daughters, but was altogether paſſive and impos'd upon by them; but then it muſt be conſider'd, that had he not allow'd himſelf to drink to Exceſs, it had not been in the Power of his Daughters to deceive him. The Daughters indeed, without this Expedient, cou'd not have attain'd their End; but then the Unjuſtifiableneſs of the Means deſecrates the End, even tho' it were good and laudable before. The ſhort is, both Father and Daughters, in this whole Tranſaction, were not without Sin: And therefore whatever may be ſaid in Mitigation of their Faults, we miſtake the Matter widely, if we think that the ſacred Hiſtory, in barely relating them, means either to approve or commend them.

Melchiſedeck's Character explain'd, and juſtified.

IT cannot be denied indeed, but that ſundry Difficulties occur in the Character of *Melchiſedeck*, as he is deſcrib'd in the Holy Scriptures; but there is certainly no Incongruity in his being both King and Prieſt in one Perſon. For if we caſt our Eye into any antient Writer, we ſhall find that, before the Inſtitution of a ſeparate Order of Men, the *regal* and *ſacerdotal* Offices both went together; and that he, who was appointed to govern the Affairs *of State*, had always a Right to *miniſter about holy Things*. This is an Obſervation, that the Writings of *Homer* will verify in almoſt innumerable Inſtances; but (to mention but one, out of each of his Poems) after *Agamemnon* was conſtituted the Head of the *Grecian* Army, *(m)* we find him every where, in the publick Sacrifices, performing the Prieſt's Office, and the other *Grecian* Kings and Heroes bearing their Parts under him in the Adminiſtration: And *(n)* when *Neſtor* made a Sacrifice to *Minerva*, *Stratius* and the noble *Ecepheron* led the Bull to the Altar; *Aretus* brought the Water, and Caniſters of Corn; *Perſeus* brought the Veſſel to receive the Blood; *Thraſimedes*, Son of *Neſtor*, knock'd down the Ox; but *Neſtor* himſelf acted as Prieſt, and perform'd the reſt of the Ceremony. From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

IF we look into ſome of the beſt Hiſtorians, we ſhall find this Point more confirm'd. For, among the *Lacedemonians*, whenever they went to Battle, the King, according to *(o) Plutarch*, always perform'd the Sacrifice; and, in the Army (as *Xenophon (p)* informs us) his chief Buſineſs was to have the ſupreme Command of the Forces, and to be their Prieſt in the Offices of Religion. In the Time of the Heroes, ſays *Ariſtotle*, *(q)* the Cuſtom was, for one and the ſame Perſon to be General of the Forces, Judge, and High-Prieſt, according to that known Verſe in *(r) Virgil.*

Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phœbique ſacerdos.

So that, in ſhort, from any Thing that appears in the Hiſtory, we have no Reaſon to think, that, until ſome Ages after *Homer*, Mankind had any other publick Miniſters in *Religion*, but thoſe who were the Kings and Governors of the *State*.

THERE were indeed, in antient Times, many little Iſlands, and ſmall Tracts of Land, where Civil Government was not ſet up in Form; but the Inhabitants liv'd together in Peace and Quiet, under the Direction of ſome eminent Perſon, who rul'd them by wiſe Admonitions, and by inſtructing them in the great Principles of Religion; and the Governors of theſe Countries

(m) Iliad 3. Iliad 8. & in aliis locis. (n) Odiſſ. 5. (o) In Lycurgo. (p) De Repub. Lacedem. (q) Polit. l. 1. (r) Æneid. iii. ver. 80.

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Countries affected * to be called *Prieſts* rather than *Kings*. But, if at any Time they, and their People came to form a *political* Society, upon more expreſs Terms and Conditions; then we find theſe Sort of Perſons call'd both Prieſts and Kings. Theſe ſmall States indeed cou'd have but little Power to ſupport themſelves againſt the Encroachment of their Neighbours. Their Religion was their greateſt Strength: And therefore it was their happieſt Circumſtance, that their Kings or Governors were reputed ſacred by their Neighbours, and ſo highly favour'd by God for their great and ſingular Piety, that it was thought a dangerous Thing to violate their Rights, or injure the People under their Protection.

SUCH a King as this was the great *Melchiſedeck*, who came out to gratulate the Patriarch *Abraham:* And 'tis no bad Conjecture of ſome, that he was called the King of *Salem*, not ſo much upon Account of *Salem*'s being the proper Name of any determinate Place, the Seat of his Dominion; as that, in general, it ſignified *Peace*, and that therefore *Melchiſedeck* was the King of Peace, or the *peaceable King*; becauſe the Sacredneſs of his Character ſecur'd him from being invaded by his Neighbours, and his wiſe Adminiſtration kept all Things in good Order, ſo that he was never moleſted by his Subjects.

THIS however is no more than a Conjecture, becauſe it is certain, that there were two Places in *Paleſtine*, which went under that Name; the one, the ſame with that, which was afterwards called *Jeruſalem*, and the other, a Town lying upon the Banks of the River *Jordan*, not far from the Place, (*s*) where *John* (our Saviour's *Forerunner)* is ſaid to have baptiz'd. Here formerly were ſeen the Ruins of the Palace of this *Melchiſedeck*, which, in the Time of St *Jerom* (as he tells us) diſcover'd the Magnificence of it's Structure:

and, upon that Father's Authority, ſeveral modern Authors have gone into the Opinion, that this Place was the Metropolis of that Prince. But, ſince that City, even according to the Teſtimony of the ſame St *Jerom*, was quite demoliſh'd by *Abimelech*, 'tis hardly conceivable, how ſuch remarkable Remains ſhould be of ſo long continuance, and yet eſcape the Obſervation of *Joſephus*, who was no undiligent Enquirer into the Antiquities of the *Jewiſh* Nation, and yet his expreſs Declaration is, That *Melchiſedeck* (*t*) *was King of* Solyma, *which is now called* Jeruſalem. From Gen. xx---xxv. 11.

IT is the much more probable Opinion therefore (*u*) that this Palace was built by *Jeroboam*, when he repair'd *Salem*, and that the Inhabitants (poſſibly the *Samaritans)* in After-ages, either deviſed, or promoted a falſe *Tradition*, that it originally belong'd to *Melchiſedeck*. For the general Conſent of the Antients give it clearly for *Jeruſalem*, as duly conſidering, that *Abraham*'s Rout, in returning from the Territories of *Damaſcus* to *Hebron*, was directly through its Coaſts (whereas the other *Salem* lay devious, to the North) and that there was a Kind of *Propriety* in the Myſtery, and what the *Analogy* of the Thing ſeem'd to require, that *Melchiſedeck* ſhould be King of that very Place, in which the true *Prince of Peace*, whereof he was a *Type* and *Repreſentation)* was, in future Ages, to make his Appearance.

WHO this *Melchiſedeck* was, is ſtill an hard Queſtion, that has puzzled moſt Interpreters. The Author to the *Hebrews* indeed has recorded a Deſcription of him; but this is ſo far from giving us any Light, that it has, in a great meaſure, been the Occaſion of leading ſome into a Perſuaſion (*x*) that the Perſon, here call'd *Melchiſedeck*, was an Angel; others, that he was the Son of God; and others, the Holy Ghoſt, in the Shape and Appearance of

* Thus *Jethro* is called by *Moſes*, not the King, but the Prieſt of *Midian*; and thus *Chryſes*, the Prieſt of *Apollo* at *Chryſa*, and not the King of *Chryſa*, tho' both he and *Jethro* were the Governors of the Countries, where they liv'd. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. ii. l. 6.

(*s*) John iii. 22. (*t*) Antiq. l. 1. c. 11. (*u*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriarch. Vol. I. Exercit. 2.
(*x*) Vid. *Calmet*'s and *Saurin*'s Diſſert. ſur *Melchiſedeck*. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriarch. Vol. II.

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Man; becauſe they cannot conceive how the Qualities, aſcrib'd to this excellent Perſonage, can comport with any human Creature. The Phraſe however made uſe of by the Apoſtle, ἀγενεαλόγητος *without Deſcent*, or *without Genealogy*, explains what the Apoſtle means by, *without Father, and without Mother*, i. e. * without any Father or Mother, mention'd in the Genealogies of *Moſes*, where the Parents of all pious *Worthies* are generally ſet down with great Exactneſs: (*y*) So that, there being no Genealogy at all of *Melchiſedeck* recorded in Scripture, he is introduc'd at once; even like *a Man dropp'd down from Heaven*, for ſo the Deſcription goes on, *having neither Beginning of Days, nor End of Life*, i. e. in the Hiſtory of *Moſes*, which (contrary to its common Uſage, when it makes mention of great Men) takes no Notice at all of the Time, either of his Birth, or Death, and herein *he is made like unto the Son of God*, i. e. by the Hiſtory of *Moſes*, which mentions him appearing, and acting upon the Stage, without either *Entrance* or *Exit*, as if, like the *Son of God*, he had *abode a Prieſt continually*.

THIS is the common, and † the beſt approv'd Interpretation of the Apoſtle's Words; but ſtill the Queſtion returns upon us, to whom can this *Character*, even with this *Comment*, belong? From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

THE *Jews* are generally of Opinion, and herein are follow'd by ſome *Chriſtians*, that *Melchiſedeck* was the ſame with *Shem*, one of the Sons of *Noah*, whom they ſuppoſe alive in the Days of *Abraham*, the only Perſon upon Earth, *ſay they*, who cou'd, with Juſtice, be call'd his *Superior*, and whom the Deſcription of the Apoſtle cou'd, in any tolerable Manner, befit, as being a Perſon of many Singularities, born before the Deluge, having no Anceſtors then alive, and whoſe Life had been of an immenſe Duration, in Compariſon of thoſe who came after him. But, not to diſpute the Fact, whether *Shem* was, at that Time, alive or no (*z*) it ſeems very incongruous to think, that *Moſes*, who all along mentions him in his proper Name, ſhou'd upon this Occaſion, diſguiſe his Senſe with a fictitious one; and very incompatible it is with what we knew of *Shem*, that he ſhould be ſaid to be *without Father*, and *without Mother*, when his Family is ſo plainly recorded in Scripture, and all his Progenitors may, in a Moment, *Who this* Melchiſedeck *was not.*

* From the Times of *Epiphanius* there were Names invented for the Father and Mother of *Melchiſedeck*. To his Father was given the Name of *Heraclas*, or *Heracles*; and to his Mother, that of *Aſtaroth*, or *Aſtaria*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

(*y*) *Scot*'s Chriſtian Life, Part ii. c. 7.

† The learned *Heidegger*, in my Opinion, has taken the right Method to explain this difficult Paſſage of St *Paul* to the *Hebrews*. He ſuppoſes (as there really is) a two-fold *Melchiſedeck*, the one *hiſtorical*, whereof *Moſes* gives us an Account in the xivth Chapter of *Geneſis*, as that he was the King, as well as Prieſt of *Jeruſalem*; the other *allegorical*, whom St *Paul* deſcribes in the Words now under Conſideration, and this allegorical Perſon is *Chriſt*. The Word *Melchiſedeck*, ſimply conſider'd, means the *King of Righteouſneſs*; and, from this Senſe of the Word, in its appellative Acceptation, and the Remembrance of this Perſon's being a *Prieſt*, as well as a King, the Apoſtle took Occaſion to draw the Compariſon between him and Chriſt, in order to ſhew the Pre eminence of the *Chriſtian*, above the *Aaronical* Prieſthood; and what he aſcribes to the hiſtorical *Melchiſedeck*, upon this Account, is only to be underſtood in an *imperfect* and improper Senſe, that is, really and literally true only in the Perſon of Chriſt. The Apoſtle was minded, in ſhort, to illuſtrate his Argument with ſome Compariſon; and, writing at this Time to the *Jews* (who were well acquainted with this *allegorical* Way of arguing) he cou'd meet with none, in the whole Compaſs of their Law, ſo commodious for this Purpoſe, as this of *Melchiſedeck*: and therefore as Chriſt, the heavenly *Melchiſedeck*, was *without Father, without Mother, without Deſcent* here on Earth, in reſpect of his Divinity, *having neither Beginning of Days, nor End of Life*; ſo the like Properties may, in ſome meaſure, be applied to the earthly *Melchiſedeck*. Foraſmuch as, in the Book of *Geneſis*, wherein all great Mens Genealogies are ſuppos'd to be recorded, there is no Mention made, either of his Birth, Family, or Death; only he was inveſted with a Royal Prieſthood, which aſſimulates him to Chriſt. He had a Father and Mother, no doubt, and was born, and died, like other Men; but, becauſe theſe Things are not related by *Moſes*, the Apoſtle looks upon them, as tho' they had never been. So that the whole Hinge of the Compariſon turns upon the Silence of the ſacred Hiſtorian, who, in a Book (wherein it might be expected otherwiſe) makes no manner of Mention, either of the Beginning or Ending of *Melchiſedeck*'s Life or Prieſthood: And 'tis for this Reaſon, that he who wrote by the Guidance of the bleſſed Spirit, was directed to conceal theſe Matters; that, in this Situation, this ſame *Melchiſedeck* might be a more proper *Type* of ſo ſublime a Thing, as that of the Prieſthood of Jeſus Chriſt. Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 2.

(*z*) *Bochart*'s Phaleg. l. 2. c. 1.

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Moment, be trac'd to their Fountain-Head in *Adam*. Beſides, had *Melchiſedeck* and *Shem* been the ſame Perſon, the Apoſtle wou'd hardly have made him of a Family different to *Abraham*, much leſs would he have ſet him in ſuch an Eminence above the *Patriarch*, or thereupon broke out into this Exclamation concerning him; *Conſider how great this Man was, unto whom even the Patriarch* Abraham *gave the Tenth of the Spoils!*

THESE Arguments ſeem to evince that *Melchiſedeck* and *Shem* were different Perſons; and much more Reaſon have we to ſuppoſe, that he and *Ham*, that wicked Son of *Noah*, were ſo. For who, upon deliberate Thoughts, can believe, that this curſed Perſon was the *Prieſt of the moſt high God*, from whom *Abraham* ſo joyfully receiv'd the *ſacerdotal* Benediction, that he returned it with the Payment of his *Tithes*? And much leſs can we believe, that one of his *ill* Character was the *Type* of the *bleſſed Jeſus*. *Jeſus* indeed himſelf, if he be taken for *Melchiſedeck*, appearing to *Abraham* in an human Shape, (as he is often ſuppos'd to do in Scripture) will anſwer all the Character, which the Apoſtle gives of this extraordinary Perſon: But then the Wonder is, that the Hiſtorian ſhou'd never give us the leaſt Intimation of this; that *Abraham* ſhou'd expreſs no Manner of Surpriſe upon ſuch an Interview; and (what is more) how the *Type* and the *Antitype* can poſſibly be repreſented the ſame. *(a)* For this is the Caſe: Here *Melchiſedeck* was a Repreſentative of our Saviour, according to that of the Apoſtle, *Jeſus was a Prieſt after the Order of Melchiſedeck*, which he explains in another Place, *after the Similitude of Melchiſedeck, there ariſeth another Prieſt*; as much as to ſay, *Melchiſedeck* and *Chriſt* were like one another in ſeveral Things, and thereupon one was deſign'd to be a fit *Tipe* of the other: But as it is unreaſonable and abſurd to ſay, that a Perſon is like himſelf, ſo we cannot rationally imagine, that *Chriſt*, who, as St *Paul* ſays, was *after the Similitude of Melchiſedeck*, was, in reality, the ſame Perſon with him. From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

THUS we have look'd into * ſome of the chief Conjectures concerning this great Man, which ſeem to have any Plauſibility in them; and, after all, muſt content ourſelves with what the Scriptures nakedly report of him, *viz.* That this *Melchiſedeck* was both a King and a Prieſt (for theſe two Offices were anciently united) in the Land of *Paleſtine*, in the City of *Jeruſalem*. deſcended not improbably, * from wicked and idolatrous Parents, but himſelf

(a) Edwards's Survey of Religion, Vol. I.

* The ſole Queſtion concerning the Perſon of *Melchiſedeck* would ſupply Matter for a whole Volume, even tho' one ſhou'd do no more than recite the Catalogue of the different Opinions, to which it has given Riſe, and the Reaſon, upon which each Conjecturer has endeavour'd to eſtabliſh his own. The *Melchiſedecians*, a Sect in the early Times of the Church, maintain'd, that he was a certain divine Power ſuperior to *Chriſt*: *Hieraxes* the *Egyptian*, that he was the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe compar'd to the Son of God: The *Samaritans*, and many *Jews*, that he was, *Shem* the Son of *Noah*. Mr *Juriu* [in his *Hiſt. Critique des Dogmes*, &c. l. 1.] of late, that he was *Ham*, another Son of his: *Origen*, that he was an Angel: *Athanaſius*, that he was the Son of *Melchi*, the Grandſon of *Salaad*: *Patricides*, that he was the Son of *Phaleg*: *Irenæus*, that he was King of *Jeruſalem*: St *Jerom*, that he was the King of *Salem*, in *Scythopolis*; and a certain anonymous Author, that he was a Man immediately created by God, as was *Adam*: And, becauſe he is ſaid to have had no Relations, ſome have given out, that the Earth open'd her Mouth, and ſwallow'd them all up; whilſt others, becauſe he is ſaid to have *had no End of Life*, ſuppoſe that he was tranſlated, and is now with *Enoch* and *Elias*, in a State of Paradiſe. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt Patriar. Vol. II. Exerc. 2. But all theſe Opinions are at preſent reduc'd to theſe two, whether this *Melchiſedeck* was a meer mortal Man, or the Son of God in human Shape, which the Reader may find ſupported with Arguments on both Sides, in both *Saurin*'s and *Calmet*'s Diſſertations upon this Subject.

Thoſe, who make him to be the Son of *Melchi*, an idolatrous King, and of a Queen nam'd *Salem*, have an antient Tradition, that *Melchi*, having reſolv'd to offer a Sacrifice to his Gods, ſent his Son *Melchiſedeck* to fetch him ſeven Calves, that he might ſacrifice them; but that, as he was going, he was enlighten'd by God, and immediately return'd to his Father to remonſtrate to him the Vanity of Idols. His Father in Wrath ſent him back to fetch the Victims, and, while he was gone, offer'd up to his Gods his own Son, who was the Elder Brother of *Melchiſedeck*, with a great Number of other Children. *Melchiſedeck* returning, and conceiving a great Horror at his Butchery, retir'd to Mount *Tabor*, where he liv'd for ſeven Years without Clothes, and without any other Food, but wild Fruits, or any other Drink but the Dew, that he ſuck'd up from the Plants; till at length, *Abraham*, by the Direction of God,

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himſelf a Perſon of ſingular Virtue and Piety, the *Prieſt of the moſt high God*, but perhaps the firſt, and the laſt of his Race, who was ſo, which might give Occaſion to the *Apoſtle* to deſcribe him under ſuch ambiguous Terms; for the whole of theſe (according to the Judgment of a learned Author) * may not improperly be reduc'd to this ſingle Propoſition, *(b) that* Melchiſedeck *was the moſt illuſtrious of his Family, and had neither Predeceſſor, nor Succeſſor in his Employ.*

The Prophecy concerning Iſhmael *explain'd, and juſtify'd.*

We readily grant indeed, that there is ſomething very ſtrange and uncommon in the Prophecy relating to *Iſhmael*; but the Queſtion is not concerning the *Singularity*, but the *Reality* rather of the Matters contain'd in it. If theſe are explicable in themſelves, and, upon Examination, found to be true, then is the Prophecy ſo far from loſing its *Credit* upon the Account of its Strangeneſs, that, for this very Reaſon, it demonſtrates its divine *Origin*; becauſe nothing but an omniſcient Mind, could foreſee Things ſo ſtrange and unaccountable; and nothing but an Almighty Power and Providence could bring theſe Things to paſs, and make the Event exactly agree with the Prediction.

Now, in order to explain the Prophecy itſelf, and thence to obſerve how perfectly it has all along been fulfill'd, it muſt be remember'd, that, (according to the known Stile of the *Old Teſtament)* what is here ſaid of *Iſhmael* muſt be chiefly underſtood of his Deſcendants, in the ſame Manner *(c)* as what *Jacob* predicts of *Judah*, and the reſt of his Sons, was to relate to their Poſterity, and be indeed the Characteriſtick of their ſeveral Tribes. And therefore (to take Notice of two of the moſt odd and unaccountable Branches of his Character) *he will be a wild Man*, or a Man like *a wild Aſs*; this (from the known Properties of that Creature) ſeveral Interpreters have reſolv'd into theſe Qualities,—— *Fierce, and cruel, loving Solitude, and hating Confinement of any Kind.* From Gen. xx.—xxv. 11.

How far this Part of the Character was verify'd in *Iſhmael*, who liv'd in the Wilderneſs, and became an expert *Archer*, his very Condition of Life ſhews us; and how properly it belongs to his Poſterity, the *Arabians*, who, in every Nation, have very juſtly obtain'd the Appellation of *wild*, a ſmall inſpection into Hiſtory will inform us.

To this very Day (as *(d) modern* Travellers do inform us) great Numbers of them live in the Deſarts, and wander about from Place to Place, without any certain Habitation. They neither plow the Ground, nor apply themſelves to any Kind of Huſbandry, tho' there are ſeveral fruitful Places in the Wilderneſs, that would repay their Pains. Their whole Occupation

God, went up to the Mount, found out *Melchiſedeck*, cloath'd him, and brought him down with him. But thoſe, who wou'd have him to be the Son of *Phaleg*, relate a ſtill ſtranger Story, *viz.* That *Noah*, upon his Death-Bed, charged his Son *Seth* to take *Melchiſedeck*, the Son of *Phaleg*, with him, and go to a Place, which the Angel of the Lord ſhou'd ſhew them, and there bury the Body of *Adam*, which he had preſerv'd in the Ark during the Flood: that in that Place *Melchiſedeck* ſhould fix his Habitation, lead a ſingle Life, and entirely addict himſelf to the Practice of Piety, becauſe God had made Choice of him for his *Prieſt*, but allow'd him not to ſhed the Blood of any Animal, nor to offer any other Oblation to him, but that of Bread and Wine only; that *Seth* and *Melchiſedeck* did as *Noah* had enjoin'd them, and buried *Adam* in the Place, which the Angel pointed out; that, upon their parting, *Melchiſedeck* betook himſelf to the monaſtick Courſe of Life, which *Noah* had preſcrib'd him; but that twelve neighbouring Kings, hearing of his Fame, and deſirous of his Acquaintance, conſulted together, and built a City, whereof they conſtituted him King and Governor, and, in Honour to his Merit, call it *Jeruſalem*. Vid. *Selden* de Jure Nat. l. 3. c. 2. and *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 7.

* The ſame learned Author, who makes the *Melchiſedeck* ſpoken of in Scripture, in one Senſe to be *hiſtorical*, and in another *allegorical*, defines the *Hiſtorical* in theſe Words,——*Verus, & merus homo, ex* Adamo & Noacho, *per ejus Filium* Chamum, *& nepotem* Cananaum, *ſatus, Hieroſolymæ Rex, veri Dei ſacerdos, gratiâ communi omnibus fidelibus regeneratus & ſanctificatus, atque ad beatam Reſurrectionem, & vitam æternam obſignatus.* And the *Allegorical* in theſe of St *Paul*,—— *Qui eſt Rex Juſtitiæ & Pacis, ſine Patre, ſine Matre, ſine Genealogiâ, ſacerdos in perpetuum, & habens teſtimonium quod vivat.* Quæ omnia, ut jam annuimus, *ſays he*, conveniunt *Melchiſedecō*, in ſenſu minutiore, & allegorico, & (ut patres amant loqui) κατ' οἰκονομίαν; Chriſto autem in Emphaſi, & rei veritate. Hiſtoria Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 2.

(*b*) *Outram* de Sacrificiis. (*c*) Gen. xlix. (*d*) Vid. *Rauwolf*'s Travels, Part ii. c. 3.

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tion (beſide ſpoiling their Neighbours) lies in hunting, and killing wild Beaſts, in which there are but few that make uſe of Fire Arms: The much greater Part of them make uſe of the *Bow*, and do herein imitate their great Progenitor, that they are the moſt exquiſite *Archers* in the World.

BEFORE the Introduction of *Mahometaniſm*, they were as *vagrant* in their Luſt, and as little reſtrain'd in the Uſe of Females, as the brutal Herd: And, even now, they take as many Wives, as do the *Turks*, i. e. as many as they can keep, whom they purchaſe of their Parents, uſe with Indifference, and diſmiſs at Pleaſure. They rove about like the fierceſt Beaſts of Prey, ſeeking continually whom they may devour; inſomuch, that the Governor of *Grand-Cairo* is forced to keep a Guard of four thouſand Horſemen every Night, on the Side of the City next the Wilderneſs, to ſecure it againſt their Incurſions. Nor is the Wilderneſs only the Scene of their Depredations: They rove all over the *Southern* and *Eaſtern* Seas, viſit every Creek, and Coaſt, and Iſland, and (as the *(e)* Hiſtorian compares them) come *ſouſing* like an *Hawk*, with incredible Swiftneſs upon their Prey, and are gone again in an Inſtant. And, as they have always thus prey'd upon Mankind, the neceſſary Conſequence is, that they have always been at Variance and Hoſtility with them; and therein have made good the other Branch of *Iſhmael*'s Character, *His Hand ſhall be againſt every Man, and every Man's Hand againſt him.*

THERE is not the leaſt Hint in Scripture, nor any Manner of Reaſon to believe, that *Iſhmael* dwelt in a *perſonal* State of Hoſtility with his Brethren, nor is it conceivable, how he cou'd have maintain'd himſelf againſt their united Forces, had he ſo done; and therefore, this Prediction can no otherwiſe be underſtood, than as it relates to his Poſterity, the *Arabians*. Now, that any one Nation ſhould be of ſo ſingular and perverſe a Character, as to ſet themſelves in open Oppoſition to the reſt of the World, and live in perpetual, profeſs'd Enmity with all Mankind; and that they ſhou'd continue to do ſo, not for one Age or two only, but for four thouſand Years together, is ſurely the ſtrangeſt and moſt aſtoniſhing Prediction, that ever was read or heard of. And yet if we attend a little to the Hiſtory of theſe People (as ſoon as Hiſtory takes Notice of them) we ſhall find, in ſeveral Inſtances, a full Accompliſhment of it.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

WHEN *Alexander* and his victorious Army over-ran a great Part of the *Eaſt*, the *Arabians* (as we are told by *Arrian*, and *Strabo)* of all the *Aſiaticks*, were the only People, who ſent him no Ambaſſador, nor made any Submiſſion to him; which Indignity he intended to have reveng'd in a particular Expedition againſt them, but was prevented by Death.

(f) WHAT *Alexander* intended, *Antigonus*, the greateſt of his Succeſſors, attempted; but he was repuls'd with Diſgrace, and the Loſs of above 8000 Men: And when, enrag'd at this Repulſe, he made a ſecond Attempt upon them with a Number of ſelect Men, under the Command of his valiant Son *Demetrius*, the Reſiſtance, he met with, was ſo obſtinate, that he was forced to compound the Matter, and leave them in the quiet Poſſeſſion of their Liberty and Peace.

WHEN the *Romans* and *Parthians* were Rivals for the Empire of the *Eaſt*, the *Arabians* join'd, and oppos'd each Nation as they thought fit, but were never entirely devoted to either; for their Character always was, that they were *fickle*, if not *faithleſs* Friends, and *fierce* Enemies, who might be repuls'd, and repreſs'd for a Seaſon, but could never be totally vanquiſh'd or ſubdu'd.

MEN of this Character ſoon became the Objects of the *Roman* Enmity and Ambition, which could endure nothing that was free and independant; and accordingly ſeveral Attempts were ſet on Foot by *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, and other great

(e) Ammianus Marcellinus.

(f) Vid. Dr. *Jackſon* on the Creed.

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Generals, in order to enſlave them; but all prov'd ſucceſsleſs: And, tho' they are ſometimes ſaid to have been defeated, yet is there no Account, that we can properly depend on, until we come to the Expedition, which *Trajan* is known to have made againſt them.

(g) TRAJAN was certainly a long experienc'd and ſucceſsful Warrior. He had ſubdued the *German*, humbled the *Parthian*, and reduc'd already one Part of *Arabia* into a Province; and yet, *(h)* when he came to beſiege the City of the *Hagarenes*, upon every Aſſault, * his Soldiers were ſo annoy'd with Whirl-Winds and Hail, and ſo frighten'd with Thunder and Lightning, and other Apparitions in the Air (whilſt their Meat was ſpoil'd and corrupted with Flies, even as they were eating it) that he was forc'd to give over the Siege, and was, not long after, ſeiz'd with a Diſeaſe, whereof he died.

About eight Years after this, the Emperor *Severus*, a very valiant and proſperous Warrior, whom *Herodian* makes no Scruple to prefer even before *Cæſar*, *Marius*, and *Sylla*, diſdaining (as *Trajan* had done) that the *Hagarenes* ſhould ſtand out ſtill againſt the *Romans*, when all the reſt about them had yielded, beſieg'd their City (tho' it was but a ſmall one) twice, and was twice repuls'd with Shame, and great Slaughter of his Men. In the ſecond Aſſault indeed, he beat down ſome of their City-Wall, and thereupon ſounded a Retreat, in Hopes that they would have *capitulated*, and ſurrender'd up the hidden Treaſure, ſuppos'd to be conſecrated to the *Sun*: but when they continued reſolute a whole Day, without giving any Intimations of a Treaty for a Peace, on the Morrow following, the *Roman* Army was quite intimidated. The *Europeans*, who were gallant Men before, refus'd to enter the Breach; and the *Syrians*, who were forced to undertake that Service, had a grievous Repulſe: Whereupon the Emperor, * without making any freſh Attack, decamped from before the City, and departed to *Paleſtine*: *Thus God deliver'd the City*, ſays Dio, *recalling the Soldiers by* Severus, *when they might have enter'd, and reſtraining* Severus *the ſecond Day, by the Soldiers Backwardneſs.*

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

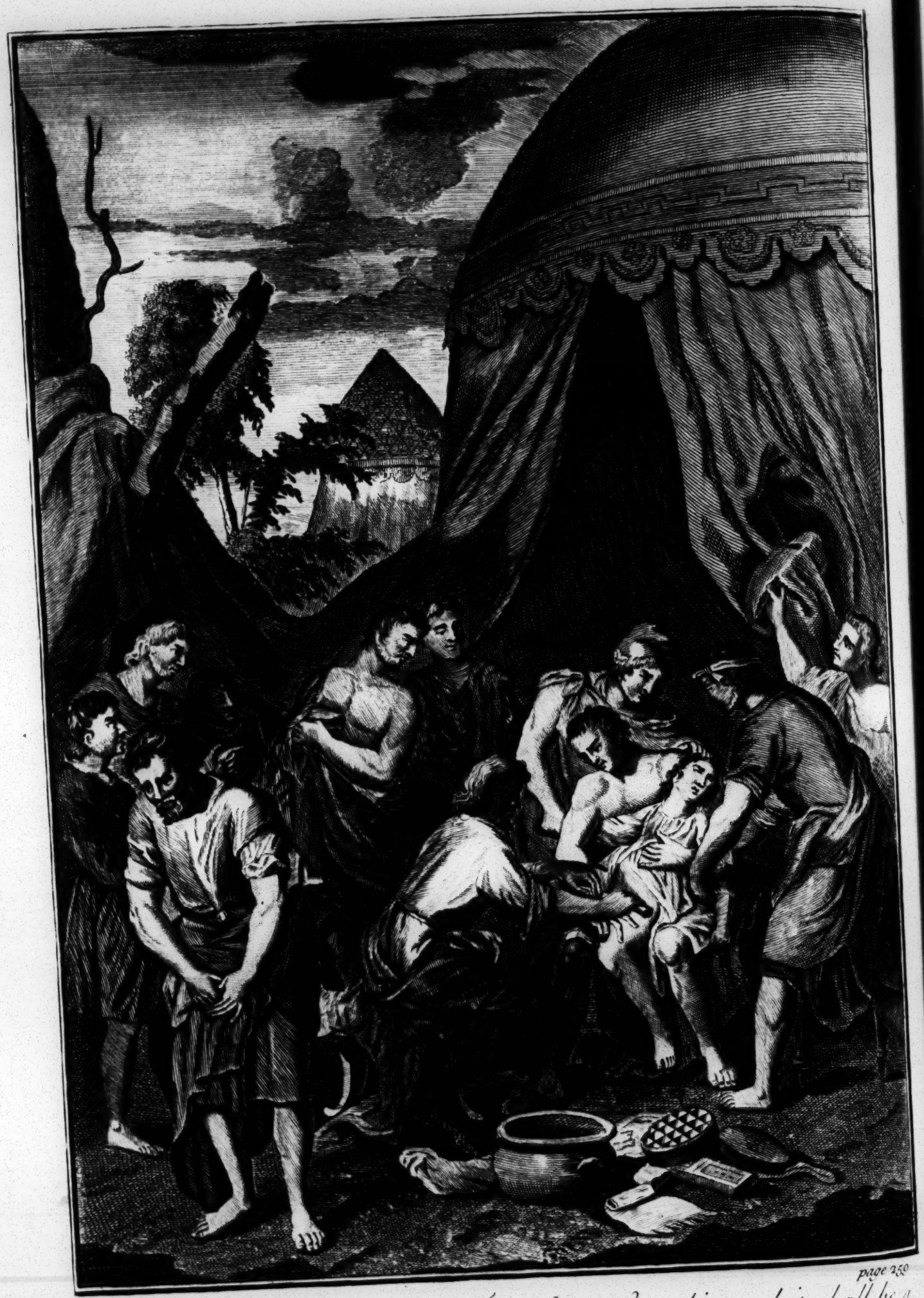
There are only theſe two Things more, which we may obſerve from our Hiſtorian, worthy our Notice upon this Occaſion: The firſt is, that the *Arabians* ſtood *ſingle* in this their Extremity, againſt the whole *Roman* Power; for none of their Neighbours wou'd aſſiſt them. The other Thing is that the Emperor had Soldiers of all Nations in his Army; for, "whereas other Emperors, *(i) ſays our* "*Author*, were contented with Guards of "four different *European* Countries, *Seve-*"*rus* fill'd the City with a mixt Multitude "of Soldiers of all Kinds, ſavage to look "on, frightful to hear, and rude and wild "to converſe with." So that, conſidering all Things, I think we may fairly conclude, that *every Man's Hand was*, at this Time, *againſt*

(g) *Dio*, Hiſt. l. 68. (h) Revelation Examin'd, Vol. II. Diſſertation 4.

* The above recited Author, from whom I have compiled this Account, aſſures his Reader, that he had, with all the Care he cou'd, examined all the Accounts of *Arabia*, that came in his Way, to ſee whether the Phænomena, and Calamities, here mention'd by *Dio* to have diſtreſs'd the *Roman* Army, were frequent in that Region, and that he had never been able to meet with any Inſtance of one of them, except ſometimes Storms of Wind. If Hail, frightful Appearances in the Air, and Food infeſted with Flies, were ordinary Calamities in this Region, all the Accounts of the *Caravans*, that travel thro' the Deſarts, wou'd neceſſarily be full of them; whereas it is notorious, that the beſt Writers, who have left us faithful Diaries of theſe Affairs, do not ſo much as mention any of them; and therefore they muſt certainly have proceeded from a divine Interpoſition in Favour of the *Hagarenes*, in Accompliſhment of the Prediction concerning *Iſhmael* and his Poſterity.

* The Hiſtorian tells us farther, that, after the Breach was made, the Conqueſt of the City was deem'd ſo eaſy, that a certain Captain in the Army undertook to do it himſelf, if he might have but 550 *European* Soldiers aſſign'd him: *But, where ſhall we find ſo many Soldiers?* ſays the Emperor, meaning it of the Diſobedience of the Army, to which he imputed his not carrying that Place. But now, how a Commander, who was at once belov'd and revered almoſt to Adoration by his Soldiers, cou'd not, with all his Authority, influence them to aſſault, when they were, in a Manner, at his Mercy, this can be no ways reconcil'd, without the Suppoſition of that Mighty Being occaſioning it, *who poureth*, when he pleaſes, *Contempt upon Princes, and bringeth their Counſels to nought.*

(i) *Ammianus Marcellinus.*



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Pl. 31

And ye shall circumcise the Flesh of your fore skin, and it shall be a token of covenant between me and you. Gen. 17. ver. 11.

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againſt Iſhmael, and *his Hand*, his only Hand, *againſt every Man*'s; and yet he dwelt, and ſtill dwelleth *in the Preſence of all his Brethren*: For, not long after this, it is very well known, that the *Iſhmaelites* join'd the *Goths* againſt the *Romans*, and, having afterwards overcome both, * under the Name of *Saracens*, they erected a vaſt Empire upon their Ruins; and thus *Iſhmael*, in the full Extent of the Prophecy, *became a great Nation*.

Circumciſion of divine Inſtitution.

CIRCUMCISION is the cutting off the Fore-ſkin of the Member, which, in every Male, is the Inſtrument of Generation; and, whoever conſiders the Nature of this Operation, painful, if not indecent in thoſe of Maturity, and to ſuch, as live in hot Countries, highly inconvenient, if not dangerous; an Operation, wherein we can perceive no Footſteps of human Invention, as having no Foundation either in Reaſon, or Nature, or Neceſſity, or the Intereſt of any particular Set of Men, we muſt needs conclude, that Mankind cou'd never have put ſuch a Severity upon themſelves, unleſs they had been enjoin'd, and directed to it by a divine Command. Nay, this ſingle Inſtance of *Abraham*, who, in the advanc'd Age of *ninety-nine*, underwent this hazardous Operation, and the very Indecency of it, in a Man of his Years and Dignity; theſe two Conſiderations are in the Place of ten thouſand Proofs, that it was forc'd upon him; but Nothing, but the irreſiſtible Authority of God, could be a Force ſufficient in thoſe Circumſtances. So that the Strangeneſs and Singularity of this Ordinance is ſo far from being an Argument againſt it, that it is an evident Proof of its divine Inſtitution; and, what was originally inſtituted by God, cannot in Strictneſs be accounted *immodeſt* (tho' we perhaps may have ſome ſuch Conception of it) ſince (*k*) *unto the pure all Things are pure, but unto them that are defiled, and unbelieving, nothing is pure, but even their Mind and Conſcience is defiled.* From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

THE *Egyptians* indeed, (as *(l) Herodotus* informs us) pretend to practiſe this Rite, from no other Principle, but that of *Cleanlineſs*; and poſſibly, at that Time, they might ſo far have loſt the Memorial of its true Origin, as not to retain any other Reaſon for their Obſervation of it: But ſince it is evident to a Demonſtration, that they might, to all Intents and Purpoſes, be as clean without this Rite, as with it, 'tis abſurd to ſuppoſe, that any Man of common Senſe ſhou'd undergo Pain and Hazard himſelf, and force the ſame Inconveniences upon his Poſterity, merely for the Attainment of an End, which cou'd as fully and perfectly have been accompliſh'd without it.

Not found firſt among the Egyptians.

THERE is a Paſſage indeed in the ſame *Herodotus*, wherein he tells us, "That the "*Colchians*, the *Egyptians*, and the *Ethio*-"*pians*, were not the only Nations, that "circumciſed *from the Beginning*, and "that the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians* who "liv'd in *Paleſtine*, acknowledg'd they "borrow'd that Rite from them." But here the Hiſtorian is leſs to be blam'd for having run into this Error, ſince the *Egyptians* were a People naturally ſo vain, and conceited of their Antiquity, that they choſe rather to impoſe upon him by a falſe Information (for all this Account he had but from Information) than confeſs that they receiv'd Circumciſion from any other People. In the other Part of the Story 'tis manifeſt, that they did impoſe upon him, when they told him that the Inhabitants of *Paleſtine* (whom he calls *Syrians* and *Phœnicians) confeſs'd*, that they receiv'd Circumciſion from them; whereas there were no Inhabitants in *Paleſtine* circumcis'd but the *Jews*, and theſe always profeſs'd

* The *Iſhmaelites*, as ſome imagine, upon the Reproaches of the *Jews*, who upbraided them with *Baſtardy*, became aſham'd of their old Names, deriv'd from *Hagar* and *Iſhmael*, which carried an Odium in the Sound, and took upon them the Name of *Saracens*, deſiring to be accounted as the Deſcendants of *Abraham* by his Wife *Sarah*; but what deſtroys this *Etymology* is this, that the Antients call'd them *Sara-kenci*, and not *Saræni*, as they muſt have been call'd, if their Name had been deriv'd from *Sarah*; and therefore the learned *Scaliger* ſuppoſes the Word to come from the *Arabick* Word, *Sarack*, which ſignifies to *ſteal* or *plunder*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

(*k*) Tit. i. 15. (*l*) Lib. 2.

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feſs'd to have receiv'd it directly from *Abraham*.

(*m*) *HERODOTUS* indeed, in all his Writings, has ſhewn, that he was a great Stranger to the Affairs of the *Jews*, and much more to the Hiſtory of the Patriarchs, who ſo long preceded the Inſtitution of their Republick. What he tells us of the Origin of Circumciſion, *viz.* that it was among the *Egyptians from the Beginning*, is in a looſe and vagrant Expreſſion, accidentally dropt from him, or rather contriv'd on Purpoſe to conceal his Ignorance of the Matter: Whereas *Moſes*, who was long before him, knew the Hiſtory of the Patriarchs, and particularly that of *Abraham*; and therefore he does not content himſelf with popular or fabulous Reports, or endeavour to conceal his Meaning under indefinite and general Expreſſions, but marks out the particular Period, and gives us a plain and full Account both of the Cauſes and Circumſtances of the whole Inſtitution. The truth is, there is no Compariſon between the two Hiſtorians in this Particular; and therefore, if we will credit the *ſacred Penman* in a Point, wherein his Knowledge could hardly be defective, ſo far were the *Egyptians* from preſcribing to the *Hebrews* in the Rite of Circumciſion, that when *Abraham* was in *Egypt*, there was no ſuch Cuſtom then in Uſe.

Not in Egypt *in* Abraham's *Time.*

It was twenty Years after his Return from that Country, that God enjoin'd him the Rite of Circumciſion; and then it is ſaid, that *(n) Abraham took* Iſhmael *his Son, and all that were born in his Houſe, and all that were bought with his Money, and circumciſed the Fleſh of their Fore-ſkin.* Now it is evident, that, when he came out of *Egypt*, he brought *Men-Servants and Maid-Servants* with him in abundance; and therefore, unleſs we can ſuppoſe that all theſe *Egyptian* Men-Servants died within twenty Years, when the ordinary Period of Life was at leaſt an Hundred; or that, when they died, none of them left any Male-Iſſue behind them; we cannot but conclude, that Circumciſion was not known in *Egypt* in *Abraham*'s Time, becauſe it is expreſly ſaid, that *every Male, among the Men of* Abraham's *Houſe was circumciſed* at the ſame Time that *he* was, which could never have been, had they undergone that Operation before. From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

At what Time the Rite of Circumciſion obtain'd in *Egypt*, is not ſo eaſy a Matter to determine; there is a Paſſage however in the Prophet *Jeremiah*, which, if taken in a literal Senſe, is far from encouraging any high Pretenſions to Antiquity: *(o) Behold the Days come, ſaith the Lord, that I will puniſh all them, that are circumcis'd, with the uncircumcis'd*; Egypt, *and* Judah, *and* Edom, *and the Children of* Ammon, *and* Moab, *&c. for all theſe Nations are uncircumcis'd, and all the Houſe of* Iſrael *are uncircumcis'd in their Heart:* The plain Senſe of which Words is this, —— That God would viſit the Houſe of *Iſrael* like ſtrange Nations; becauſe, as the latter were uncircumcis'd *in the Fleſh*, ſo the former were *in the Heart*. Not but that, in the Days of *Jeremiah*, the Rite of Circumciſion was known and practis'd among the *Egyptians*, as well as among other Nations; but then it was not ſo common and general, nor was it at all us'd any where, till long after *Abraham*'s Days.

One probable Opinion therefore is, that the *Arabians* receiv'd it from the *Iſhmaelites*; that the *Egyptians* receiv'd it from the *Arabians*, or perhaps from *Abraham*'s Children by *Keturah*; and that from the *Egyptians* the People of *Colchis*, knowing themſelves to be of *Egyptian* Extract, embrac'd it, in Imitation of their illuſtrious Anceſtors. But even ſuppoſe that this Cuſtom was not eſtabliſh'd in *Egypt* by the Poſterity, either of *Hagar*, or *Keturah*; yet why might not *Joſeph*, in the Courſe of a moſt abſolute Miniſtry for fourſcore Years together, be able to introduce

(*m*) *Baſnage's* Hiſtory of the *Jews*. (*n*) Gen. xvii. 11, 25, 27. (*o*) Jer. ix. 25, 26.

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duce it? *(p)* 'Tis the Practice, we know, nay, 'tis the Pride of Slaves, to imitate their Maſter's Manners, eſpecially if he ſeems ſollicitous to have them do ſo; and therefore we need not doubt, but that, upon the leaſt Intimation of his Pleaſure, the *Egyptians* would readily embrace the religious Rites of ſo great, ſo wiſe, ſo powerful a Miniſter, who had preſerv'd every one of their Lives, who had ſav'd the whole Kingdom from Ruin, and was himſelf ſo viſibly, and ſo remarkably guided by the Spirit of God. But whenſoever, or from whomſoever it was, that the *Egyptians* learned this Rite, 'tis certain, that the Reaſon of its Inſtitution was not with them the ſame, that it was among the *Jews*, and therefore the Circumciſion itſelf muſt not be accounted the ſame.

The Reaſons and Ends of its Inſtitution

WHOEVER looks into the Life of *Abraham*, will ſoon perceive, that God did, all along, deſign him for a Pattern of Faith and perfect Obedience, to all ſucceeding Generations. *(q)* The more his Faith was tried, the more illuſtrious it became, and the more Obſtacles there were rais'd in the Accompliſhment of the divine Promiſes, the more the good Patriarch ſhew'd (in ſurmounting theſe Obſtacles) the high Conception, he had entertain'd of him, from whom theſe Promiſes came. For, after a Promiſe of a numerous Poſterity, why was it ſo long before he gave him any Son at all? After the Birth of *Iſhmael*, why ſo long before the Promiſe of an Heir by his Wife *Sarah?* And after that Promiſe was given, why ſo long, even till the Thing was impoſſible, in an ordinary Courſe of Nature, before the Promiſe was accompliſh'd, and the Child ſent? All this was to exerciſe his Faith, and to give him an Opportunity of ſhewing to the World, how fully he was convinc'd that, notwithſtanding all theſe Impediments and Delays, God would certainly, by one Means or other, effectually make good his Promiſes. The like may be ſaid of the Command of *Circumciſion*. God did not only defer, for the Space of twenty whole Years, the Birth of that Son, who was ſo ſolemnly promis'd, and ſo impatiently deſir'd, but even, when that Time was expir'd, and *Abraham* might now juſtly hope to ſee the Promiſe accompliſh'd, and his Faith crown'd; God was pleas'd to croſs it again, by requiring of him the Performance of an Act, which, in all Appearance, wou'd be a total Defeat to all his Hopes. For this Injunction, *My Covenant ſhall be in your Fleſh*, to a Man of advanc'd Age, ſeems as oppoſite to the Promiſe of having a Son, as that other of *taking his Son, his only Son* Iſaac, *and offering him up for a Burnt-Sacrifice*, was to the Promiſe of his being the Father of a numerous Poſterity. From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

BUT *Abraham*'s Faith triumph'd over this, as well as all other Obſtacles. He immediately perform'd the Operation, notwithſtanding its Oddneſs, its Danger, its ſeeming Indecency, and the apparent Oppoſition it had to the divine Promiſes: And, 'tis to preſerve the Remembrance of the Faith of their great Anceſtor, who, in ſo many diſcouraging Circumſtances, *waited patiently on God, and againſt Hope believ'd in Hope* (as the Apoſtle expreſſes it) that God preſcrib'd to the *Jewiſh* Nation the Sacrament of Circumciſion. For this was a farther End of its Inſtitution, not only to be a *Mark of Diſtinction* between the Poſterity of *Abraham*, and all other Nations, but a *Token* likewiſe of God's Covenant made with him, and his Poſterity, and a *Note of Commemoration* to put thoſe, who bore it, continually in mind, whoſe Offspring they were, and what Advantages entitled to upon that Account, provided they took Care not to degenerate from the Glories of that Stock, from whence they ſprang.

AND indeed, conſidering that *Abraham* was the firſt, we read of, whom God reſcued from the general Corruption of Faith and Manners which the World had now, a ſecond Time, relaps'd into; and conſidering withal, that this Perſon and his Poſterity were ſingled out

(p) Revelation Examin'd, Vol. II. Diſſertation 4.

(q) *Saurin*'s Diſſertation 15.

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for a *choſen Generation*, the *Repoſitory* of Truth, and the Receptacle of God *incarnate*; there was Reaſon in Abundance, why this Remembrance ſhould be very grateful to them: And apt enough, 'tis plain, upon all Occaſions, they were to value themſelves, and deſpiſe others, upon the Account of ſo particular an Honour. *(r)* But the Misfortune was, the moſt uſeful Part of the Reflection, *viz.* the eminent Faith and ready Obedience of ſo renown'd an Anceſtor, and the noble Emulation of his Virtues, which ſuch a Pattern ought to have inſpir'd; this they were too apt to overlook, tho' any conſidering Man (as the Apoſtle *(s)* excellently argues) could not but perceive, that the only valuable Relation to *Abraham* is not that of *Conſanguinity*, and natural Deſcent, but the Reſemblance of his Virtues, and claiming under him as the *Father of the Faithful.*

And this ſuggeſts another, and indeed none of the leaſt conſiderable Ends, for which Circumciſion was inſtituted; *viz.* to be a *Sign* of inward Virtue, and to figure out to us ſome particular Diſpoſitions of Mind, which bore Reſemblance to the outward Ceremony, and were requir'd to render it effectual; for which Reaſon it is, that we read ſo much, in the *old* Law *(t)*, of *Circumciſing the Foreſkin of the Heart*, and hear the Apoſtle ſo frequently telling us, in the *new*, *(u) of putting off the Body of the Sins of the Fleſh by the Circumciſion of* Chriſt; *(x) for he is not a Jew, who is one outwardly, neither is that Circumciſion, which is outward in the Fleſh; but he is a Jew, who is one inwardly, and Circumciſion is that of the Heart, in the Spirit and not in the Letter, whoſe Praiſe is not of Men, but of God.*

Abraham's *Conqueſt of the four Kings accounted for*

It may ſeem a little ſtrange at firſt perhaps, that *Abraham*, whoſe Courſe of Life was *retir'd* and *philoſophical*, ſhou'd, all on a ſudden, commence ſo great a Warrior, as to be able to defeat four Kings at once, and their victorious Armies, with a ſmall Number of his *Domeſticks*, and ſome Aſſiſtance, that was given him by his Neighbours. His own Men were *three hundred and eighteen*; and what Force his Confederates, the three *Phœnician* Princes, brought to his Aſſiſtance, we do not find mention'd. We may probably enough ſuppoſe, that they did not exceed his own Domeſticks; but then we are not oblig'd to affirm, that he fell upon the whole Body of the *Aſſyrian* Army with this ſmall Retinue. This certainly wou'd have been too bold an Attempt for the little Company, which he commanded, and therefore the more likely Suppoſition is,—That, coming up with them by Night, he divided his Men into two or three Parties, the better to make a Diverſion, and conceal his Strength; that with *one* Party himſelf might attack the Head Quarters of King *Chedorlaomer*, where the chief Feaſting and Revelling was kept for Joy of their late Victories; that with *another* he might fall upon thoſe, who were appointed to guard the Captives and the Spoil; and with a *third* might be beating up other Quarters; ſo that the *Aſſyrians*, being fatigu'd in their late Battle, ſurpriz'd at finding a new Enemy, and not knowing what their Number or Strength might be, or where their principal Attack was to begin, might endeavour to ſave themſelves by Flight; which *Abraham* perceiving, might take the Advantage of their Fright, and purſue them, until he had made himſelf Maſter of the Priſoners and the Spoil, and then retire himſelf, as not thinking it adviſable to follow them until the Daylight might diſcover the Weakneſs of his Forces. From Gen. xiv—xxv. 11.

All this might well enough be done by a common Stratagem in War, without any miraculous Interpoſition of Providence: But it is much more likely, that the ſame God, *(y)* who, in After-Ages, inſtructed one of his Poſterity, even with ſuch another little Handful of Men, not only to break

(r) Stanhope, on the Epiſtles and Goſpels. *(s)* Rom. iv. 11. *(t)* Deut. x. 16. *(u)* Col. ii. 11. *(x)* Rom. ii. 28, 29. *(y)* Judges, at the viith and viiith Chapters.

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break an Army of about two or three hundred thouſand, but to kill of them, upon the Spot, no fewer, than an hundred and twenty Thouſand; to diſperſe, at leaſt as many more; to vanquiſh, after this, a Party of fifteen Thouſand, that had retir'd in a Body; and, at laſt, to take all the four Kings, who were the Leaders of this *numerous*, or rather *numberleſs* Army *(z)*; 'tis much more likely, I ſay, that the God of *Abraham* wou'd not be wanting to his Servant in his Counſels, and Suggeſtions upon this important Occaſion: And, if a Party of three hundred Men, under the Conduct of a Perſon, every way inferior to *Abraham*, was, by a Stratagem in the Night, and by the Help of a ſudden *Panick*, which God injected, enabled to defeat four mighty Princes, and to make ſuch a prodigious Slaughter in their Camp; I cannot ſee, why a Perſon of that conſummate Wiſdom, and ſo highly favour'd by God with extraordinary Monitions upon all remarkable Emergencies, as *Abraham* was, might not, by God's Advice, make uſe of ſome ſuch Stratagem, as *Gideon* did, tho' the Scripture is herein ſilent, that the Succeſs might be imputed to the Operation of Faith in him, and not to the Agency of ſecond Cauſes, or, what ſome call, the *Chance of War*.

Why Iſaac *ſubmitted to be ſacrificed.*

OF what Age *Iſaac* was, when *Abraham* was order'd to offer him up, is no were declar'd in Scripture. The Opinion of ſome learn'd *Jews*, that he was but twelve Years old, is ridiculous; ſince, at that Age it would have been impoſſible for him to have carry'd ſuch a Load of Wood, as was requiſite upon that Occaſion: And others run into a contrary Extreme, by ſuppoſing, that he was then ſeven and thirty Years of Age, which muſt have been the Year, wherein his Mother died, and yet ſhe is ſaid to have been alive when this tranſaction happen'd. *Joſephus*, indeed, makes him five and twenty, and ſome *Chriſtian* (both antient and modern) Commentators ſuppoſe, that he was paſt thirty; but, whatever his Age might be, 'tis acknowledg'd, that he was capable of making Reſiſtance, and wou'd certainly have done it, had he not been very well ſatisfy'd, that the Command came from God. To this Purpoſe the * *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian introduces *Abraham*, as making a very tender and pathetick Speech to his Son; inſpiring him with a juſt Contempt of Life; and exhorting him to a due Submiſſion to the divine Order and Decree; to all which *Iſaac* attended (ſays our Author) with a Conſtancy and Reſignation, becoming the Son of ſuch a Father: And, upon this their mutual Behaviour, *(a)* a very eloquent Father of the *Greek* Church has made this beautiful Reflection: "All "the Strength of reluctant Love cou'd not "with-hold the Father's Hands, and all "the Horror of a *Diſſolution* cou'd not "tempt the Son to move for his own "Preſervation. Which of the two, *ſhall "we ſay*, deſerves the Precedence in our "Wonder and Veneration? For there "ſeems to be a religious Emulation, or "conteſt between them, which ſhould "moſt

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

(z) Bibliotheca Bib. Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 19.

* The Words, wherein *Joſephus* makes *Abraham* addreſs his Son upon this Occaſion, are theſe: — "My dear "Son, thou haſt been the Child of many Prayers to me, and, ſince thy Coming into the World, I have ſpar'd for "Nothing in thy Nurture and Education. There is not any Happineſs, I have more wiſhed for, than to ſee thee "ſettled in a conſummated State of Age and Reaſon; and, whenever God ſhall take me to himſelf, to leave thee in "Poſſeſſion of my Authority and Dominions. But, ſince it has been the Will of God, firſt to beſtow thee upon me, "and now to call thee back again, my dear Son, acquit thyſelf generouſly under ſo pious a Neceſſity. It is to "God, that thou art dedicated and deliver'd up on this Occaſion, and it is the ſame God that now requires thee of "me in Return for all the Bleſſings and Favours he hath ſhower'd down upon us, both in War and Peace. 'Tis "agreeable to the law of Nature, for every one that is born, to *die*; and a more glorious End thou canſt never "have, than to fall, by the Hand of thy own Father, a Sacrifice to the God and Father of the Univerſe, who "hath rather choſen to receive thy Soul into a bleſſed Eternity, upon the Wings of Prayer, and ardent Ejaculations, "than to ſuffer thee to be taken away by Sickneſs, War, Paſſion, or any other of the common Chances of Mankind. "Conſider it well, and thou wilt find, that in that heavenly Station, to which thou art now call'd, thou mayeſt "make thyſelf the true Support of thy aged Father, and that, inſtead of my Son *Iſaac*, I ſhall have God himſelf "for my Guardian." Antiq. l. 1. c. 14.

(a) Gregor. Nyſſ. de Deitate Fil. & Spirit. Sanct. p. 908.

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" moſt remarkably ſignalize himſelf; the " Father, in loving God more than his " own Child, and the Son, in the Love " of Duty above his own Life."

This is a gallant Inſtance of a profound Submiſſion to the divine Will; and yet (not to detract from the Merit of it) if we conſider the Matter cooly, it was no more, than what many *Martyrs*, even under the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy, equally have perform'd. They have given themſelves up, in Teſtimony of their Love to God, to Deaths as cruel, as terrible, as this, which *Iſaac* was to ſuffer; *(b) They were ſtoned, were ſaw'd aſunder, were tortur'd; and yet they accepted not Deliverance, that they might inherit* a joyful *Reſurrection.*

Various Opinions concerning the Pillar of Salt.

The *Metamorphoſis* of *Lot*'s Wife is one of the moſt wonderful Events in Scripture, and therefore thoſe, who are unwilling, *as they ſay*, to multiply Miracles without a Cauſe, from the different Senſes, which the Words in the Text are capable of, have endeavour'd, to affix another Interpretation to them. Thus the Word, which we render *Pilar*, or *Statue*, beſides its obvious Signification, may, in a *metaphorical* Senſe, be applied to denote any Thing, that, like a Pillar, or Stone, is *immoveable* and *hard*; and, according to this Acceptation, theſe Interpreters ſuppoſe, that *Moſes* might intend no more, than that *Lot*'s Wife was ſtruck dead with Fear, or Surpriſe, or any other Cauſe, and ſo remain'd motionleſs, like a Stone.

In like Manner, *(c)* the Word, which we render *Salt*, beſides its common Signification, does ſometimes denote *a dry and barren Soil*, ſuch as is found about the *Aſphaltic* Lake: And thus the Senſe of the Words, apply'd to *Lot*'s Wife, intimates, that the Place of her Death was in a *barren* Country, or in the *Land of Salt*. At other Times it ſignifies a *long Space*, or *Continuance of Time*, becauſe *(d)* we find an *everlaſting Covenant*, call'd a *Covenant of Salt*, (Salt being therefore an Emblem of *Eternity*, becauſe the Things, that are ſeaſon'd therewith, continue incorrupt for many Years) and in this Senſe *Lot*'s Wife may be ſaid to become an *(e) everlaſting Monument* of the divine Diſpleaſure, without any Conſideration either of the *Form* or *Matter*, whereunto ſhe was chang'd: And from theſe Significations of the Words, they draw this Explication of the Paſſage: —— " That *Lot*'s Wife, " either looking back upon the City, when " ſhe ſaw it all in a Smoak, and Fire from " Heaven pouring down upon it, was " ſtruck dead with the frightful Sight, in " a Country, that was *afterwards* barren " and unfruitful: Or that, not only ſtop- " ping, but returning towards the City " (when the Angel was gone) ſhe was ſuf- " focated by ſome poiſonous Vapour, and " periſh'd in the common Conflagration." And this, *as they ſay*, ſaves a Miracle, and anſwers the End of Providence full as well, as if the Woman had actually been turn'd into a *Pillar of Salt*, which never was, and never will be prov'd by any authentick Teſtimony. From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

All this is plauſible enough; and yet thoſe, who adhere to the *literal* Senſe of the Words, have this to ſay in their Vindication,——That the Vale of *Siddim*, where *Sodom* and the other Cities ſtood, was originally a very fruitful Soil (as moſt bituminous Countries are) which induc'd *Lot* to make Choice of it for the Paſturage of his Cattle, but is, at preſent, the very Reverſe, a poor barren Land, full of Sulphur and Salt-Pits: And hence they infer, that all the ſulphureous and ſaline Matter, which is found in this Tract of Ground now, was the Effect of divine Vengeance, and ſhower'd down upon it, when God deſtroyed *Sodom*, and its neighbouring Cities. They therefore ſuppoſe that, the Woman ſtanding ſtill too long to behold the Deſtruction of her Country, ſome of that dreadful Shower, in the Manner of great *Fleaks* of Snow, fell upon her, and, clinging, to her Body, wrapp'd it all over, as

(b) Heb. xi. 35, 37. *(c)* Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Diſſert. in Locum. *(d)* Numb. xviii. 19. *(e)* Deut. xxix. 23.

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as it were in a Sheet of *nitroſulphureous* Matter, which congeal'd into a Cruſt as hard as a Stone, and made her appear like a Statue or Pillar of † *metallick* Salt, having her Body enclos'd, and, as it were, *candied* all over with it. And, to maintain this their Hypotheſis, they aſſert, That all *indurated* Bodies (as *Chymiſts* well know) are (as they ſpeak) highly *ſaturated* with a *ſaline* Principle, and that all Coagulations and Concretions, in the Mixture of Bodies, are effected by this Means: So that it was not poſſible to expreſs ſuch a Tranſmutation as *Lot*'s Wife underwent, whether it was ſimply by *Incruſtation*, or by total *Penetration*, more properly, than *Moſes* has done. They produce Inſtances from the beſt Hiſtorians of ſeveral *Petrefactions*, both of Men and Cattle (almoſt as wonderful, as this of *Lot*'s Wife) ſtanding in the very ſame Poſture, wherein they were found at the Inſtant of their Tranſmutation, for ſeveral Generations afterwards; and, for the Confirmation of this in particular, they vouch the Teſtimony of the Author of the *Book of Wiſdom*, who makes mention *of a ſtanding Pillar of Salt, as a Monument of an unbelieving Soul*, and the Authority of the LXX Interpreters, who expreſsly render it ſo. Among *Jewiſh* Writers, they cite the Words *(f)* of *Joſephus*, who tells us, that *Lot's Wife, caſting her Eye perpetually back upon the City, and being too much concern'd about it, contrary to what God had forbid her, was turn'd into a Pillar of Salt, which I myſelf*, as he tells us, *have ſeen:* They cite the Words of *Philo*, who frequently takes notice of this *Metamorphoſis*, and, in his *Allegories of the Law*, more particularly, declares, that, *for the Love of* Sodom, *Lot's Wife was turn'd into a Stone:* And, among *Chriſtian* Writers, they produce that Paſſage of *Clemens*, in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*; Lot's *Wife went along with him, but being of a different Spirit, and not perſiſting in Concord with him, ſhe was therefore placed for a Sign, and continues a Statue of Salt to this very Day*; together with the Teſtimony of *Irænеus*, and ſeveral other Fathers of the Church.

From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

THE Accounts, which *modern* Hiſtorians and Travellers give us of this Matter, are ſo very different and uncertain, that we cannot ſo well tell where to fix our Belief. *Bochart*, in his Deſcription of the *Holy-Land*, tells us, that he gave himſelf the Fatigue of a very troubleſome Journey, to behold this Statue, but was not ſo happy as to ſatisfy his Curioſity; for the Inhabitants aſſur'd him the Place was inacceſſible, and cou'd not be viſited without apparent Danger of Death, becauſe of the prodigious Beaſts and Serpents that abounded there, but more eſpecially, becauſe of the *Biduini*, a very ſavage and inhuman Sort of People, that dwelt near it: And yet, if we will believe other Writers of this Kind, they will tell us expreſsly, that there is ſtill ſome Part of it remaining, and to be ſeen, between *Engaddi* and the *Dead-Sea*.

WE will ſuppoſe however for once, that the long Duration of this Monument is an Impoſition of the Inhabitants upon the Credulity of Strangers; yet it will not therefore follow, that there never was any ſuch Thing in being, unleſs we can think it inconſiſtent with the Nature of God to work a Miracle for the Puniſhment of a wicked Woman. Miracles indeed are not to be multiplied, unleſs there be Occaſion for them: But, when the plain Senſe of the Words leads us to ſuch a Conſtruction, 'tis a Niceneſs, I think, no way commendable, to endeavour to find out another, merely for the Sake of avoiding

† Moſt of the Interpreters have obſerv'd to us, that we muſt not take the *Salt* here mention'd, for common Salt, which Water ſoon diſſolves, and cou'd not poſſibly continue long, being expos'd to the Wind and Rain; but for *metallick* Salt, which was hewn out of the Rock, like Marble, and made uſe of in building Houſes, according to the Teſtimony of ſeveral Authors. *Watſius*, Miſcell. Tom. 1. and *Pliny* (l. 31. c. 7.) tell us, that in *Africa*, not far from *Utica*, there are vaſt Heaps of Salt, like Mountains, which, when once harden'd by the Sun and Moon, cannot be diſſolv'd with Rain, or any other Liquor, nor penetrated with any Kind of Inſtrument made with Iron. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 8.

(*f*) Antiq. l. 1. c. 12.

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the Miraculouſneſs of the Fact; as if the Scriptures were more valuable, for containing Nothing but obvious Matters, and the *Majeſty* of God any way magnify'd, by ſeeming to exert as little of its *omnipotent* Power, as poſſible.

The Probability of its Exiſtence.

The ſhort of the Matter is this, —— We have a clear Account, in a Book full of Wonders, of a Woman, confeſſedly guilty of Diſobedience and Ingratitude, ſtruck dead by the Hand of God, and turn'd into a Statue of Salt, for a Monument of Terror to future Generations. And, is there any Thing in this, ſo repugnant to Reaſon, or ſo incongruous for God to do, that we muſt immediately flee to another Interpretation, and, to make the Matter eaſy, reſolutely maintain, that the whole Purport of the Thing is only this, —That the poor Woman either ſuddenly died of a Fright, or indiſcreetly fell into the Fire? God certainly may work a Miracle when he pleaſes, and puniſh any wicked Perſon in what Manner he thinks fit; nor is there any more Wonder in the *Metamorphoſis* of *Lot*'s Wife, than there was in changing the Rod of *Moſes* into a Serpent. The ſame Power might do both; and, ſince the ſame Hiſtory has recorded both, there is the ſame Reaſon for the Credibility of both. Nay, of the two, the Transformation of *Lot*'s Wife ſeems more familiar to our Conceptions, * ſince we want not Inſtances, as I ſaid before, of Perſons ſtruck with Lightning, and kill'd with cold Vapours, that have immediately petrify'd in the ſame Manner.

Why God puniſh'd Lot's *Wife ſo ſeverely.*

Why ſhe was turn'd into a Body of *Salt*, rather than any other Subſtance, is only reſolvable into the good Pleaſure of God. The Conjectures of *Jewiſh* Writers upon this Head, we acknowledge, are trifling; nor are we reſponſible for the *Reveries* of ſuch *Chriſtian* Commentators, as wou'd croud in a Multitude of palpable Abſurdities, merely to make the Miracle more portentous: But, Why God exacted ſo ſevere a Penalty for an Offence ſo ſeemingly ſmall, is not ſo hard to be reſolv'd; becauſe, according to the Light, wherein we are to conſider this Woman, her Diſobedience to the divine Command had in it all the Malignity of an obſtinate and preverſe Mind unthankful to God for his Preſervation of her, and too cloſely attach'd, if not to the wicked Cuſtoms, at leaſt to the Perſons and Things, which ſhe had left behind her in that Sink of Sin and Senſuality. From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

But there is another Obſervation, which we may draw (*g*) from our Saviour's Application of this Story, as well as (*h*) the Angel's Expreſſions to *Lot*, viz. that ſhe loiter'd by the Way, if not return'd to the City; and if ſo, 'tis no Wonder that ſhe ſuffer'd, when ſhe was found within the Compaſs of the *ſulphureous* Streams from Heaven; nor can God be blam'd for his exemplary Puniſhment of her, unleſs we think it reaſonable for his Providence, in this Caſe, to have interpos'd, and wrought a Miracle for *her* Preſervation, who had ſo little deſerv'd it, and had run herſelf voluntarily into the Jaws of Deſtruction.

Heathen *Teſtimonies to the ſame Purpoſe.*

Thus we have endeavoured to vindicate the Character of the Patriarch *Abraham*, and to account for ſeveral Tranſactions and Paſſages in Scripture, which ſeem to give

* *Biſſelius* [in his Argon. Americ. l. 14. c. 2.] has a very remarkable Story to this Purpoſe: He tells us, that *Baditus Amalgrus*, who was the firſt Man that ever march'd an Army over the Mountains between *Peru* and *Chili*, by the Extremity of the Cold, and Unwholſomeneſs of the Air, loſt, in that Expedition, a great many Men. Being oblig'd however, ſome few Months after, to return the ſame Way, what the Hiſtorian tells us upon this Occaſion is very wonderful——Stabant adhuc equites peditesque, qui quinto ante menſe, obriguerunt, immoti, inconſumpti, ſitu, formâ, habitu, quo repentina peſtis quemque alligaverat. Alius pronus, humi ſtratus, alius rectus, non nemo videbatur inſerta manibus fræna quaſſare. Ad ſummam, invenit eos tales, quales reliquerat; odore nullo tetro, colore non ſolito funeribus, ac, niſi quod anima dudum intercidiſſet, cætera ſpirantibus, quam extinctis, ſimiliores. To the like Purpoſe it is related by *Aventinus* (Annot. Bavor. l. 7.) a credible Hiſtorian, that, in his Time, above fifty Country People, with their Cows and Calves, in *Carinthia*, were all deſtroy'd at once by a ſtrong ſuffocating Exhalation, which immediately after an Earthquake (in the Year 1348) aſcended out of the Earth, and reduc'd them to *ſaline Statues*, ſuch as that of *Lot*'s Wife, which, he tells us, were ſeen both by himſelf, and by the Chancellor of *Auſtria*. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 22.

(*g*) Luke xvii. 31, 32. (*h*) Gen. xix. 22.

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give Umbrage to Infidelity, during the Compaſs of his Life. And, for the Confirmation of all this, we might now produce the Teſtimony of *profane* Authors, and make it appear, that *Abraham*'s Fame for a juſt, virtuous, and religious Man, is ſpoken of by *Beroſus* in a Fragment preſerv'd *(i)* by *Joſephus:* That his being born in *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, his Removal into *Canaan*, and afterwards Sojourning in *Egypt*, is related by *Eupolemus*, as he is quoted *(k)* by *Euſebius:* That the Captivity of his Nephew *Lot*, his Victory over the four Kings, and honourable Reception by *Melchiſedeck*, King of the ſacred City of *Argarize*, and Prieſt of God, are recorded by the ſame Author: That his marrying two Wives, one an *Egyptian*, by whom he had a Son, who was the Father of twelve Kings in *Arabia*, and the other a Woman of his own Kindred, by whom he had likewiſe one Son, whoſe Name in *Greek* was Γελὸς, which anſwers exactly to the *Hebrew* Word, *Iſaac*; and that this *Iſaac* he was commanded to ſacrifice, but, when he was going to kill him, was ſtopp'd by an Angel, and offer'd a *Ram* in his Stead; all this is related by *Antipanus*, as he is quoted *(l)* by the ſame *Euſebius:* That the antient Cuſtom of *Circumciſion* is taken notice of *(m)* by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and others: That the Burning of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and the ſtrange Waſte it has made in a once moſt beautiful Country, is deſcrib'd *(n)* by *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, and *Solinus:* That *(o) Iſaac*'s being born to a Father, when old, and to a Mother, incapable of Conception, gave occaſion of the Story of the miraculous Birth of *Orion*, by the Help of the Gods, even when his Father *Hyreus* had no Wife at all: That *Lot*'s kind Reception of the two Angels in *Sodom*, his protecting them from the Inſults of the People, and eſcaping thereupon the Deſtruction that befel them, are all well delineated in the common Fable of *Baucis* and *Philemon:* And (to mention no more) that the Fate of his Wife for her looking back upon *Sodom*, and her being thereupon chang'd into a Statue of *metallick* Salt, gave Riſe to the Poet's Fiction of the Loſs of *Eurydice*, and her Remiſſion into Hell, for her Huſband's turning to look upon her, and of *Niobe*'s being chang'd into a Stone, for reſenting the Death of her Children. So well has infinite Wiſdom provided, that the ſacred Truths of divine Revelation ſhould not only be ſupported by the Atteſtation of all antient Hiſtory, but preſerv'd likewiſe even in the Vanity and Extravagance of Fables; for even *they*, O Lord, *ſhew the Glory of thy Kingdom, and talk of thy Power; that thy Power, thy Glory, and the Mightineſs of thy Kingdom might be known unto Men.*

From Gen. XX.—XXV. 11.

DISSERTATION I.

Of the Deſtruction of Sodom *and* Gomorrah.

OF all God's Judgments upon the Wicked, next to that of the univerſal Deluge, the Deſtruction of *Sodom*, and the neighbouring Cities in the Plain of *Jordan*, ſeems to be one of the moſt remarkable, and the moſt dreadful Interpoſitions of Providence; and may therefore, in this Place, deſerve a particular Conſideration.

The Reality of it.

THAT this *Cataſtrophe* (as *(p)* the Apoſtle calls it) did really happen, according to the Account, which *Moſes* gives us of it, we have the concurring Teſtimony of all Hiſtorians, both *antient* and *modern*, to convince

(i) Antiq. l. 1. c. 8. *(k)* Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 17. *(l)* Ibid. c. 18. *(m)* *Hug. Grot.* de Veritate. *(n)* Ibid. *(o)* *Huet.* Quæſt. Alnetan. l. 2. *(p)* 2 Pet. ii. 6.

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convince us. *(q) Diodorus Siculus*, after having given us a Deſcription of the Lake *Aſphaltites* (which now fills the Place, where theſe Cities once ſtood) acquaints us, that the adjacent Country was *then* on Fire, and ſent forth a grievous Smell, to which he imputes the ſickly and ſhort Lives of the neighbouring Inhabitants. *(r) Strabo*, having made mention of the ſame Lake, purſues his Account, and tells us, that the craggy and burnt Rocks, the Caverns broken in, and the Soil all about it aduſt, and turn'd to Aſhes, give Credit to a Report among the People, that formerly ſeveral Cities ſtood there (whereof *Sodom* was the chief) but that by Earthquakes, and Fire breaking out, there were ſome of them entirely ſwallow'd up, and others forſaken by the Inhabitants, that could make their Eſcape. *(s) Tacitus* deſcribes the Lake much in the ſame Manner with theſe other Hiſtorians, and then adds, that not far from it are the Fields, now barren, which were reported formerly to have been very fruitful, and adorn'd with large Cities, which were burnt by Lightning, and do ſtill retain the Traces of their Deſtruction. *(t) Solinus* is clearly of Opinion, that the Blackneſs of the Soil, and its being turn'd into Duſt and Aſhes, is a ſure Token of its having ſuffer'd by Fire from Heaven; and, if we may believe the Report of *(u)* a late Traveller, according to the Account which he had from the Inhabitants themſelves, ſome of the Ruins of theſe ancient Cities do ſtill appear, whenever the Water is low and ſhallow.

The Number of Cities, that were deſtroyed.

What the Number of theſe Cities were, is a Matter, wherein we can have no abſolute Certainty. *Moſes*, in the Text, makes mention but of two, *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*; but, in another Place, he enumerates *four*, and gives this Deſcription of their dreadful Puniſhment: *(x) When the Generations to come ſhall ſee the Plague of that Land, and the Sickneſſes, which the Lord hath laid upon it, and that the whole Land thereof is Brimſtone, and Salt, and Burning like the Overthrow of* Sodom, *and* Gomorrah, Abnoth, *and* Zeboim, *(which the Lord overthrew in his Anger, and in his Wrath) even all the Nations ſhall ſay, Wherefore hath the Lord done this unto the Land?* Nay, if we will believe *(y)* the Hiſtorian above-cited, and who perhaps might have an Account of the Thing from ſome *Phœnician* Writer, the Number of the Cities, which, at this Time, were deſtroy'd, were *thirteen*; and to this there is a Paſſage in the *Prophet*, which ſeems to give ſome Countenance, tho' not as to the preciſe Number of them: *(z) As I live*, ſaith the Lord God to *Jeruſalem*, Sodom, *thy Siſter, has not done, ſhe nor her Daughters* (i. e. the Cities, which were built round it, and were tributary to it) *have not done, as thou and thy Daughters have done.* But, whatever the Number of the Cities might be, it will be proper for us, before we come to enquire in what Manner they were deſtroy'd, to give ſome Account of their Situation.

From Gen. xx. xxv. 11.

Their Situation.

(a) The Plain of *Jordan* includes the greateſt Part of the flat Country, thro' which the River *Jordan* runs, from its coming out of the Sea of *Galilee*, to its falling into the *Aſphaltite Lake*, or *Salt-Sea*. But we are not to imagine, that this Plain was once a continu'd Level, without any Riſings or Deſcents: The greateſt Part of it indeed was Champion-Country, (and for this Reaſon was commonly called Μεγαπέδιον, or *the great Field)* but therein we read *(b)* of the *Valley of* Jericho, and *(c) of the Vale of* Siddim; in the latter of which theſe Cities ſtood, in a Situation ſo very advantageous, that we find it compared *(d)* to the Land of *Egypt*, nay even to the Garden of *Paradiſe*, upon account of its being ſo well water'd. And well it might, ſeeing it had (as the *Lacus Aſphaltites* has to this Day) not only the Streams of the River *Jordan* running quite thro' it, but *(e)* the River *Arnon* from the *Eaſt*, *(f)* the

(q) Lib. 19. *(r)* Lib. 10. *(s)* Lib. 5. *(t)* Chap. xxxv. *(u) Maundrell's* Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jeruſalem*. *(x)* Deut. xxix. 22, 23, 24. *(y) Strabo*, l. 16. *(z)* Ezek. xvi. 48. *(a) Wells's* Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I. *(b)* Deut. xxxiv. 3. *(c)* Gen. xiv. 3. *(d)* Chap. xiii. 10. Vide Page 218, in the Notes. *(e) Joſephus's* Antiq. l. 4. c. 4.

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(f) the Brook *Zered*, and the *(g)* famous Fountain *Callirrhoë*, from the *South*, falling into it. Now, ſince all this Water had no direct Paſſage into the Sea, it muſt neceſſarily follow, either that it was convey'd away by ſome *ſubterraneous* Paſſage, or was ſwallow'd up in the Sands, that every where encompaſſed it; which might the more eaſily be done, becauſe the Inhabitants of thoſe hot Countries us'd to divide their Rivers into ſeveral ſmall Branches, for the Benefit of watering their Fields.

The Wickedneſs of their Inhabitants.

AND as this Plenty of Water gave great Riches to the Soil, and Fertility to the Country, ſo Wealth and Abundance of all Things (as Mankind are too apt to abuſe God's Gifts) made *Sodom*, and the neighbouring Cities very infamous for their Wickedneſs and Impiety. The Prophet *Ezekiel* gives us a Deſcription of them: *(h) Behold this was the Iniquity of thy Siſter* Sodom; *Pride, Fullneſs of Bread, and Abundance of Idleneſs was in her, and in her Daughters, neither did ſhe ſtrengthen the Hand of the Poor and Needy, but was haughty, and committed Abomination before me*; which *(i) Joſephus* might have in his Eye, when he gave us this Account of them. "The *Sodo-*
"*mites, ſays he*, waxed proud, and, by
"Reaſon of their Riches and Wealth,
"grew contumelious towards Men, and
"impious towards God; ſo that they were
"wholly unmindful of the Favours, they
"receiv'd from him. They were inhoſpi-
"table to Strangers, and too proud and
"arrogant to be rebuk'd. They burnt in
"unnatural Luſts towards one another,
"and took Pleaſure in none, but ſuch *as*
"*ran to the ſame Exceſs of Riot with them-*
"*ſelves.*" From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

The Manner, *wherein they were deſtroy'd.*

THESE, and other abominable Enormities, provok'd the divine Ruler of the World to deſtroy their Cities, whoſe *Cry* was now grown great for Vengeance; and the Manner, wherein it was effected, *Moſes* has recorded in theſe Words: *(k) Then the Lord rained upon* Sodom *and upon* Gomorrah *Brimſtone and Fire from the Lord out of Heaven, and he overthrew the Cities, and all the Plain, and all the Inhabitants of the Cities, and that which grew upon the Ground*; and for the better underſtanding of this, we muſt obſerve, 1ſt, *(l)* That, in the *Vale of Siddim*, (the Tract of Ground, which was now deſtroy'd) there were a great many Pits of *Bitumen*, which, being a very combuſtible Matter, *(m)* is, in ſome Places, *liquid*, in others *ſolid*; and not only found near the ſurface of the Earth, but lies ſometimes very deep, and is dug from the very Bowels of it. 2dly, we muſt obſerve, that the *Brimſtone and Fire*, which the Lord is ſaid to *rain upon* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, means *Brimſtone inflam'd*; that, in the *Hebrew* Stile, *Brimſtone inflam'd* ſignifies *Lightning*; and that the Reaſon, why Lightning is thus deſcrib'd, no one can be ignorant of, that has either ſmelt the Places, which have been ſtruck with thunder, or * read what learned Men have wrote upon the Subject: 3dly, We muſt obſerve further, that God is not only ſaid to have *rained down Brimſtone and Fire*, but Brimſtone and Fire FROM THE LORD; where the Addition of *from the Lord*, which, at firſt Sight, may appear to be ſuperfluous, or to denote a Plurality of Perſons in the

(f) Numb. xxi. 12. *(g) Pliny*, l. 5. c. 16. *(h)* Chap. xvi. 49, 50. *(i)* Antiq. lib. 1. c. 12.
(k) Gen. xix. 24, 25. *(l) Le Clerc*'s Commentary. *(m) Pliny*'s Natural Hiſtory, l. 25. c. 15.

* Thus Thunder and Lightning, ſays *Pliny* (Lib. 35. c. 15.) have the Smell of *Brimſtone*, and the very Light and Flame of them is ſulphureous: And *Seneca* (Queſt. Nat. l. 2. c. 21.) tells us, that all Things, which are ſtruck by Lightning, have a *ſulphureous* Smell; as indeed our natural Philoſophers have plainly demonſtrated, that, what we call the Thunder-bolt, is nothing elſe but a *ſulphureous Exhalation*. *Perſius*, in his ſecond *Satire*, calls it *Sulphur ſacrum*.

Ignoviſſe putas, quia cum tonat, ocyus Ilex
Sulphure diſcutitur *ſacro*, quam tuque Domuſque.

And for this Reaſon the *Greeks*, in their Language, call Brimſtone θεῖον, i. e. *divine*, becauſe the Thunder-bolt, which it aſſimulates, is ſuppos'd to *come from God*. *Le Clerc*'s Diſſertation.

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Deity (as moſt *Chriſtian* Interpreters would have it) does more particularly deſcribe the *Thunder-bolt*, * which, by the *Hebrews*, as well as other Nations, is frequently call'd the *Fire of God*, the *Fire from God*, &c. and the Reaſon is,——Becauſe, Men having no Power over this Kind of *Meteor*, and it being impoſſible for them, by any Kind of Contrivance, to aſcend up to the Clouds, God is therefore ſuppos'd to dwell there, and to caſt down his Bolts from thence.

Now, from theſe Obſervations put together, we may, in ſome meaſure, form a Notion to ourſelves, how this Deſtruction came to be effected. For, tho' *Moſes* does not inform us, after what Manner the Lightning and Thunder-bolts from above ſubverted theſe Cities, and their adjacent Territories; yet, ſince he plainly makes mention of them, we cannot comprehend how it could happen any otherwiſe, than that the Lightning and Thunder-bolts, falling, in great Abundance, upon ſome Pits of *Bitumen*, * the Veins of that combuſtible Matter took Fire immediately, and as the Fire penetrated into the lowermoſt Bowels of the bituminous Soil, theſe wicked Cities were ſubverted by a dreadful Earthquake, which was follow'd with a ſubſiding of the Ground; and that, * as ſoon as the Earth was ſunk, it would unavoidably fall out, that the Waters, running to this Place in ſo great an Abundance, and mixing with the *Bitumen*, which they found in great Plenty, would make a Lake of what was a Valley before, and a Lake of the ſame Quality, with what † the Scripture calls the *Salt-Sea*.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

A Deſcription of the Lacus Aſphaltites.

This Lake, according to the Account we have of it, is encloſed, to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, with exceeding high Mountains; on the *North* it is bounded by the Plain of *Jericho*, on which Side it receives the Waters of *Jordan*; on the *South* it is open, and extends beyond the Reach of the Eye, being twenty-four Leagues long, and ſix or ſeven broad. Its Water is extremely deep and heavy; ſo heavy, that a Man cannot, without Difficulty, ſink in it; but of ſo nauſeous a Taſte, and noiſome Smell, that neither Fiſh, nor Fowl accuſtom'd to the Water, can live in it. It is full of *Bitumen*, which, at uncertain Seaſons, boils up from the Bottom in Bubbles, at

* Thus, in the ſecond Book of *Kings*, the Fire of God *came down from Heaven, and devoured them*, Ch. i. 12. And *Iſaiah* uſes the ſame Expreſſion, Ch. lxvi. 16. *He ſhall be puniſhed with* the Fire of the Lord; to which the Paſſage in the *Latin* Poet exactly agrees:

Illicet *igne Jovis*, lapſiſque citatior aſtris,
Triſtibus exiluit Rapis.——————*Stat.* Theb. l. 1.

Some however have remark'd it, as a peculiar Elegancy in the *Hebrew* Tongue, that it very often makes uſe of the *Antecedent* inſtead of the *Relative*, or the *Noun* inſtead of the *Pronoun*, eſpecially when it means to expreſs a Thing with great Vehemence, or to denote any Action to be ſupernatural or miraculous. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 8.

* In *Lycia*, the *Hephæſtian* Mountains, ſays *Pliny*, (l. 2. c. 106.) if you do but touch them with a lighted Torch, immediately take Fire; nay the very Stones in the Rivers, and Sands in the Waters, burn. If you take a Stick out of theſe Waters, and draw Furrows upon the Ground with it (according to the common Report) a Tract of Fire follows it. *Le Clerc*'s Diſſertation.

* *Strabo* in his firſt, and *Pliny* in his ſecond Book, will furniſh us with ſeveral Examples of this Kind. *Strabo*, out of *Poſidonius*, tells us (p. 40.) that in *Phœnicia*, a certain City, ſituate above *Sidon*, was abſorb'd by an Earthquake; and out of *Demetrius Scepſius*, that ſeveral Earthquakes have happen'd in *Aſia Minor*, by which whole Towns have been devoured, the Mountain *Siphylis* overthrown, and the Marſhes turned into ſtanding Lakes: And *Pliny* (l. 2. c. 88.) teſtifies, that by a Fire, which ſuddenly broke out of it, the Mountain *Epopos* was levelled to the Ground, and a Town buried in the Deep; for the Arch, that ſupported the Ground, breaking in, and the Matter underneath being wholly conſum'd, the Soil above muſt, of Neceſſity, ſink, and be ſwallow'd up in theſe Caverns, if they were of any large Extent. *Le Clerc*'s Diſſertations.

† It is called the *Salt-Sea*, not only becauſe its Waters are ſalt to a great Degree, but to diſtinguiſh it likewiſe from two other Lakes, the Lake of *Samachon*, and the Lake of *Genneſareth* (through which the River *Jordan* runs) which are freſh Water. It obtain'd in Time the Name of the *Dead-Sea*, not only becauſe its Waters are immoveable, and more like a Sea of liquid Pitch, than of Water; but becauſe no living Creature can abide in it; nor any Plant, or Tree grow near it, by reaſon of thoſe bituminous Effluviums, which it ſends forth; and, from the Abundance of this Matter, it moſt frequently occurs in heathen Writers under the Title of *Lacus Aſphaltites*. *Heylin*'s Coſmography.

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at which Time the Superficies of the Lake ſwells, and reſembles the Riſing of an Hill. Adjoining to the Lake are Fields, which formerly (as we ſhewed from *Tacitus*) were fruitful, but are now ſo parch'd, and burnt up, that they have loſt their Fertility, inſomuch that every Thing, whether it grows ſpontaneouſly, or be planted by Man, whether it be Herb, Fruit, or Flower, * as ſoon as it is compreſs'd, moulders away immediately into Duſt; and to this *(n)* the Author of the Book of *Wiſdom* ſeems to allude, when he tells us, that, *of the Wickedneſs of thoſe Cities, the waſte Land, that ſmoketh* to this Day, *is a Teſtimony, and the Plants bearing Fruit, that never come to Ripeneſs.*

"THE Cinders, Brimſtone, and Smoke, "*(o) ſays* Philo, and a certain obſcure "Flame, as it were, of a Fire burning, "ſtill perceivable in ſome Parts of the "Country, are Memorials of the perpe-"tual Evil, which happen'd to it;" and, "as *(p) Joſephus* adds, the Things that "are ſaid of *Sodom*, are confirm'd by ocu-"lar Inſpection, there being ſome Relicts "of the Fire, which came down from "Heaven, and ſome Reſemblance of the "five Cities, ſtill to be ſeen:" And 'tis the Duration of theſe Monuments of divine Wrath perhaps, which gave Occaſion to St *Jude* to ſay, that the wicked Inhabitants of theſe Cities were *ſet forth for an Example, ſuffering the Vengeance of eternal Fire*, i. e. of a Fire, whoſe Marks were to be perpetuated unto the End of the World: † For it is a common Thing in Scripture, to expreſs a great and irreparable Vaſtation, whoſe Effects and Signs ſhall be permanent to the lateſt Ages, by the Word αἰώνιος, which we here render *eternal.* From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

THUS, in all Probability, were the Cities of the Plain of *Jordan* overthrown: Nor is there any Doubt to be made, but that the miraculous Hand of God was employed in ſending down this heavy Judgment. For, *(q)* tho' in a Soil, impregnated with Bitumen, the Cities, which are built thereon, may be ſhaken with an *Earthquake*, and ſwallow'd up by a ſudden *Hiatus*; tho' Thunderbolts may fall, and ſet the Veins of Sulphur and Bitumen on Fire, which, afterwards breaking out, and mingling with the Water, may, in a low Valley, eaſily cauſe a Lake full of *Aſphaltus*: Tho' theſe Things, I ſay, in Proceſs of Time, might have come to paſs in an ordinary courſe of Nature; yet, if they were done, before their *natural Cauſes* were in a Diſpoſition to produce them; if they would not have been done *that Inſtant*, unleſs it had been for ſome extraordinary Interpoſition of God, or his bleſſed Angels; it ought to be reputed no leſs a *Miracle*, than if every Particular in the Tranſaction had plainly ſurpaſſed the uſual Operations of Nature. And, that the Judgment now before us, happened in this Manner, *(r)* the two Angels, diſpatch'd by Almighty God upon this important Occaſion, *(s)* God's foretelling *Abraham* his Deſign, the Angels acquainting *Lot* with the Errand, about which they came, and their urging and *How far it was miraculous.*

* Whether there be any Truth in this Part of the Account of *Tacitus*, 'tis hard to tell. As for the Apples of *Sodom* (to which he ſeems to allude) Mr *Maundrell* tells us, that he never ſaw, nor heard of any thereabouts, nor was there any Tree to be ſeen near the Lake, from which one might expect ſuch Kind of Fruit; and therefore he ſuppoſes the *Being*, as well as the *Beauty*, of that Fruit a meer Fiction, and only kept up, becauſe it ſerv'd for a good *Alluſion*, and now and then helped Poets to put Similitude. Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jeruſalem.*

(n) Chap. x. 7. *(o)* In Vitâ *Moſis*, l. 2. *(p)* De Bello Jud. l. 5. c. 27.

† Thus God threatens to make the People of *Iſrael* ἐρημίαν αἰώνιον, a *perpetual Deſolation*, Ezek. xxxv. 9. σύριγμα αἰώνιον, *a perpetual Hiſſing*, Jer. xviii. 16. and ὀνειδισμὸν αἰώνιον, *an everlaſting Reproach*, Jer. xxiii. 40. and this more eſpecially is threaten'd, where the Deſtruction of a City or Nation is compar'd to the Overthrow of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*; οὐ κατοικηθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον, *it ſhall never be inhabited*, Iſa. xiii. 20. Whether *Sodom* really underwent this Fate, or ſome Time after was rebuilt, is a Queſtion, that has exerciſed the Learned. 'Tis certain, that in the *Notitia* expreſs Mention is made of *Sodom*, as an *epiſcopal* City; and, among the Biſhops of *Arabia*, there is found one *Severus*, a Biſhop of *Sodom*, who ſubſcribed to the firſt Council of *Nice*: Mr. *Reland* however cannot perſuade himſelf, that this impious Place was ever rebuilt; and therefore he believes that the Word *Sodom*, which is read among the *Subſcriptions* of that *Council*, muſt be a Fault of the Copiers. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, on the Word *Sodom.*

(q) Le Clerc's Commentary in Locum. *(r)* Gen. xviii. 22. *(s)* Ver. 17.

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1896, &c.

and inſtigating to him to be gone, *(t)* to make haſte, and *eſcape to* Zoar, *becauſe they could do nothing, until he was come thither*, are Arguments ſufficiently convincing, that the Thunder and Lightning, or (as *(u)* others will have it) the Showers of liquid Fire, or rather *(x)* Storms of Nitre and Sulphur mingled with Fire, which fell upon theſe wicked Places, were immediately ſent down by the Appointment of God, and by the Miniſtry of his Angels, who, knowing all the *Meteors* of the Air, and their repugnant Qualities, did collect, commix, and employ them, as they thought fit, in the Execution of God's juſt Judgment upon a People devoted to Deſtruction.

A moral Reflection from the whole.

Thus we have conſider'd the Manner of the Deſtruction of the Cities of the Plain, how far natural Cauſes might be concern'd, and wherein the miraculous Hand of God did intervene. Whether a *Deluge* or a *Conflagration* be the more formidable Judgment of the two, we cannot tell; our Imaginations will hardly reach the Dreadfulneſs of either; and to enter into the Compariſon, is a Taſk too ſhocking. As the Hiſtory however of thoſe, who ſuffer'd theſe Puniſhments, is recorded in Scripture *for our Admonition, (y) that we ſhould not luſt after evil Things even as they luſted*; ſo the Apoſtle has ſet both their Examples before us, and laid it down for a ſure Propoſition,——That, *(z) if God ſpared not the old World, but brought in a Flood upon the Ungodly*, and if *he, turning the Cities of* Sodom *and* Gomorrah *into Aſhes, condemn'd them with an Overthrow*, or (according to *(a)* St *Jude)* condemn'd them to the *Vengeance of eternal Fire*; we need not doubt, but that, as he is in all Ages the ſame, a God of Juſtice, as well as Mercy, no Iniquity can ultimately eſcape. For, though upon every Occaſion, he does not lay bare his vindictive Arm; tho' *(b) he is ſtrong and patient*, ſo that he ſeldom *whetteth* his *Sword*, and *prepareth the Inſtruments of Death*; yet a few of theſe remarkable, theſe monumental Inſtances of his Severity againſt Sin, are enough to convince us, that *he hath reſerved the Unjuſt* (however they may eſcape now) *unto the Day of Judgment to be puniſh'd.*

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

(t) Gen. xix. 22. *(u)* *Howell's* Hiſtory. *(x)* *Patrick's* Commentary. *(y)* 1 Cor. x. 6.
(z) 2 Pet. ii. 5. *(a)* Ver. 7. *(b)* Pſal. vii. 12, &c.

A. M. 2148, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1856, &c.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

CHAP. II.

Of the Life of Iſaac, *from his Marriage to his Death.*

The HISTORY.

The Birth of Eſau and Jacob.

ISAAC was forty Years old, * when he married *Rebekah*, the Daughter of *Bethuel*; but his Mother *Sarah*'s Misfortune attended his Wife, *viz.* that ſhe was without Iſſue for almoſt twenty Years together, till God at laſt was pleaſed to hear † his earneſt Prayers, and grant him the Bleſſing, he ſo much long'd for. *Rebekah* however had not many Months conceived before the Struggles of the two Children (for ſhe had *Twins)* in her Womb gave her ſuch Pain and Uneaſineſs that ſhe began in a Manner, to wiſh herſelf not with Child again, and, when ſhe went † to conſult the Divine Oracle, what the meaning of this uncommon Conflict might be, ſhe had it return'd for Anſwer, that the two Children, which ſhe then bore, were to be the Heads of two different Nations, ſhould long conteſt it for Superiority, but that, at length, the *Younger* ſhould get the Dominion over the *Elder*.

WHEN

* How old *Rebekah* was, when ſhe was married to *Iſaac*, the Scripture does no where inform us; but the Conjectures of moſt of the *Jewiſh* Commentators make her to be extremely Young. The oldeſt, that they will allow her to be, is not above 14, which was a Thing hardly cuſtomary in thoſe Days: And yet, conſidering her abſolute Management of all Affairs, even when *Iſaac* was alive, we cannot but ſuppoſe, that, altho' ſhe liv'd not ſo long, ſhe was a conſiderable deal younger than he. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 11.

† The Word in the Original ſignifies to *pray with Conſtancy, Vehemence, and Importunity:* And the *Jews* hereupon have a traditional Explication, which is preſerv'd in *Jonathan*'s *Targum*, viz. that he carried his Wife to the Place of the Altar, upon Mount *Moriah*, where he himſelf was once bound to be ſacrific'd, and there made a moſt ſolemn Invocation, by the Faith of his Father *Abraham*, and by the Oath of God, that ſhe, tho' barren by Nature, might conceive by Virtue of the *Covenant*, and ſupernatural Bleſſing; and accordingly he prevail'd with God to grant him his Requeſt. What we render *for his Wife*, may likewiſe ſignify *in the Preſence of his Wife*; and ſo the Import of the Words will be, that, beſides their more private Devotions, they did oftentimes, in a more ſolemn Manner, and with united Force, pray for the Mercy wherein they were equally concern'd; nor cou'd there be any Preſumption in their thus petitioning, what, at preſent, was denied them, becauſe they knew very well, that God's Purpoſe and Promiſe did not exclude, but rather require, the Uſe of all convenient Means, for their Accompliſhment. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in Locum.

† The moſt early, and common Method of *Enquiring of the Lord*, was, by going to ſome one of his Prophet's, and conſulting him; but then the Queſtion is, who the Prophet was, whom *Rebekah*, upon this Occaſion, conſulted? Some of the *Jewiſh* Doctors are of Opinion, that ſhe went to the *School*, or Oratory of *Shem*, (whom they ſuppoſe then alive) or to ſome other Perſon, conſtituted by him, and call'd of God to that Miniſtration. Some *Chriſtian* Commentators imagine, it was *Melchiſedeck, the Prieſt of the moſt high God*, whom ſhe conſulted; but if it were any Prieſt, or Prophet, that then ſhe applied to, her Father-in-law *Abraham*, who was certainly then alive, and is expreſsly call'd a Prophet, *Gen.* xx. 7. ſeems to have been the moſt proper Perſon, not only becauſe he was highly intereſted in her Concerns, but had likewiſe the *Shechinah*, or divine Appearance (as moſt imagine) continually reſident with him. But, as there was another Manner, beſides that of anſwering by Prophets, cuſtomary in thoſe Days, *viz.* by *Dreams* and *Viſions*, their Opinion ſeems to be moſt probable, who ſuppoſe, that *Rebekah* retir'd into ſome ſecret Place, and there, having poured out her Soul before God in ardent Prayers, receiv'd an Anſwer, not long after, either in a Dream, or Viſion, by a Voice from Heaven, or by the Information of an Angel, ſent for that Purpoſe. Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in Locum, and *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriarch. Vol. II. Exercit. 11.

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When the appointed Time for their Birth was come, the Child, which *Rebekah* was firſt deliver'd of, was all cover'd over with red Hair, for which Reaſon his Parents † call'd him *Eſau*; and the other came after him ſo very cloſe, that he took hold of his Heel with his Hand, and was therefore called *Jacob*, to denote (what he afterwards prov'd) the *Supplanter* of his Brother; and as they advanced in Years, their Tempers and Occupations were quite different. *Eſau* was a ſtrong and active Perſon, who delighted much in Hunting, and thereby ſupplying his Father with Veniſon very frequently, won his particular Affection; while *Jacob*, who was of a more gentle and courteous Diſpoſition, by ſtaying at home in the Tent, and employing himſelf in Family-offices, became his mother's Darling.

Jacob's *Purchaſe of his Brother's Birth-Right.*

One Day, when *Jacob* had made him ſome Lentil-pottage, *Eſau*, returning from his Sport, quite ſpent with Hunger and Fatigue, was ſo taken with the Looks of it, that he earneſtly deſir'd his Brother † to let him eat with him: But his Brother, it ſeems, being well inſtructed by his Mother, refus'd to do it, unleſs he would make him an immediate Dedition of his *Birth-right*. *Eſau*, conſidering to what a Multitude of Dangers his Manner of Life, in encountring wild Beaſts, did daily expoſe him, made no great Eſteem of what *Jacob* requir'd; and *Jacob*, perceiving his Diſpoſition to comply, (that he might have the *Right* more firmly convey'd to him) † propos'd his doing it by way of *Oath*, which the other never ſcrupled, and, after the Bargain was made, fell to eating very greedily, never once reflecting on what a vile and ſcandalous Thing it needs muſt be, to ſell his Birth-right, and † all the great Privileges thereunto belonging for a *Meſs of Pottage*. From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

In *Abraham's* Time the Famine was ſo ſevere in *Canaan*, that he was forced to remove into *Egypt*; and, upon the ſame Account, his Son *Iſaac* had now left his Habitation, near the Well *Lahairoi*, and was come as far as *Gerar*, † where *Abimelech*, at this Time, was King, in order to proceed in his Journey; but, while he was deliberating what to do, God admoniſh'd him in a Dream, not to go down into *Egypt*, but to tarry in the Country, where he then was; and, at the ſame Time, aſſur'd him, that he would not only ſecure him from the Danger of the Famine, but, in Performance of the Oath, which he had ſworn to his Father *Abraham*, his faithful and

† The Meaning of the Word *Eſau* is ſomewhat obſcure, unleſs we derive it from *Haſſah*, to *make*, or *be perfect*; becauſe he was of a ſtronger Conſtitution, than ordinary Infants, as having Hair all over him, which is an Indication of Manhood, whereas other Children are born with Hair only on their Heads: And, as for *Jacob*, it is deriv'd from an *Hebrew* Word, which ſignifieth to *ſupplant*, and, by the Addition of the Letter *Jod*, one of the Formatives of Nouns, it denotes a *Supplanter*, or one, that *taketh hold of*, and *trippeth up* his Brother's Heels. *Pool*'s Annotations, and Univerſal Hiſtory, c. 7.

† *Lentils* were a Kind of Pulſe, ſomewhat like our Vetches, or coarſer Sort of Peaſe. St *Auſtin*, upon *Pſalm* lxvi. ſays, that theſe were *Egyptian* Lentils, which were in great Eſteem, and very probably gave the Pottage a red Tincture.

† Some imagine, that *Eſau* did not know what this Lentil-ſoop was, and therefore he only call'd it by its Colour, *give me of that red, that ſame red*; as it is in the *Hebrew*, for which Reaſon he was likewiſe call'd *Edom*, which ſignifies *red*: But there is no Occaſion to ſuppoſe, that he was ignorant of what Lentils were, only his repeating the Word *red*, without adding the Name of a Thing, denoted his great Hunger, and *Eagerneſs* of Appetite, which was probably ſtill more irritated by the *Colour* of the Soop. *Biblioth. Bib.*

† The Birth-right, or Right of Primogeniture, had many Privileges annex'd to it. The Firſt-born was conſecrated to the Lord, *Exod.* xxii. 29. had a double Portion of the Eſtate allotted him, *Deut.* xxi. 17. had a Dignity and Authority over his Brethren, *Gen.* xlix. 3. ſucceeded in the Government of the Family, or Kingdom, 2 *Chron.* xxi. 3. and (as ſome, with good Reaſon, imagine) ſucceeded to the Prieſthood, or chief Government in Matters Eccleſiaſtical. He had a Right to challenge the particular Bleſſing of his dying Parent: He had the Covenant, which God made with *Abraham*, that from his Loins *Chriſt* ſhould come, conſign'd to him: And (what is more) theſe Prerogatives were not confin'd to his Perſon only, but deſcended to his lateſt Poſterity, in Caſe they comported *themſelves* ſo, as to deſerve them. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† It is not unlikely, that this *Abimelech* might be the Son of that *Abimelech*, King of *Gerar*, with whom *Abraham* had formerly made a Covenant, ſuppoſing *Abimelech* to be here the proper Name of a Man: But it is much more probable, that, at this Time, it was a common Name for the Kings of the *Philiſtines*, as *Cæſar* was for the *Roman* Emperors, and *Pharaoh* for the Kings of *Egypt*.

ESAU Sells his Birthright.



Pl.32 *Then* **Jacob** *gave* **Esau** *bread & pottage of lentiles: and he did eat and drink, and rose up, and went his way: thus* **Esau** *despised his Birthright.* Gen. XXV. V. 34 page 274

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and obedient Servant, would cauſe his Family (to which he would give the whole Land of *Canaan* in Poſſeſſion, and from which the *Meſſias, the Deſire of all Nations*, ſhould deſcend) to multiply exceedingly.

Iſaac's Denial of his Wife.

ISAAC, according to the Divine Direction, went no farther than *Gerar*; and here it was, that he fell into the ſame Weakneſs, that his Father had formerly done in the ſame Place, *viz.* his making his Wife paſs for his Siſter, for fear that ſome wicked Man or other might be tempted to deſtroy him, in order to enjoy her. But ſo it was, that the King, from his Window, obſerving ſome *Familiarities* paſs between them, that did not ſo well comport with the Character of a Brother, ſent for him immediately, and complain'd of his Diſſimulation; charg'd him with being married, and (not unmindful, very probably, of what had befallen the Nation upon the Account of *Sarah*) with a Deſign of entailing *Guilt*, and therewith a Judgment of God upon his Subjects, in caſe any Attempt had been made upon her Virtue. Fear of Death, and the Deſire of Self-preſervation, were the only Apology, that *Iſaac* made for his Conduct; which *Abimelech* was pleas'd to accept, and, accordingly, iſſued out an Edict, that none, upon Pain of Death, ſhould dare to offer any Injury, either to *Iſaac*, or his Wife.

His leaving Gerar.

THE great Acceſſion of Wealth however, wherewith God had bleſſed him, during his Stay in *Gerar*, raiſed the Envy and Indignation of the *Philiſtines*. That very Year, wherein he thought of going down into *Egypt* for fear of the Famine, he ſowed a Piece of Ground, and, to the great Surprize of his Neighbours, receiv'd † an hundred-fold Produce from it; ſo that *Abimelech*'s Subjects began all to malign him, and (to oblige him to depart the Country) filled up the Wells, which his Father's Servants had digged. Nay, the very King himſelf, to ſatisfy the Reſentment of his People, deſired of him to leave the City of *Gerar*, and to find him out another Habitation; for that, in his Opinion, ‡ he had improv'd his Fortune ſufficiently, while he had been among them; So that, to ſecure himſelf, as well as make the King eaſy, he retired into the Valley of *Gerar*, where his Father had formerly fed his Cattle, and there began to open the Wells, (which his Father had cauſed to be dug, but the *Philiſtines* had filled up) and called them by their antient Names. But the People of the Country, thinking him too well ſituated there, quarrell'd with his Shepherds, took away their Wells, and put him to many Inconveniencies; ſo that, being quite tir'd with their repeated Inſults, he remov'd farther from them, and went, and liv'd in the moſt diſtant Parts of their Country.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

HERE it was that he dug another Well: And, meeting with no Oppoſition, called it *Rehoboth*, i. e. *Room*, or *Enlargement*, becauſe God had now delivered him from the

† This hundred-fold Increaſe in one Year was given by God unto *Iſaac* for a Sign of his Purpoſe to fulfil the Covenant made with his Father, and lately renewed to him; particularly for the Confirmation of the Truth and Reaſon of the Warning againſt his going down into *Egypt*, as he was inclin'd, according to the natural Proſpect of Things. Such an Increaſe was, at this Time, a ſingular Bleſſing of God, after there had been a conſiderable Dearth, and the Soil perhaps, that afforded ſo large a Crop, not ſo rich; otherwiſe, we may learn from *Varro* [*de Re Ruſtica*, l. 1. c. 44.] that in *Syria*, near *Gadera*, and in *Africa*, about *Bizantium*, they reaped *an hundred Buſhels from one*; nay *Bochart* [in *Canaan*, l. 1. c. 25.] ſhews, from ſeveral good Authors, that ſome Places in *Africa* are ſo very fruitful, that they produce *two or three Hundred fold*, which makes this Account of *Moſes* far from being incredible. *Bibliotheca Bib.* and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‡ The Words of *Abimelech*, according to our Tranſlation, are theſe, *Thou art much mightier than we*; but certainly he could not mean that *Iſaac* was more powerful, than the whole People of *Paleſtine*, or that he had a larger Family, or more numerous Attendance, than himſelf had, and conſequently was in a Condition, if he had been ſo minded, to diſturb the Government. This we can by no Means conceive to be poſſible; and therefore the Words in the Original [*cignatzampta mimennu*] do not mean, *becauſe thou art mightier than we*, but becauſe *thou art increaſed, and multiplied from us, or by us*, i. e. thou haſt got a great deal by us; while thou haſt continu'd amongſt us, thou haſt made a great Acceſſion to thy Subſtance, and we do not care to let thee get any more; ſo that the *Philiſtines* did not *fear* him, but *envy* him, they grudged that he ſhou'd get ſo much among them, and therefore deſired him to abſent their Country. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 8.

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the Straits and Difficulties, he had lately been in, by Reaſon of a Scarceneſs of Water, and not long after ſettled his conſtant Abode at *Beerſheba*; where he had no ſooner arriv'd, but, that very Night, God appear'd to him in a Viſion, promiſing him his Favour and Protection, and that he would bleſs him, and multiply his Seed, for his Servant *Abraham*'s Sake: So that *Iſaac*, intending to continue here, built him an Altar, and Place of religious Worſhip, and cleared out the Well, † which his Father had formerly dug.

His Treaty with Abimelech.

Nor had he been long here, before *Abimelech*, conſcious of the peculiar Manner, wherein God had bleſſed him, ſenſible of the ill Uſage, he had received from his Subjects, and apprehenſive perhaps, that, in Time, he might think of revenging the Injuries he had ſuffer'd, came, (attended with † the chief of his Nobility, and with the Captain-General of his Forces) either to renew the old League, which had formerly been made with his Father *Abraham*, or to enter into a new one.

'Twas but proper that *Iſaac*, upon this Occaſion, ſhou'd, in ſome meaſure, reſent the Indignities, that were offer'd him: And therefore, at firſt, he expoſtulates the Matter with them, and ſeems to wonder, why they came to viſit him, whom they had, ſo lately, expelled their country. *Abimelech* made the beſt Excuſe for their Behaviour, that the Nature of the Thing wou'd bear; told him, that he had all along perceived, that the Divine Favour attended him in all his Undertakings, and that therefore he might not be thought to oppoſe God, he was come to renew the Covenant depending between his People, and *Abraham*'s Poſterity, and was ready to engage in the ſame Conditions, and Obligations. From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

This Speech, ſo full of Submiſſion and Acknowledgments, ſoon pacified *Iſaac*, who was naturally of a quiet and eaſy Diſpoſition; ſo that, having entertained the King and his Attendants in a very reſpectful and generous Manner that Night, the next † Morning they confirmed the League, with the uſual Ceremonies; and *Abimelech* took Leave, and returned home: But, before he departed, *Iſaac*'s Servants brought him Word, that in the Well, which they had been clearing out, and which *Abraham*, in former Times, had bought of the King of *Gerar*, they had happily found a Spring of Water; for which Reaſon, in the Hearing of *Abimelech*, and all the Company, he called it again by the Name of *Beerſheba, the Well of the Oath*, "i. e. the Well, wherein "Water was diſcover'd, on the Day, "that *Abimelech* and I enter'd into a "Treaty of Peace, and ratified the ſame "with the Solemnity of *Oaths*".

By this Time *Iſaac*'s two Sons were arrived at the Age of forty; and *Eſau*, who had contracted an Acquaintance with the People of the Land, had married two Wives, *Judith*, the Daughter of *Beeri*, and *Bethſhemath*, the Daughter of *Elon*, both *Hittites*, which was no ſmall Affliction to his Parents. This, in a Manner, quite

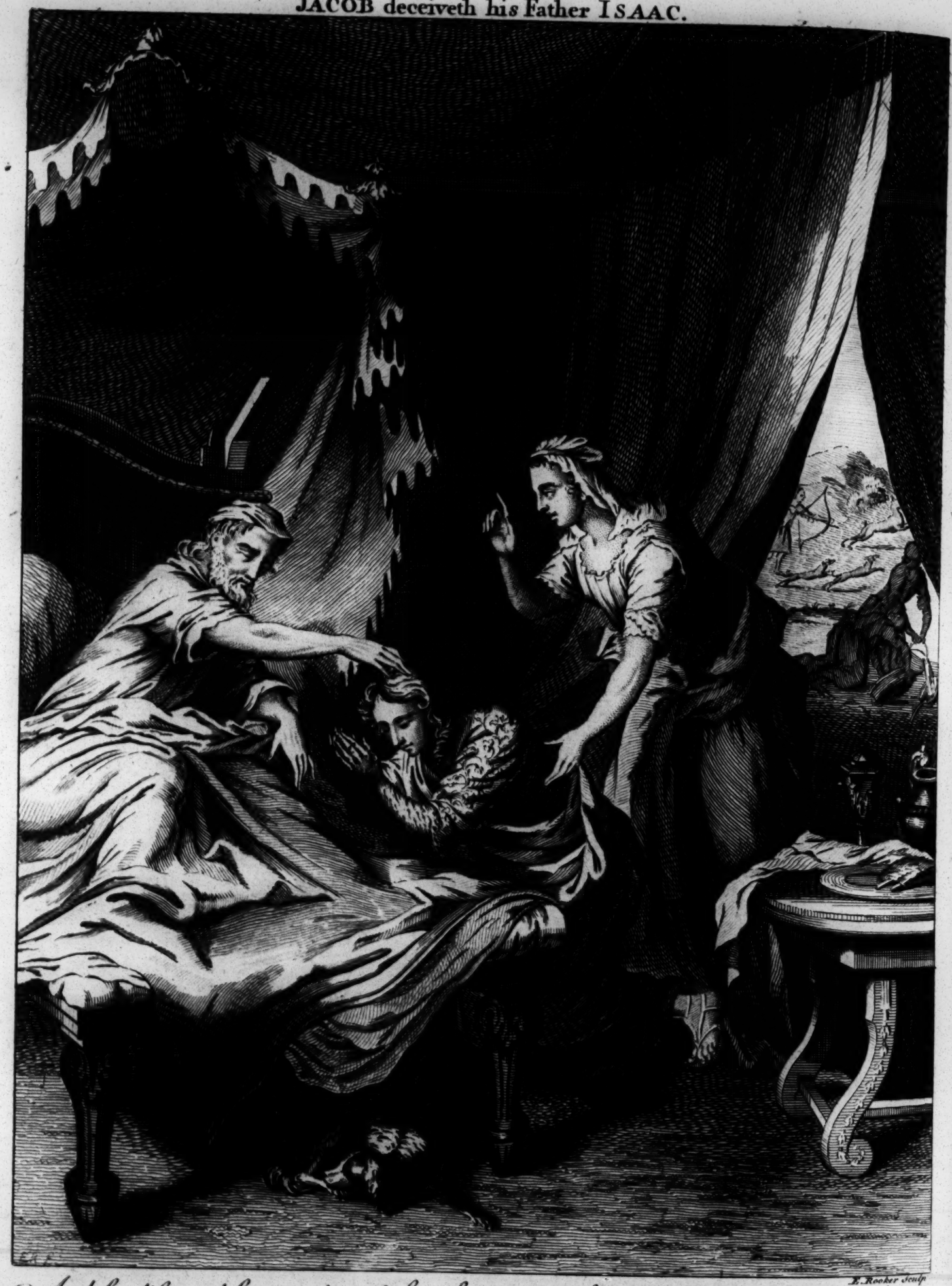
† The Reaſons, that induced *Iſaac* to open the old Wells, rather than dig new ones, might be, 1. Becauſe he was ſure to find a Spring there, which he cou'd not be certain of in other Places; 2. Becauſe it was eaſier, and leſs liable to Cenſure and Envy; 3 Becauſe he had a Right to them, as they were his Father's Purchaſe and Property; and, 4. Becauſe he was minded to preſerve, and do Honour to his Father's Memory, for which Reaſon he call'd them by the ſame Names, that his Father had done before him. *Bibliotheca Bib.* in Locum.

† The two that are mention'd here are *Phicol* and *Ahazzah*. *Phicol* is of the ſame Name, and bore the ſame Office, which he had, who is mention'd Ch. xxi. 22. but we muſt not ſuppoſe, that he was the ſame Man, any more, than *Abimelech* was the ſame King. The word properly ſignifies *Face* or *Head*, and as the Captain-General is Head of the Forces he commands, ſo ſome have imagin'd that it is the *appellative* Name, (like that of *Tribunus*, or *Dictator* among the *Romans*) for every one among them that were advanced to that Dignity: And in like manner, though the *Septuagint* ſeem to make *Ahazza* a proper Name, and call him the Para-nymph, or *Bride man*, to *Abimelech*, which was always accounted a Poſt of the firſt Honour; yet I ſhould rather chuſe, with *Onkelas*, to make the Word ſignify a *Train*, or great Number of Nobility, which came in Attendance on *Abimelech*, and to do the Patriarch the greater Honour upon this Occaſion. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Howel*'s Hiſtory.

† The Articles were agreed upon over Night, and, by a mutual Oath, ratified in the Morning: And the Reaſon, why Men took publick Oaths in the Morning faſting, ſeems to have been *ob Reverentiam Juramenti*, as the *Jews* call it, becauſe they looked upon them as very ſolemn and ſacred Things. *Bibliotheca Bib.*

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JACOB deceiveth his Father ISAAC.



E. Rooker Sculp

And he discerned him not, because his hands were hairy, as his brother Esau's hands: So he blessed him. Gen: Chap: XXVIII. Ver: 23

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quite alienated his Mother's Heart from him; but, as for his Father, his Affections continued the ſame. And therefore, finding himſelf grow old and feeble, and his Eyes quite dim with Age, and apprehending his Death to be nearer, than really it was, he call'd him one Day, and declared to him his Purpoſe of giving him his *paternal Benediction*, before he died; but wiſh'd him withal to take his hunting Inſtruments, and go into the Fields, and kill him a little Veniſon, and dreſs it to his Palate, that, when he had eaten thereof, and refreſhed Nature, he might bleſs him with a more tender Affection, as well as a more becoming *Pathos*.

His bleſſing of Jacob *inſtead of* Eſau.

REBEKAH overheard all this Diſcourſe, and, as ſoon as *Eſau* was well gone, ſhe called *Jacob*, and acquainted him with what was tranſacting; that his Father was going to beſtow a Benediction, which was final and irrevocable, upon his Brother; but that, if he wou'd liſten to her, and do what ſhe ordered him, ſhe had an Expedient, by ſubſtituting him in his Room, to turn aſide the Bleſſing, where ſhe deſir'd it. *Jacob* was willing enough to comply with his Mother's Requeſt; but, if he was to *perſonate* his Brother, the difference of his Skin and Voice made him apprehenſive, that his Father might diſcover the Impoſture, and thereupon be provok'd, inſtead of his Prayers and beſt Wiſhes, to load him with Imprecations: But ſo confident was his Mother of Succeſs in this Matter, that ſhe took all the *Curſes upon herſelf*, and encourag'd him to follow her Directions. Hereupon *Jacob* haſten'd to the Fold, and brought two fat Kids from thence, which his Mother immediately took, and dreſs'd the choice Pieces of them with ſavoury Sauce, like Veniſon; and ſo, having cover'd his Neck and his Hands with the Skins of the Kids, and † array'd him with *Eſau*'s beſt Robes, ſhe ſent him in trembling with the Diſh to his Father.

From Gen. XXV. 20. to Ch. XXVIII. 8.

HIS Father was lying upon the Bed, when *Jacob* enter'd the Room, and, upon his demanding *who he was*, he roundly anſwer'd, that he was his elder Son *Eſau*, who had brought him ſome Veniſon to eat. Surpris'd at the great Expedition, he had made, and not knowing indeed what to think, the old Man put ſeveral Times the Queſtion to him, whether he was, in reality, his Son *Eſau* or no: to which he as often anſwer'd in the affirmative, and deſir'd him, in ſhort, to ariſe, and taſte of what he had prepar'd for him, ſince God, who knew his Zeal to obey his Father, had brought it into his Hands much ſooner, than he could otherwiſe have expected.

THE Difference between *Jacob*'s and *Eſau*'s Voice was ſo remarkable, that *Iſaac* cou'd not but ſuſpect ſome Deluſion in the Caſe; and therefore he deſir'd him to draw nearer, that he might be the better ſatisfied; and when he had felt the hairy Skin on his Hands and Neck, he own'd that *the Hands were the Hands of* Eſau, *tho' the Voice was the Voice of* Jacob.

THUS ſatisfied, or rather thus deluded, he aroſe, and eat heartily of his Son's pretended Veniſon; and, as ſoon as he had din'd, and drank * a Cup or two of Wine,

† The *Jews* have a Fancy, that it was the Robe of *Adam*, which had been tranſmitted down, from Father to Son, in *the Line of Bleſſing* (as they call it) till it came to *Abraham*, who left it to *Iſaac*, and he, deſigning *Eſau*, as his eldeſt, for his Succeſſor, gave it to him. Some of them imagine, that this was a *ſacerdotal* Habit, wherein *Eſau*, in his Father's Illneſs, was ſuppos'd to officiate, and for this Reaſon it might be kept in *Iſaac*'s Tent, near to which, very likely, was the Place of Religious Worſhip. In all Probability it was a Veſtment of ſome Diſtinction, which the Heir of the Family, upon ſome ſolemn Occaſions, was uſed to put on, and *Jacob*, at this Time, being to perſonate his Brother, there was a Neceſſity for him to have it: But how his Mother ſhould come by it, or why ſhe ſhould have the keeping of it, when *Eſau* had Wives of his own, is a Queſtion that *Muſculus* raiſes, and then anſwers it by ſaying, —— That, becauſe *Eſau* had married theſe Wives without the Conſent of his Parents, eſpecially his Mother, ſhe for this Reaſon, refus'd to give it him, and perhaps reſerv'd it for this very Occaſion. But, in my Opinion, there ſeems to be no Neceſſity for this Suppoſition, ſince it was ſufficient for her Purpoſe, that ſhe knew where it was in *Eſau*'s Apartment. *Bibliotheca Bib.* in Locum.

* There is a Tradition among the *Jews*, that *Jacob* having omitted to bring Wine for his Father, an Angel prepar'd it, and brought it into his Apartment; that he gave it into *Jacob*'s Hands, and *Jacob* pour'd it out for his

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he bid him draw near, that he might now beſtow upon him his promis'd Bleſſing. The Smell of *Jacob*'s Garments contributed not a little to *Iſaac*'s Chearfulneſs. He ſmelt and prais'd them: In a Kind of Extaſy of Pleaſure, he embraced and kiſs'd his pretended *Firſt-born*; and, after having * wiſhed him all heavenly and earthly Bleſſings, he at length diſmis'd him.

JACOB was ſcarce got out of the Tent, when *Eſau*, having returned from Hunting, and juſt made ready his Veniſon, came, and invited his Father in the ſame dutiful Manner, that his Brother had done. Surpris'd at this Addreſs, his Father aſk'd, *who he was*; and, when he underſtood that it was his elder Son *Eſau*, he was quite in a Maze, and began to enquire, who, and where, that Perſon was, who had been there before, and taken away the Bleſſing, which he neither cou'd nor wou'd revoke. *Eſau*, too well perceiving that it muſt have been *Jacob*, who had thus ſupplanted him, complains of his double Perfidy; firſt, in extorting his Birthright from him, and now in robbing him of his Father's Bleſſing; and then ſeems to wonder very much, that his Father's Store ſhould be ſo far exhauſted, as (ſince he would not revoke the other) not to have reſerved one Bleſſing for him. From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 9.

ISAAC was willing enough to gratify his Son's Requeſt, and it griev'd him, no doubt, to hear his bitter Lamentations; but what could he do? all the choiceſt of his Bleſſings he had beſtow'd upon *Jacob*, and as they were gone, he could not recall them. However, that he might, in ſome meaſure, pacify *Eſau*, by the ſame prophetick Spirit he acquaints him, "That tho' "‡ his Poſterity ſhould not enjoy a very "plentiful Country, yet they ſhould be-"come a great People, and mighty War-"riors, who ſhould live by the Dint of "their Sword; and tho' they ſhould "ſometimes become ſubject to the De-"ſcendants of *Jacob*, yet, in Proceſs of "Time, they would † ſhake off their "Yoke, and erect a Dominion of their "own."

ESAU

Father; that the Wine was the ſame with the *Wine of Paradiſe*, which had been laid up from the Beginning; and that his Father, having drank of it, kiſſed him, and bleſſed him, as one now filled with the Spirit, even with the Spirit of Prophecy and Bleſſing: But the Cuſtom of the *Jewiſh* Doctors is to magnify every little Matter.

* The Prayer, which *Joſephus* makes *Iſaac* offer up to God upon this Occaſion, is in Words to this Effect. "Eter-"nal God, the Creator of all Things, that are made; thou that haſt been ſo gracious and bountiful to my Father, to "myſelf, and to our Offspring, promiſing, and poſſeſſing us of all Things, and giving us Aſſurances of greater Bleſſings "to come: Lord, make thy Words good to us by Effects, and do not deſpiſe thy Servant for his preſent Infirmities, "which make him the more ſenſible of his Need of thy Support. Preſerve this Child from all Evil, in thy Mercy "and infinite Goodneſs: Give him a long and an happy Life: Bleſs him with all worldly Enjoyments, that may "be for his Good; and make him a Terror to his Enemies, and an Honour and Comfort to his Friends. Antiq. l. 1. "c. 18."

‡ The Words in our Tranſlation carry a Senſe quite different to what we have here ſuggeſted; *Behold thy Dwelling ſhall be of the Fatneſs of the Earth, and of the Dew of Heaven.* But, beſides that this makes the Bleſſing the ſame with that, which was given to *Jacob*, Ver. 28. which *Iſaac* profeſſes himſelf incapable of doing; 'tis manifeſt, that *Idumæa*, where the Deſcendants of *Eſau* dwelt, was far from being a fat and fruitful Country. Had it been ſo, there had not been that Reaſon for the ſubſequent Words, *by thy Sword thou ſhalt live*; for a rich and plentiful Country would have ſecured them from living by Spoil and Plunder, as it is manifeſt the People of that Country did, if we can credit the Character which *Joſephus*, both in his Hiſtory of the Antiquities, l. 13. and of the Wars of the *Jews*, l. 4. gives us of them. *La Clerc*'s Commentary, and Univerſal Hiſtory.

† The *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*, who were the Poſterity of *Eſau*, for a conſiderable Time, were a People of much more Power and authority, than the *Iſraelites*, till, in the Days of *David*, they were entirely conquered, 2 *Sam.* viii. 14. they were thereupon govern'd by Deputies or Viceroys appointed by the Kings of *Judah*; and, whenever they attempted to rebel, were, for a long Time, cruſhed, and kept under by the *Jews*. In the Days of *Jeboram*, the Son of *Jehoſaphat*, they expell'd their Viceroy, and ſet up a King of their own, 2 *Kings* viii. 20. and though they were reduc'd at that Time, yet, for ſome Generations after this, they ſeem'd to have liv'd independent on the *Jews*, and when the *Babylonians* invaded *Judæa*, they not only took Part with them, but violently oppreſſed them, even when the Enemy was withdrawn, ſo that, remembering what they had ſuffered under *Joab*, in the Days of *David*, they entered into the like cruel Meaſures againſt the *Jews*, and threatned to lay *Jeruſalem* level with the Ground. Their Animoſity againſt the Poſterity of *Jacob* ſeems indeed to be hereditary; nor did they ever ceaſe, for any conſiderable Time, from Broils and Contentions, until they were conquered by *Hircanus*, and reduced to the Neceſſity of embracing the *Jewiſh* Religion, or quitting their Country: Hereupon, conſenting to the former they were incorporated with the *Jews*, and became one Nation, ſo that, in the firſt Century after Chriſt, the Name of *Idumæan* was loſt, and quite diſus'd. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 4.

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His being ſent into Meſopotamia.

ESAU was now become ſo ſenſible of what he had loſt by the Frauds and Deceptions of his Brother, that he was reſolv'd, at a proper Seaſon, to be reveng'd of him. His Regard to his Father would not permit him to expreſs his Reſentment in any violent Act, as yet; but, as he ſuppoſed, that he could not live long, he was determined to kill his Brother, as ſoon as his Father was dead. Some Speeches of this Kind had accidently dropped from him, which were brought to his Mother's Ears. Whereupon ſhe acquainted her favourite Son with the bloody Deſign, his Brother had conceived againſt him; told him, that the wiſeſt Way would be for him to withdraw ſome where, until his Fury was aſſwaged, and the propereſt Place for that Purpoſe would be his Uncle *Laban*'s, in *Meſopotamia*; that thither he might retire a little while, and, as ſoon as his Brother's Paſſion was over, ſhe would not fail to re-call him; that, to part with him indeed was no ſmall Affliction to her, but nothing comparable to the Miſery, that would enſue, if, in one Day, ſhe ſhould be bereaved of them both; of him, by the Hands of his Brother; and of his Brother, by the Hand of Juſtice.

Jacob's Departure to Meſopotamia.

JACOB, who was of a mild, if not a timorous Temper, readily complied with his Mother's Propoſal, but then his Father's Conſent was to be had; and this *Rebekah* undertook to obtain by artful Inſinuations to her Huſband, that *Eſau*'s *Hittite* Wives were a perpetual Grief and Trouble to her; that the whole Comfort of her Life would be loſt, if *Jacob* ſhould chance to marry in the like unhappy Manner; and therefore, to prevent this Diſaſter, ſhe thought it not amiſs (if ſhe might but have his Approbation therein) that he ſhould go to her Brother *Laban*'s in *Meſopotamia*, and there ſee, if he could fancy any one of his Daughters for a Wife.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

ISAAC was unacquainted with the main Drift of her Diſcourſe; but, being himſelf a pious Man, and knowing that the Promiſe, made to *Abraham*, and renewed in him, was to be compleated in the Iſſue of *Jacob*, called him to him, and upon his Bleſſing, gave him a ſtrict Charge not to marry with any *Canaanitiſh* Woman, but to go to *Padan-Aram*, to the Houſe of his Uncle *Laban*, and there provide himſelf with a Wife: Which if he did, "God wou'd bleſs him, *he ſaid*, and "raiſe him up a numerous Poſterity, and "give that Poſterity the Poſſeſſion of that "very Country, where now they were no "more than Sojourners, according to the "Promiſe, which he had made to his "Grandfather *Abraham*."

WITH theſe Words he diſmiſſed *Jacob* to go to his Uncle's in *Meſopotamia*: And of the Patriarch *Iſaac* we read no more, only that he was alive at his Son's Return, and lived three and twenty Years longer ſtill; that he had removed from *Beerſheba*, where his Son left him, and dwelt now at *Mamre*, not far from *Hebron*; where, at the Age of 188 Years, he died, and was buried, in the ſame Sepulchre with his Father *Abraham*, by his two Sons, *Eſau* and *Jacob*.

The OBJECTION.

"OF all the *Promiſes*, that God made unto the Patriarchs, none is ſo "frequently repeated, as that of a *plenteous* "*Iſſue*; and yet, if we look into the "Hiſtory, we ſhall find, that no Men's "Wives were ſo frequently barren as "theirs. *Sarah* had ſurpaſſed the ordinary "Term of Conception above thirty Years, "*Rebecah* had been married almoſt twen-"ty, and *Rachel* full as long, before any "of them had a Child; and yet God, all "along, promiſes their Huſbands an innu-"merable Offspring, which can hardly be "accounted for, unleſs we can ſuppoſe, "that Barrenneſs and Fruitfulneſs are "compatible, and that to *cloſe up the* "Wife's

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" Wife's *Womb* is the readieſt Way to " make the Man's *Seed like the Stars in* " *Heaven for Multitude.*

" But, after all theſe large Promiſes, " *Iſaac*, we read, had but two Sons; and " yet (what is more ſurprizing in the " divine Conduct) the Younger of theſe " was not only *(a)* preferred before the " Elder, quite contrary to the eſtabliſhed " Right of *Primogeniture*; but (as *(b)* the " Scripture expreſſes it) *God loved* Jacob, " *and hated* Eſau, *(c) even when the Chil-* " *dren, being yet unborn, had neither done* " *good nor evil*, which is a manifeſt In- " ſtance of God's *Partiality*, and no ſmall " Argument for the Doctrine of Predeſti- " nation: And, yet if we enquire into the " Character of this *Child of Promiſe* (as " he is call'd) we ſhall find that his Beha- " viour did hardly deſerve ſo particular a " Favour.

" For, what Apology can we make " for his taking the Advantage of his " Brother's Hunger, and thence over- " reaching him in the Matter of his *Birth-* " *right?* There is ſomething ſo inhu- " man in denying an hungry Perſon a little " Victuals; ſomething ſo ſelfiſh, in expec- " ting an exorbitant Price from one's own " Brother, for a Meſs of Pottage; ſome- " thing ſo crafty and deſigning, in bring- " ing an eager Appetite under the Obliga- " tion of an Oath, that *Jacob* ſeems to " have acted the mere *Sharper* in this " whole Affair; nor *(d)* can *Eſau*'s ſupine " Negligence, in giving up the Privilege, " be reputed near ſo culpable, as the " other's covetous, unlawful Method of " obtaining it.

" And, if we cannot excuſe him in " this, what ſhall we ſay for his fraudulent " Practice in intercepting his Father's " Bleſſing; in averring himſelf to be the " Perſon he was not; in telling a Multi- " tude of poſitive Lyes; in liſtening to the " Inſtigation of a crafty Woman, his Mo- " ther; in impoſing upon the Blindneſs " and Infirmity of his aged Father; and " in making even God himſelf a Party to " the Fraud? For ſo he confidently tells " his Father, *(e) the Lord thy God hath* " *brought the Veniſon to me.* And, if we " cannot acquit the Son, who acted only " in Subordination, what ſhall we ſay " for the Mother herſelf, who was the " prime Author or Contriver of the whole " Plot? From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii 8.

" Constant Converſation and a " Similitude of Features, Temper, or " Manners, may be allow'd to engage a " Mother's Affections more towards one " Child, than another; but certainly that " Parent is juſtly to be cenſur'd, who " trains up her Child in any the leaſt, " Wickedneſs, for the Acquiſition even " of the greateſt Good; and that Child " is liable to the divine Malediction, *(f)* " *who deceiveth* his Neighbour, much " more his Father, and *(g) maketh the* " *Blind to go out of his Way.*

" The Truth is, *Rebekah*, in her whole " Conduct, appears to be a Woman of " Craft and Intrigue; dextrous in con- " triving, and bold in executing any " Means, to accompliſh her Deſign. She " had a peculiar Art in impoſing upon " her Huſband, by concealing her real " Sentiments (as ſhe did in the Caſe of " ſending away *Jacob)* and fobbing him " off with a cunningly devis'd Tale: And, " as to her Huſband, whatever Boaſt may " be made of his *Greatneſs*, *(h)* even to " outvie the Wealth and Power of Kings; " *(i)* yet *Jacob*'s being ſent away to *Me-* " *ſopotamia*, all alone, and without any " Servant to attend him in ſo long a " Journey; *Eſau*'s finding no kind of " Eatables in his Father's Houſe, when " he returned from hunting, ſo that *(k)* " he was ready in a Manner, to be " famiſh'd to death; *himſelf* being glad of " a Piece of Veniſon, whenever his Son " *Eſau* cou'd catch it, and for that Rea- " ſon *(l) loving him* more than he did " his

(a) Gen. xxv. 23. *(b)* Mal. i. 2, 3. *(c)* Rom. ix. 11, &c. *(d)* *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. *(e)* Gen. xxvii. 20. *(f)* Mal. i. 14. *(g)* Deut. xxvii. 18. *(h)* Gen. xxvi. 13, 16. *(i)* Chap. xxviii. 5. *(k)* Chap. xxv. 32. *(l)* Chap. xxv. 28.

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" his Brother; and the great Rout and " Buſtle, that we find him ſo frequently " making about a *Well*, that his Father " had dug, and therefore he thought it " his own Property, are manifeſt Tokens, " that his Circumſtances, at this Time, " were but ſtrait, and that *(m) his Poſ-* " *ſeſſion of Flocks, and Poſſeſſion of Herds,* " *and great Store of Servants*, &c. might " be deſign'd to give an *Heightening* to " his Character, but do not appear to *be* " *Matters of Fact*."

Anſwer'd by ſhewing why the Patriarchs Wives were, for ſome Time, barren.

NOTHING can be more obvious, than that the Promiſes, which God was pleas'd to make to the Patriarchs, were not to be accompliſh'd in their *Perſons*, but in their *Poſterity*. *Abraham* had but one Son by his *primary* Wife, and *Iſaac* but two; and therefore the Bleſſing of a *numerous Off-ſpring* could not be verified in them; but in *Jacob* it began to operate. He had twelve Sons; and theſe, when in *Egypt* (notwithſtanding all Lets and Impediments to the contrary) mightily increas'd; and, upon their Return from thence, made up an Army ſufficient to expel the old Inhabitants, and to take Poſſeſſion of the *Land of Promiſe*, for thus it is that *Moſes* beſpeaks the People: *(n) Thy Fathers went down into* Egypt, *with threeſcore and ten Perſons, and now the Lord thy God has made thee as the Stars of Heaven for Multitude*; wherein he alludes to the very Words, in which the Promiſe, the *original* Promiſe, was made.

IF then the numerous Poſterity, wherewith God bleſſed the *Jewiſh* Patriarchs, did, in a due Courſe of Years, tho' not *immediately* enſue, there is no Foundation for our calling in Queſtion his Truth and Veracity; but then his Wiſdom, and Almighty Power are much more conſpicuous in raiſing ſo large an Increaſe from ſo ſmall a Beginning. For, beſides that the long Sterility of theſe holy Matrons gave a proper Occaſion for the Exerciſe of Faith, and Patience, and Reliance on God, *(o)* it tended not a little to illuſtrate the Nobility of the *Jewiſh* Extraction, when it came to be conſidered, that their Progenitors were deſcended from Women, that were *complexionally* unfruitful, and brought into the World at no leſs an Expence, than that of a Miracle. It ſhewed plainly, that the Multiplication of the *promis'd Seed* was not effected by any natural Succeſſion, but by the divine Favour and Benediction. It prepar'd the Way for the Coming of the Son of God in the Fleſh, and, as St *Chryſoſtom (p)* expreſſes it, prediſpos'd the World to the Belief of the miraculous *Conception* of the *Virgin Mary*. It adminiſter'd Comfort to ſuch married Women, as were childleſs, giving them Encouragement ſtill to hope on, and reſtraining them from murmuring, or being impatient at any Retardation; and therefore we find the Angel, in his Addreſs to the bleſſed Virgin, (both to enforce the Credibility of the Meſſage, he brought her, and to revive the Hope of ſuch, as were deſtitute of Children) expreſſing himſelf in this Manner; *(q) Behold thy Couſin* Elizabeth, *who was called barren, ſhe alſo hath conceived a Son in her old Age, for with God nothing ſhall be impoſſible:* And 'tis a glorious Demonſtration of the ſovereign Power of God, when (according to the Apoſtle's Manner of Expreſſion) *(r) he chuſes the weak Things of the World to confound the Things that are mighty, the baſe Things of the World, and the Things that are deſpiſed, yea, and the Things that are not, to bring to nought the Things that are, that no Fleſh ſhould glory in his Preſence.*

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

The Meaning of God's *preferring* Jacob, *before* Eſau.

THE ſame Apoſtle, in Relation to the Subject we are now upon, has, by a familiar Similitude, evinc'd the Right, which the great Ruler of the World has to make a Diſcrimination (as to the *Temporalities* I mean only) between Man and Man: For *hath not the Potter Power over the Clay*, ſays he, *of the ſame Lump, to make one Veſſel unto Honour, and another unto Diſhonour?* He, who has a

(m) Gen. xxvi. 14. (n) Deut. x. 22. (o) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit 8. (p) In Gen. Chap. xlix. (q) Luke i. 36, 37. (r) 1 Cor. i. 27, &c.

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preſent Intuition of all Things future, knows, how every Perſon, when born into the World, will comport himſelf, and therefore, as he has the Right, ſo he is the only Being, that is duly qualified to allot Men their different Stations in Life; but it is their different Stations in *this* Life, that God thus determines, and not any Neceſſity either of their happy or unhappy Condition in the next.

ESAU and *Jacob* were both in the Womb, when God thought fit to declare his Choice of the one, rather than the other, to be the Founder of the *Jewiſh* Nation, and of *whom, according to the Fleſh, Chriſt ſhould come:* And, as this was a Favour of a temporary Conſideration only, and no ways affected their eternal State, I know of no one Attribute of God that cou'd reſtrain him in this Option. *Loving* or *hating* are Terms of a ſtrong Signification ſometimes, but, that here they can mean no more than a bare Preference of one before another, is plain from the whole Tenour of the Apoſtle's Diſcourſe. The Truth is, *(s)* his Words (as well as thoſe of *Moſes)* relate (as we ſaid before) not to the *Perſons*, but to the *Poſterity* of *Jacob* and *Eſau*, or not to them *perſonally*, but *nationally* conſider'd. As to their Perſons, it was never true, that the *Elder did ſerve the Younger*, but only as to their Poſterity, when the *(t) Edomites* became *tributary* to *David:* And therefore the Apoſtle cannot be ſuppos'd here to diſcourſe of any perſonal Election to eternal Life, or any abſolute Love or Hatred of theſe two Brothers, with Reſpect to their Intereſt in another World, but only of the Election of one Seed, or Nation, before another, to be accounted and treated as the *Seed of Abraham*, which is all that the Apoſtle's Argument drives at.

In a Word, the Caſe of theſe two Patriarchs has nothing to do with the *Election* or *Reprobation* of particular Perſons. It ſhews us indeed, that God may make Choice of one Nation, rather than another, to be his *peculiar People*; but to apply this to particular Perſons, or to ſuppoſe that the Condition of Men's Souls, even before they come into the World, is determined by a fatal and irrevocable *Decree*, is foreign to the Apoſtle's Meaning, and abhorrent to his Word, who has ſo plainly declared himſelf to be *(u) no Reſpecter of Perſons, but that in every Nation, he that feareth God, and worketh Righteouſneſs, ſhall be accepted with him.* From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

The Birth-right what.

(x) Some are of Opinion, that the chief Prerogative of the *Primogeniture* was nothing elſe, but a double Portion of the Father's Eſtate, and that this was all that *Eſau* parted with to his Brother: But had this been ſo, we cannot ſee wherein he was ſo mightily to blame, or why the Apoſtle, who certainly underſtood the Meaning of the *Birth-right*, as well as any modern Commentator, ſhould give him the hard Name of a *profane Perſon*, merely for ſelling the Reverſion of a temporal Eſtate, to ſave his Life, in a Time of the greateſt Exigence. Had the Birth-right, I ſay, conſiſted chiefly in this, we cannot ſee how *Jacob* could have been reduced to the Straits, we afterwards find him in, or *Eſau*, as to his outward Fortune, have flouriſh'd more proſperouſly, than his Brother did. When his Father *Iſaac* died, and he came from Mount *Seir*, to aſſiſt in his Funeral, upon his Departure from his Brother, he is ſaid to have *(y) carried away with him, all the Subſtance which he had got in the Land of* Canaan. *(z)* Now it is plain, that he had no Subſtance in the Land of *Canaan* of his own getting, for he liv'd at *Seir*, in the Land of *Edom*, beyond the Borders of *Canaan*; and therefore the Subſtance, which was gotten in the *Land of Canaan*, muſt be the Subſtance, which *Iſaac* died poſſeſſed of, and which *Eſau*, as his Heir, took along with him. So that, after the Birth-right was ſold, He was ſtill Heir to his Father's Subſtance; and therefore a Right to this was not the Thing, which *Jacob* purchas'd of

(s) *Whitby* on Rom. ix. (t) 2 Sam. 8. 14. (u) Acts x. 34, 35. (x) *Bibliotheca Bib.* (y) Gen. xxxvi. 6. (z) *Shuckford's* Connection, Vol. 1. l. 7.

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of him. Others are of Opinion, that the *Birth-right* was the Bleſſing, promiſed to the Seed of *Abraham*, and this the Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* ſeems, in ſome meaſure to favour; *Leſt there be any Fornicator, or profane Perſon, as* Eſau, *who for a Morſel of Meat ſold his Birth-right. For ye know how that afterwards, when he would have inherited the Bleſſing, he was rejected:* Where the *not inheriting the Bleſſing*, ſeems to be connected with his *having ſold his Birth-right*; as if, having parted with the one, he could not poſſibly obtain the other: But it is much to be queſtion'd, whether this be the true Senſe of the Paſſage. *Eſau* himſelf, when he ſold his Birth-right, did not imagine that he had ſold, at the ſame Time, his Right to the Bleſſing; for when his Father told him, that his Brother had come with Subtilty, and taken away the Bleſſing, his Anſwer is, *Is he not rightly named* Jacob, *for he hath ſupplanted me theſe two Times; he took away my Birth-right, and behold now he hath taken away my Bleſſing?* Had he apprehended that the Bleſſing, and Birth-right were Things inſeparable, having ſold the one, he would never have laid any Claim to the other; whereas the defrauding him of his Bleſſing is another Hardſhip he complains of, diſtinct and different, and independent on the former: And therefore *Eſau*'s Birth-right was moſt probably his Right of being Prieſt, or Sacrificer for his Brethren; and for parting with this he is juſtly termed *profane*, becauſe he hereby ſhew'd himſelf not to have a due Value and Eſteem for the religious Employment, that belong'd to him.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

Jacob *cenſur'd.*

BUT tho' this Employment might better comport with *Jacob*, yet we cannot pretend to juſtify him in his Method of obtaining it. *(a) Moſes*, who records the Story, does not commend him for it, and therefore we are left at our Liberty to paſs what Cenſure upon it we think reaſonable. God indeed, before he was born, deſign'd and promis'd this Privilege to him; but *(b)* then he ſhould have waited, until the divine Wiſdom had found out the Means of executing his Promiſe, in his own Way, as *David* did, till God gave him Poſſeſſion of *Saul*'s Kingdom, and not have anticipated God, and ſnatch'd it by an irregular Act of his own. In the whole Affair indeed, *Jacob* acted with a Subtilty, not at all becoming an honeſt Man. He knew that Delays were dangerous, and that his Brother's Conſideration, or ſecond Thoughts, might poſſibly ſpoil his Bargain; and therefore he requir'd Haſte, both in the *Sale*, and in his *Oath*, and thereby incurr'd another Sin, in hurrying his Brother into an Oath by Precipitation, which he neither ſhould have taken, nor *Jacob* have adviſ'd him to take, without mature Advice, and Deliberation.

AND, in like Manner, as to his Interception of the Bleſſing, which his Father deſign'd for his Brother *Eſau*; it is in vain to have recourſe to † *forc'd* Conſtructions, or to plead the Lawfulneſs of *mental Reſervations*,

(a) Bedford's Scripture Chronology. *(b) Pool*'s Annotations.

† Upon *Jacob*'s anſwering his Father, *that he was* Eſau *his Firſt-Born*, the *Rabbins*, are put to great Perplexity, how to aſſoil the Patriarch from the Sin of *Lying*; and therefore ſome of them paraphraſe the Words thus, ——— *I am*, i. e. *he*, who brings thee ſomething to eat, *but* Eſau *is thy eldeſt Son*; while others underſtand them in this Manner rather; *I am* Eſau, *i. e.* I am in his Stead, becauſe he has ſold me his Birth-right: For, by this Sale, as *they tell us*, a proper Permutation being made of Perſons and Titles, the firſt became really laſt, and the laſt firſt, the Elder became the Younger, and the Younger the Elder, as to the Stile, and all the Privileges of *Elderſhip*; ſo that *Jacob* was, in reality, as much the Heir, and Succeſſor of *Iſaac*, as if *Eſau* had been actually dead. And, tho' *Eſau* was ſtill alive, and had the Name of *Eſau*, yet *Jacob* was properly (what his Brother had been) *his Firſt-born* Eſau, ſince *Eſau* was reduc'd to the Station of a younger Brother only. St *Auſtin* [ad Conſentium de Mendacio, c. 10] pretends, that *Jacob*'s Words have a Figure in them, much in the ſame Nature with that in the *Goſpel*, where *John* the *Baptiſt* is called the *Elias, that ſhall come*; but the Misfortune is, that there was a great Similitude between *Elias* and the *Baptiſt*, as to their *Spirit* and Office, but between *Jacob* and *Eſau* there was none at all; and therefore ſome other Fathers, ſeeing the Impoſſibility of explaining the Words, by any of theſe Subterfuges, have boldly aſſerted, that there was no Iniquity in the Lyes, which *Jacob* told, becauſe they did not proceed from any malevolent Intent, but from a Deſign of promoting the greateſt Good; for which End it was as lawful for a wiſe Man to employ officious Lyes, as it is to make uſe of Phyſick for the Preſervation of Health: And, from ſuch dangerous Poſitions as theſe, the

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Reſervations, in order to excuſe him in the Lying and Diſſimulation, wherein he was certainly culpable: The beſt Way is, upon this Occaſion, to lament the Infirmity of human Nature, which cannot always ſtand upright, and to admire the Impartiality of the ſacred Writings, in which the very Blemiſhes and Tranſgreſſions of ſuch, as are deſign'd to make the *top Figure* therein, are not forgotten to be recorded.

Wherein he was commendable.

(*c*) It cannot be denied indeed, but that both *Jacob* and his Mother were juſtly to be prais'd, for having a due Eſteem of the *paternal* Benediction, and for their endeavouring to attain it; ſince this cou'd proceed from no other Motive, than a full Perſuaſion of the Truth of God's Promiſes and Covenant with *Abraham*. For, as the *paternal* Bleſſing was thought to be a Means, inſtituted by God, for the Conveyance of this Covenant, it cou'd not but deſerve their Care and Aſſiduity. It cannot be denied farther, but that, if this Bleſſing was (as ſome imagine) an *Appendage* to the Birth-right, *Jacob*, in purchaſing the one, had acquir'd a lawful Title to the other, a Title eſtabliſh'd not only upon the expreſs Deſignation of God, but by a *Deed of Sale* likewiſe, executed and ratified by a moſt ſolemn and ſacred Oath. It cannot be denied likewiſe, but that, purſuant to this divine Deſignation, *Iſaac* was obliged to have conferr'd his Bleſſing upon *Jacob*, and therefore his Wife, perceiving that he was going to promiſe the *Bleſſing of Abraham*, where his Affection led him to wiſh it, and not where ſhe knew that God had deſign'd to beſtow it, laid a Scheme, which induced her Huſband to do that *unwittingly*, which God had pre-ordained was to be done, but what, ſhe knew, her Huſband would not do *knowingly* without ſome Uneaſineſs. Nay, it cannot be denied, once more, but that, (*d*) when her Artifice had ſucceeded, and *Jacob* was accordingly bleſſed, *Iſaac* was ſo far from being diſpleas'd with his Wife, or angry with *Jacob* for impoſing upon him, that we find him fully ſatisfy'd in what he had done; (*e*) *I have bleſſed him*, ſays he, *yea, and he ſhall be bleſſed*: Which ſudden Change of Mind can be imputed to nothing elſe, but ſome divine *Inſpiration*, which, at that Time, open'd his Underſtanding, and convinced him, that he had given the Bleſſing to the right Perſon.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii 5.

Wherein blamable.

Thus from the Conſideration of *Jacob*'s Right, and *Iſaac*'s Duty, the Goodneſs of the End, the Pre-ordination of God, and his Approbation of the Thing, when done, may be drawn ſome Arguments, to alleviate their Crime; but ſtill we muſt ingenuouſly own, (*f*) that *Rebekah* was guilty of a Fault, in ſuggeſting ſuch dangerous Advice to her Son; that *Jacob* committed another, in ſuffering himſelf to be ſeduced by ſo bad a Guide; and that both of them preſum'd to limit the Power of God, by thinking that a Complication of Frauds was neceſſary for the Accompliſhment of a divine Prophecy. (*g*) Had *Rebekah* indeed put her Huſband in Remembrance of this Prophecy, and ſhewn how *Eſau* had forfeited the Bleſſing by ſelling his Birth-right, and by marrying ſtrange Wives, this had been a much more honourable Proceeding; but therefore ſhe was left to purſue her own indiſcreet Method, that God might have the Honour of ſerving his own Purpoſes by the Follies of Men.

Wherein Rebekah may be juſtified.

But how culpable ſoever *Rebekah* may be thought in this Inſtance, yet there is not the like Imputation upon her in hiding from

the *Jeſuitical* Doctrine of *Equivocation*, and *mental Reſervation*, has, in a great Meaſure, proceeded. "Quid vero "faciemus hujus commatis hominibus, *ſays our Author*, qui hac ratione mendatiis, & perjuriis decumanam aperire por- "tam non verentur? Conclamatum erit de pactorum omnium & contractuum fide, adeòque univerſæ ſocietatis hu- "manæ vinculo, ſi perverſa ea ſententia reciperetur. Quod ſi ſanctus Patriarcha reſurgeret, haud dubie illam audaciſ- "ſimorum hominum impietatem valide retunderet, & damnaret ipſe: Tantum abeſt, ut ejuſdem vecordiæ ſe reum "fecerit: Qui, ſi humanâ infirmitate lapſus eſt, at certe artificioſum illud & affectatum mentiendi genus minimè ſectatus "eſt." *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol II. Exercit. 14.

(*c*) *Heidegger*, ibid. (*d*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 7. (*e*) Gen. xxvii. 33. (*f*) *Saurin*'s Diſſertation xxv. (*g*) *Millar*'s Hiſtory of the Church, c. 1. Period 3.

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from her Huſband the true Reaſon of her ſending away *Jacob*. *(b)* It is certainly a Point of great Prudence to conceal the Truth, when the diſcovery of it will occaſion more Harm than Good; and therefore, that ſhe might not afflict her Huſband's old Age with the unwelcome News of his Son *Eſau*'s wicked intent againſt his Brother, and thereby provoke his Indignation againſt him; ſhe cover'd the Diſmiſſion of *Jacob* with a Reaſon that was true indeed, but not that chief and latent one, which gave her the moſt Uneaſineſs, and which, if communicated to her Huſband, might have been a Means of *bringing his grey Hairs with Sorrow to the Grave*. So that, in the whole, and according to the Proverbs of the Wiſe Man, ſhe acted the Part both of a careful Wife, and a prudent Woman, for *(i) the Tongue of the Wiſe uſeth Knowledge aright*, and ſhe, *(k) that is of a Faithful Spirit, concealeth the Matter*.

Jacob's being ſent away in a poor *Condition.*

WHEN *Abraham* ſent his Servant into *Meſopotamia* to negotiate a Marriage for his Son *Iſaac*, he had an Equipage appointed him, ſuitable to the Dignity of his Maſter, that God might be more honour'd by ſo fine an Appearance, and his Veracity publickly juſtified, in the Advancement of that *Abraham*, who had quitted all to follow him; but we ſhall ſoon perceive, that there was not the like Reaſon for *Iſaac*'s ſending away his Son *Jacob* with ſuch an honourable Retinue, if we do but conſider, *(l)* that the Family of *Nahor* was already ſufficiently appriz'd of the divine Bleſſing, which had attended *Abraham* and his Family; that, as *Rebekah* was Siſter to *Laban*, the Head of the Family, there was no need of any farther Recommendation, than that of a Letter to her Brother; that, in this Affair, it was Prudence to make *Jacob* appear as little, as might be, in order to give the leſs Umbrage to his Brother, and, if poſſible, to appeaſe his Reſentment; that it was highly expedient for *Jacob* to tread in the Steps of his Grandfather *Abraham*, whoſe Heir he was now become, and ſhould therefore depart from *his Father's Houſe*, and caſt himſelf entirely upon the Providence of God for his Subſiſtence, even as he had done; and that it was neceſſary for him to give a Demonſtration, that it was not merely (as ſome ſuppoſe) an *earthly Inheritance*, which he had purchaſed, or a *ſecular Bleſſing*, which he had acquired, but that there was ſomething far greater (tho' not diſcernible by every common Eye) which he had in View in this Acquiſition: For *(m)* his *confeſſing*, in this Manner, *that he was but a Stranger and Pilgrim on Earth*, (notwithſtanding the Right of Primogeniture in him) *declared plainly*, that, as *Heir of* the *Promiſe* with *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, he was *ſeeking a better Country*, than either that, from whence he departed, or that, whereunto he was ſent, *i. e. an heavenly*.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

Eſau's Hunger upon his Return from Hunting.

FROM theſe, and ſuch like Conſiderations, and not from any Family Poverty, it was, that *Jacob* was ſent into *Meſopotamia*, all alone, and without any Attendance: And, in like Manner, when *Eſau*, upon his Return from Hunting, complains of his extreme Hunger, we can ſcarce ſuppoſe, that he found nothing at home to eat, except the *Pottage*, which his Brother had made. Frugality indeed was a Virtue of much more Eſteem among the *Antients*, that it is among us; but it is hard to imagine, how *Iſaac*, who was a Man confeſſedly of a plentiful Eſtate, and had doubtleſs a large Family to maintain, ſhould keep a Houſe utterly deſtitute of all Manner of Eatables. Proviſion there was no doubt enough; but *Eſau*'s Fancy ran upon ſomething elſe. He longed, greedily longed for the Soop, and the Soop he would have, whatever it coſt. Its Flavour and Colour had enticed him, and, every Thing he reſolved to part with, rather than not gratify the preſent Cravings of an intemperate Appetite. And, accord-

(b) Heidegger's Hiſt. Patriarch. Vol. II. Exercit. 14. *(i)* Prov. xv. 2. *(k)* Chap. xi. 13. *(l) Bibliotheca Bibl.* in Gen. xxviii. 5. *(m)* Heb. xi. 9, 10.

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ingly, we may obſerve, *(n)* that his Reaſoning upon this Occaſion was not, that he was ready to die for Famine, and therefore would part with his Birthright; but that, according to his Courſe of Life, and the Perils, which he, every Day, ran in Hunting, in all Probability he would not ſurvive his Father, and his *Birth-right*, of conſequence, would avail him nothing; and therefore, having but a ſlender Opinion of what was to come hereafter, he made his Concluſion, much in the ſame Form, with the *Epicurean* in the Prophet, *(o) Let us eat and drink, for To-morrow we die.*

Iſaac's loving Eſau for his Veniſon.

WHOEVER conſiders the Chronology of that Tranſaction, will find that *(p) Iſaac* lived about forty Years after his parting with his *prophetical* Bleſſing; and conſequently, *(q)* that it was not old Age, but ſome Sickneſs and Indiſpoſition of Body, that, at this Time, had ſeized him, and made him apprehenſive of his approaching Death. In this Condition, it is no uncommon Thing, we know, for Mens Thoughts to run upon one Kind of Meat rather than another, and when the Stomach is deprav'd, or any ways out of order, generally to long for ſuch Things, as are of a ſavoury Taſte: And, if Veniſon, in thoſe Countries, was more particularly adapted to that purpoſe, wherein, I pray, is *Iſaac* to be blam'd, for loving a Son, who took ſuch Pains, and expos'd himſelf to ſuch Dangers, that he might ſhew his Reſpect to his aged Father, and procure him now and then *ſome little Thing*, to pleaſe his Palate, and humour his ſickly Appetite? Thoſe, who think proper to blame the Patriarch's kind Reſentment of ſuch Aſſiduity, ſeem to have forgot the Workings of human Nature, and how apt the very wiſeſt of Parents are to have their Affections won, every Day more and more, by the Sedulity and Officiouſneſs of their Children.

THE Dreſſing this Veniſon is repreſented indeed as a Province, which *Eſau* himſelf took upon him; and to have the eldeſt Son and Heir of a Family *ſtand Cook* (as we call it) ſeems to portend no great Wealth or Magnificence in it; but, when we urge this, we forget the *Simplicity* of the Times, wherein *Moſes* wrote, and wherein it was cuſtomary for Men of the firſt Rank to ſubmit to Offices, much meaner than this. Herein then do the Truth and Authority of the *ſacred Hiſtory* moſt eminently appear, that all its Accounts and Deſcriptions of Things do agree with the *Senſe* of the moſt antient Writers, and are found conformable to the *Manners* and *Cuſtoms*, that then prevailed. From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii.

And his contending his Right to ſeveral Wells, are all no Reflection upon the Patriarch.

AND, in like manner, we may ſay, that *(r)* it is our Ignorance of the *patriarchal* Manner of living, which makes us think it unaccountable to hear, in thoſe early Days, of ſo many Conteſts about Wells. For, were we to take a nearer Inſpection into the Thing, we ſhould ſoon find, that in thoſe hot Countries, where Water was ſo very ſcarce, a *Well*, or Fountain of living Water, was a Poſſeſſion of ineſtimable Value; and for this Reaſon we find *Moſes*, in magnifying the divine Bounty to the Children of *Iſrael*, among other Parts of the *Inventory*, reckoning up, not only *(s) great and goodly Cities, which they built not*, but WELLS *likewiſe digged, which they digged not.*

(t) NOR was it only for the Benefit of the Water, that theſe Wells were held in ſo high Eſteem, but for the Memory of the *Events* and *Tranſactions* likewiſe, which were known to have happened near them. For at theſe Wells Angels had appeared, Miracles had been wrought, religious Aſſemblies held, Treaties tranſacted, Marriages celebrated, and Towns and Cities built, and therefore no Wonder, that the *Antients*, looking upon them as *ſacred*, as well as profitable Places, ſhould be ſo ready to conteſt their Right to them, or that frequent Notice

(n) Heidegger's Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 12. *(o)* Iſa. xxii. 13. *(p)* Gen. xxxv. 28, 29. *(q) Le Clerc's* Annotations. *(r) Bibliotheca Bibl.* Occaſ. Annot. 29. *(s)* Deut. vi. 11. *(t) Shuckford's* Connection, Vol. II. l. 7.

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Notice ſhould be taken of them in ſo compendious an Hiſtory, as that of the *Patriarchs*.

THE Truth is, theſe, and perhaps ſome other Occurrences in the Life of this Patriarch (tho' to us they may ſeem ſtrange and incongruous) do not argue any Want or Poverty, but are exactly agreeable to that Temperance, and Simplicity of Living, which, in his Days, were in Vogue. He, who was, in a Manner, ſole Heir of his Father *Abraham*, (who was * a King in the Opinion of ſome, but, in all Accounts, a Perſon of great Affluence of Fortune) and who himſelf had made Additions to it, enough to be envied even by neighbouring Princes, could not poſſibly want any neceſſary Accommodation of Life, nor wou'd he concern himſelf with Things of a trifling Conſideration: But what we call Trifles, might, in thoſe Times, be Matters of the laſt Importance; and, what we account Indications of Poverty, might proceed from no other Cauſe, but that Frugality and Parcimony, * which, in the primitive Ages, were in high Repute, before they came to be diſcountenanc'd by the preſent Schemes of Expence, and ſtudied Luxury. And therefore, when we find *(u)* in antient Hiſtory, the *Arcadians* feeding upon Acorns, the *Argives*, upon Apples; the *Athenians*, upon Figs; *&c.* when we find * a Set of the moſt renown'd Heroes in the *Grecian* Army, even in the great *Achilles*'s Tent, dining upon a Loin of Mutton, and an Hock of Bacon; and the *Godlike* Man *Patroclus* lighting the Fire, while the Maſter of the Feaſt was ſpitting the Meat; our Wonder may ceaſe, if, in Ages before this, we meet with ſuch an homely Diſh, as *Lentil-Pottage* in a Patriarch's Houſe, and the two Sons of the Family condeſcending to cook their own Victuals. This we muſt own is not the Practice among us; but it is a much more conſiſtent and credible Account of Things, than if *Moſes* had repreſented *Iſaac*'s Tent like a *royal Palace*, and every Thing ſerv'd up there in the ſame ſplendid Manner, as when the King and his Family *dine in public*.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

DISSER-

* The Words of *Nicholaus Damaſcenus*, (as they are quoted by *Joſephus*) are theſe: —— "*Abraham* reign'd in "*Damaſcus*, being a Stranger, who came out of the Land of *Chaldea*, beyond *Babylon*. His Name is, at this "Day, famous about the Country of *Damaſcus*, and they ſhew us the Town, which, from him, is call'd *Abraham*'s "Dwelling." *Grotius* de Verit. lib. 1. §. 16.

* The Manner of living, in the early Ages of the World, ſeems to be very well expreſſed by the *Roman* Satyriſt:

Credo pudicitiam, Staturno Rege, moratam
In terris, viſamque diu; cum frigida parvas
Præberet ſpelunca domus, ignemque, laremque,
Et pecus, & Dominos, communi clauderit umbrâ.
Sylveſtrem montana torum cum ſterneret uxor
Frondibus, & culmo, vicinarumque ferarum
Pellibus.————————————
Et ſæpe horridior glandem ructante marito. JUVEN. Sat. 6.

(*u*) *Ælian* de Variâ Hiſtoriâ. l. 3.

* When the *Grecians* ſent an Embaſſy to *Achilles*, deſiring him to be reconcil'd to *Agamemnon*, and to return to the Camp; the Deputies, appointed for this Purpoſe, were *Phœnix*, *Ajax*, and *Ulyſſes*, and the Entertainment, which *Achilles*, upon this Occaſion, gave them, is thus deſcrib'd, and in this Manner ſaid to have been dreſs'd, by the Poet:

———— Πάτροκλος δὲ φίλῳ ἐπιείδετο ἑταίρῳ.
Αὐτὰρ ὅγε κρεῖον μέγα κάββαλεν ἐν πυρὸς αὐγῇ,
Ἐν δ' ἄρα νῶτον ἔθηκε δίος, καὶ πίονος αἰγὸς
Ἐν δέ συὸς σιάλοιο ῥάχιν τεθαλυῖαν ἀλοιφῇ.
Τῷ δ' ἔχεν Αὐτομέδων· τάμνεν δ' ἄρα δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.
Καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ μίσυλλε, καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειρε·
Πῦρ δὲ Μενοιτιάδης δαΐεν μέγα ἰσόθεος φώς.————
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ὤπτησε, καὶ εἰν ἑλεοῖσιν ἔχευε,
Πάτροκλος μὲν σῖτον ἐλὼν ἐπάνειμε τραπέζῃ,
Καλοῖς ἐν κανέοισιν· ἀτὰρ κρέα νεῖμεν Ἀχιλλεύς. HOM. Iliad. ix.

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From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

DISSERTATION II.

Of Iſaac's *Bleſſing to* Jacob.

The History.

The firſt Inſtitution of theſe Kind of Bleſſings.

FROM the Time, that God made the Covenant with *Abraham*, and promis'd Bleſſings extraordinary to his Seed, it was cuſtomary for the Father of each Family, ſome Time before he died, to call together his Children, and to inform them, according to the Knowledge, which it pleas'd God then to give him, how, and in what Manner, the *Bleſſing of Abraham* was to deſcend among them. Whence this Cuſtom had its Original, whether from the immediate Appointment of God, or from ſome ſecret Impulſe, wherewith the Patriarchs, upon the Approach of their Departure, found themſelves affected, the Silence of Scripture will not ſuffer us to determine; but this we may ſafely infer, *(x)* that this *Benediction* was different from thoſe *private* Bleſſings, which the Patriarchs gave their Children upon ſundry Occaſions, and different likewiſe from thoſe *public* Bleſſings, which the Prieſts, and others in Authority, were wont to diſtribute among the People. It proceeded from an extraordinary *Illumination*, and had the Proſpect of Futurity (ſo far as was neceſſary for its Purpoſe) ſubmitted to its Inſpection. The Perſons, upon whom it came, had, for that Time, the Spirit of *Divination*, and what they utter'd, under its Influence, was deem'd a *prophetick Oracle*, denoting infallible Events, and extended to the utmoſt Period of Time.

Why Iſaac *deſired to eat, before he pronounc'd his Bleſſing.*

THE *Jews* indeed have a *proverbial* Saying, *that the Spirit of Prophecy does not fall upon the Melancholick*; and thence they ſuppoſe, that, as good Eating and Drinking are known to exhilarate the Spirits, the Patriarch, by ſending his Son to take Veniſon, was minded to make uſe of that Expedient, that he might be the better diſpos'd to receive the divine Inſpiration, and to pronounce the prophetical Benediction with Chearfulneſs, and with a Warmth and Emotion ſufficient to excite that Attention, which the *Prophecy*, he was about to deliver, did require.

(y) BUT as no one in his Senſes can imagine, that a Perſon, when perfectly ſober, is not as capable of the Spirit of Prophecy, as he that has plentifully din'd; others, from the Phraſe, *that* I *may bleſs thee* BEFORE THE LORD, ſuppoſe *(z)* that *Iſaac*'s Eating, in order to receive the Spirit of Benediction, was by him deſign'd to be *ſacramental*, and accompany'd with ſome religious Rites, and ſolemn Invocations, tho' they happen not to be here mention'd. But this Suppoſition being as precarious, as the other, the ſafeſt Way is to reſolve the whole Matter into the *Providence* of God *(a)* who put *Iſaac* into the Head of ſending out *Eſau* for Veniſon, neither to refreſh his Spirits by eating, nor to perform any religious Act, but merely by his Abſence, to give *Jacob* an advantageous Opportunity of appropriating the Bleſſing to himſelf.

Why he intended it for Eſau.

ISAAC indeed meant not this, neither was it in his Heart to bleſs *Jacob*; and therefore, if we ſuppoſe that *Rebekah* had acquainted him with the Prophecy, which

(x) Heidegger's Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 7. *(y) Le Clerc*'s Commentary. *(z) Bibliotheca Bibl.* *(a) Pool*'s Annotations.

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which directed him to transfer the Bleſſing upon *Jacob*, we muſt ſuppoſe withal, *(b)* that he had now forgot it, or never rightly underſtood it, or apprehended, that it was to be accompliſh'd, not in the Perſons of *Eſau* and *Jacob*, but in their Poſterity *(c)*; for it is much better to charge the *Patriarch* with want of Attention or Underſtanding, than with Diſobedience and Prevarication.

The Benediction itſelf explained.

HOWEVER this be, the Bleſſing, which he pronounces over *Jacob* by Miſtake, is conceived in theſe Words: *God give thee of the Dew of Heaven*, (becauſe, in hot Countries, where Showers were leſs frequent, the Morning and Evening Dews were a great Refreſhment to the Earth, and productive of much Plenty:) *And the Fatneſs of the Earth*, becauſe *Canaan*, the Lot of his Inheritance, was a fruitful, and therefore *(d)* by the Prophet call'd, *a fat Land*; *and Plenty of Corn and Wine*, (Abundance of every Product of the Earth.) *Let People ſerve thee*, (i. e. the *Idumæans*, who ſhall deſcend from thy Brother *Eſau*, as they did in the Days of *David:*) *And Nations bow down unto thee*, (the Kingdoms of *Arabia* and *Syria*, who are ſprung from *Hagar* and *Keturah:*) *Be Lord over thy Brethren, and let thy Mother's Son bow down unto thee*, (have thou the Dominion and Prerogative in thine own Family) *Curſed be every one that curſeth thee, and bleſſed be every one that bleſſeth thee*; for God ſhall ſo far intereſt himſelf in thy Cauſe, as to eſteem thoſe his Friends or Foes, who ſhall behave themſelves, as ſuch, to thee. So that the Bleſſing conſiſts properly of three Branches: In the 1ſt is contain'd worldly Plenty and Proſperity: In the 2d Dominion and Empire: And in the 3d, Family Pre-eminence, as well as the divine Protection: But then the Queſtion is, in what Senſe all this is to be underſtood, and to what Branch the peculiar *Bleſſing of* Abraham (which is doubtleſs compris'd herein) may be ſuppos'd to belong?

IF we look back *(e)* to the Call of *Abraham*, and the Promiſes which attended it, there we ſhall find, *(f)* that, after enumerating the temporal Bleſſings, which were to deſcend from *Abraham* to his Poſterity, one Bleſſing is added, in which all the World has an Intereſt, and which was convey'd to them thro' *Abraham* and his Seed: *In thee*, ſays God, *ſhall all the Families of the Earth be bleſſed.* From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 9.

That there is a ſpiritual Senſe and Meaning in it.

IF we proceed to the Bleſſing, which he was pleaſed to give to his Son *Iſaac*, we ſhall find a Recital of the ſame Kinds of temporal Proſperity; a numerous Progeny promis'd, the Grant of the Land of *Canaan* renew'd, the Oath, given unto *Abraham*, confirm'd, and then follows the great and diſtinguiſhing Promiſe *(g)*, *in thy Seed ſhall all the Nations of the Earth be bleſſed.* And, in like Manner, we cannot but imagine, that, in this great and ſolemn Bleſſing, which *Iſaac* is giving his Son *Jacob*, there muſt be ſomething of a ſpiritual Nature compriſed, tho' couched under Terms, which ſeem to denote worldly Felicity only.

THE Author to the *Hebrews* tells us, that *(h)* *by Faith* Iſaac *bleſſed* Jacob *and* Eſau *concerning Things to come*; and what we are to underſtand by *Faith* he inſtructs us in the Concluſion of his Diſcourſe; *and theſe all* (meaning the Patriarchs, he had mentioned before) *having obtain'd a good Report through Faith, received not the Promiſe, God having provided ſome better Thing for us, that they, without us ſhould not be made perfect.* So that this Faith did chiefly relate to the *bleſſed Seed*, which was promiſed in the Beginning, and from continued Tradition, and divine Revelation, in every ſucceeding Age, embraced by the *Faithful*; and therefore we can hardly ſuppoſe, but that, in this great *prophetical* Benediction, there muſt be ſomething concerning this *Seed*, implied, at leaſt, if not, expreſſed.

WHOEVER takes but a curſory View of ſome of the chief Paſſages of *Jacob*'s

(b) Poole's Annotations. *(c) Saurin*'s Diſſertations. *(d)* Nehem. ix. 25. *(e)* Gen. xii. *(f)* Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy. *(g)* Gen. xxvi. 4. *(h)* Heb. xi. 20.

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Life, will ſoon perceive, that, had his Father's Bleſſing conſiſted of worldly Advantages only, it was, in a Manner, quite loſt upon him, ſince few Men enjoyed a leſs Share of that, than he, who was forc'd from his Home, into a far Country, for Fear of his Brother; deceiv'd and oppreſs'd by his Uncle; and, *(i)* after a Servitude, of above twenty Years, compelled to flee from him; while, at the ſame Time, he was in imminent Danger, either of being purſu'd and brought back by *Laban*, or fallen upon, and murther'd by *Eſau*. Theſe Fears were no ſooner over, but the Baſeneſs of his eldeſt Son, in *defiling his Couch*; the Treachery and Cruelty of the two next, in Relation to the *Sechemites*; the Loſs of his beloved Wife, and the ſuppoſed untimely Death of his Son *Joſeph*; to ſay nothing of his being compelled by Famine to go down into *Egypt*, and there die: Theſe, and many more Inſtances, are Proofs ſufficient, that his Father's Bleſſing was of a different Nature. For, ſuppoſing it to relate to temporal Proſperity and Dominion only, wherein can we ſay that *Jacob* had the Pre-eminence above his Brother? *(k)* If *Jacob* was *bleſſed with the Dew of Heaven, and the Fatneſs of the Earth*; Eſau's Bleſſing (at leaſt according to our Tranſlation) in this Reſpect is not inferior: *Thy Dwelling*, ſays his Father, *ſhall be the Fatneſs of the Earth, and of the Dew of Heaven from above.* If *Nations were to bow down to* Jacob, *Eſau* likewiſe *was to live and prevail with his Sword.* If *Jacob's Brethren* were to *bow down to him*; yet, the Time would come, when *Eſau ſhould have Dominion, and break* even *this Yoke from off his Neck.* Thus, if we interpret the whole Bleſſing of *temporal* Proſperity only, the two Brothers ſeem to ſtand upon an Equality; and yet it is evident, from the whole Story, that the chief Bleſſing, which their Father had to beſtow, was fallen upon *Jacob*, and therefore he tells *Eſau*, when he preſſed him for a Bleſſing upon himſelf likewiſe: *Behold I have made him thy Lord, and all his Brethren have I given unto him for Servants, and with Corn and Wine have I ſuſtained him, and what ſhall I do now unto thee, my Son?* And when *Eſau* ſtill urges his Father, and his Father thereupon bleſſes him, we may obſerve, that, of Corn, and Wine, and temporal Power, he gives him a full, and an equal Share; but then there is this Limitation in the Bleſſing, *Thou ſhalt ſerve thy Brother:* So that, whatever was peculiarly given to *Jacob*, was contain'd in the Grant of *being Lord over his Brethren*; and yet the Hiſtory of the two Brothers will not allow us to expound it of any temporal Dominion; for, if we ſhould, ſee how the Caſe will ſtand: *(l) Jacob is to rule over* Eſau; and yet no ſooner is the Bleſſing given, but he flies his Country for fear of *Eſau*; he lives abroad for many Years; and, when he returns, the Fear and Dread of his Brother returns with him; ſo that his only Refuge, in this his Diſtreſs, was to God: *(m) Deliver me, I pray thee, from the Hand of my Brother, from the Hand of* Eſau. When he ſends a Meſſage to him, he ſtiles himſelf, *(n) Thy Servant* Jacob: When he meets him, *(o) he bows himſelf to the Ground ſeven Times, until he comes near to* Eſau: When he ſpeaks to him, he calls him *Lord*; and when he is kindly receiv'd by him, he ſays, *(p) I have ſeen thy Face, as though I had ſeen the Face of God, and thou wert pleaſed with me.* What is there in all this, that ſhews any *Rule* and *Dominion* given to *Jacob* over his Brother *Eſau*?

From Gen. xxv. 20 to Ch. xxviii. 8.

And in like Manner, if we imagine the Prophecy relates to temporal Dominion only, and yet was fulfilled in the *Poſterity* of theſe two Brothers, the Queſtion will be, how the Caſe, upon this Suppoſition, ſtands? *(q)* The Family of *Eſau* was ſettled in Power and Dominion many Years, before *Jacob*'s Family had any certain

(i) Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7. *(k)* Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy, Diſc. 5. *(l)* Ibid. *(m)* Gen. xxxii. 11. *(n)* Ver. 20. *(o)* Chap. xxxiii. 3. *(p)* Ver. 10. *(q)* Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy, Diſc. 5.

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tain Dwelling-Place. The *Dukes* and *Kings* of *Eſau*'s Houſe are reckon'd up; and the Hiſtorian tells us, that *(r) theſe are the Kings, who reigned in the Land of* Edom, *before there reigned any King over the Children of* Iſrael. When the appointed Time was come for eſtabliſhing the Houſe of *Iſrael*, and giving them the Land and Poſſeſſions of their Enemies, the Family of *Eſau* were, by a particular Decree, exempted from the Dominion of *Iſrael*: For ſo the Lord commanded *Moſes, (s) Ye are to paſs through the Coaſt of your Brethren, the Children of* Eſau.—— *Take ye good Heed unto yourſelves therefore; meddle not with them; for I will not give you of their Land, no not ſo much as a Foot-breadth.* In the Time of *David* indeed, *(t) they of* Edom *became his Servants*; but, in the Days of *Jehoram*, they recovered again, *(u) and made a King over themſelves*, and in the Time of *Ahaz*, they revenged the Affront, *(x) by ſmiting* Judah, *and leading them away Captives.* So that this Variety of Fortune, between the Children of *Jacob* and *Eſau*, could never be the Thing intended, or meant to be deſcribed, when the Promiſe was given to *Jacob, that his Mother's Children ſhould bow down unto him.*

What that Meaning is.

WHAT then is the hidden Purpoſe of the Words, and in what Senſe are they to be taken? Why, it ſeems pretty evident, that the Bleſſing, given to *Jacob*, and expreſſed in Words implying *a Rule over his Brethren*, was a Conveyance of the Birth-right to him, in the Family of *Abraham*; that the Birth-right in *Abraham*'s Family (beſides the Promiſe of the Land of *Canaan*) reſpected the ſpecial Bleſſing given unto *Abraham* by God; and that this ſpecial Bleſſing denoted no other, than that *Perſon*, in whom all Families of the Earth were to be bleſſed, and that is *Chriſt*. For, *(y)* that the Regard of all *Nations* to the *Seed*, in which they were *all to be bleſſed*, ſhould be expreſſed by their *bowing down to him*, is no hard Figure of Speech; and that the Superiority of *Jacob*'s Family ſhou'd, one Day, be broken (as the Promiſe to *Eſau* ſets forth) when *Jews* and *Gentiles* ſhou'd equally become the People of God, and *all Nations* be equally *bleſſed*, is no more, than what the original Covenant contains. Upon the whole then we may obſerve, that this Prediction had its full Accompliſhment, neither in the *Perſon* of *Jacob*, nor in his *Poſterity* in general, but only in *one*, who, as to his human Nature, *in the Fulneſs of Time*, deſcended from him, *and (z) who, being in the Form of God* (as the Apoſtle acquaints us with both his Natures) *and thinking it no Robbery to be equal with God, made himſelf of no Reputation, and took upon him the Form of a Servant, and was made in the Likeneſs of Men, and being found in Faſhion as a Man, humbled himſelf, and became obedient unto Death, even the Death of the Croſs. Wherefore God alſo hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name, which is above every Name, that at the Name of* Jeſus *every Knee ſhould bow, of Things in Heaven, and Things in the Earth, and Things under the Earth, and that every Tongue ſhall confeſs, that* Jeſus Chriſt *is Lord, to the Glory of God the Father.*

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

Why it was not revoked.

SINCE this Part of the Bleſſing then, which *Iſaac* beſtowed upon *Jacob*, was of ſuch high Import, as to refer *ultimately* to the Perſon of our bleſſed Saviour, and his Exaltation into Glory; this may ſuggeſt a Reaſon to us, why, tho' it was certainly obtain'd by Guile, it was not afterwards revok'd, but ratified rather and confirm'd, even when his Father came to underſtand the Impoſture. For if *(a) Prophecy came not, of old Time, by the Will of Man, but holy Men of God ſpake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt, (b)* then is *Iſaac*, in this Action, to be conſider'd only as the *inſtrumental*, and God as the *principal* Cauſe; the Efficacy of the Bleſſing therefore muſt be

(r) Gen. xxxvi. 31. (s) Deut. ii. 4, 5. (t) 2 Sam. xviii. 14. (u) 2 Kings viii. 20.
(x) 2 Chron. xxviii. 17. (y) Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy, Diſc. 5. (z) Phil. ii. 6, &c.
(a) 2 Pet. i. 21. (b) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 14.

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be ſuppoſed to depend, not on his Will and Intention, but on God's Ordination and Appointment; and, conſequently, *Iſaac* could have no Right or Authority to diſannul the Bleſſing, had he been minded ſo to do. *(c)* But it is much more likely, that the Remembrance of the Prophecy concerning the two Children, which *Rebekah* had vouchſafed her, before they were born, might, at this Time, come to ſtrike him; and, ſeeing he had in his Bleſſing (tho' not deſignedly) confirmed the ſame, he might very well impute it to an over-ruling Providence, and ſo be concluded by the divine Determination; in which Senſe that Paſſage, relating to *Eſau*, in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, is moſt proper to be applied: *(d) We know, how that afterward, when he would have inherited a Bleſſing, he was rejected: For he found no Place of Repentance, tho' he ſought it carefully with Tears.* But how was *Eſau rejected from inheriting a Bleſſing*, when we find, that, upon his Importunity with his Father, he obtained one? He obtained a Bleſſing indeed, but not *that*, which, by hereditary Right, belonged to the Firſt-born, and abounded with Bleſſings, both ſpiritual and temporal. This his Brother *Jacob* had ſupplanted him of; and yet he could not prevail with his Father to revoke it. He could not bring him to *change his Mind*, (as it is in the Margin) and *repent* of the Bleſſing, he had given to *Jacob*, (for *(e)* it is *Iſaac*'s *Repentance*, not *Eſau*'s, that is here under Conſideration) although he ſought it *with Tears*; and the Reaſon is,——becauſe his Father knew, both by the Conduct of Providence in this whole Affair, and by a particular Inſpiration at that Time, that the peculiar Bleſſings, promis'd to *Abraham*, and *his Seed*, did not belong to him, but, by the divine Appointment, were now conſign'd to his Brother, and his Poſterity; and therefore, to ſilence all farther Clamour, he tells him, with a more than ordinary *Emphaſis*, and Inflexibility, *(f) I have bleſſed him, yea, and he ſhall be bleſſed.*

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii 8.

(c) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. *(d)* Heb. xii. 17. *(e)* *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 14.
(f) Gen. xxvii. 33.

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From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

CHAP. III.

Of the Life of JACOB, *from his going into* Meſopotamia, *to his Return.*

The HISTORY.

Jacob's *Viſion.*

AS ſoon as *Jacob* had receiv'd his Father's Charge and Bleſſing, he departed privately from *Beerſheba*, and, * made the beſt of his Way to *Haran*; but after his firſt Day's Journey *, happening to be benighted, he was forced to take up his Lodging in the open Air, with the ſpangled Sky to be his *Canopy*, and an hard Stone his *Pillow*. However, while he ſlept, he thought he ſaw a *Ladder* fix'd upon the Earth, and reaching up to Heaven, with Angels aſcending and deſcending on it; and, from the Top of this Ladder, he heard God ſpeaking unto him, and promiſing him (even as had done his Fore-Fathers) the Land of *Canaan* for his Inheritance; a large and numerous Poſterity; the *Meſſias* to deſcend from his Family; a ſafe Return to his native Country; and the divine Protection and Preſervation every where to attend him.

THIS, in all Probability was the firſt Vouchſafement of this Kind, which *Jacob* ever had; and his Dream had made ſuch Impreſſion upon him, that, as ſoon as he awak'd, he paid an awful Reverence to the Place, and, after a ſhort Contemplation of what had paſſed, broke out into this Rapture of Wonder and Admiration: "*How venerable is this Place*, over which "are vertically the Palace of God, and "the *Gate of Heaven*, through which the "holy Angels are continually iſſuing out, "to execute the divine Commands!" And when he aroſe, he erected the Stone, whereon he ſlept, and (as the Cuſtom of thoſe

* The *Jews* tell of ſeveral Miracles, which they ſuppoſe to have been wrought on the very Day that *Jacob* ſet out from *Beerſheba*; but one more eſpecially, *viz.* that God ſhortened the Hours, by cauſing the Sun to go down before its Time; and yet we are told, that from *Beerſheba* to *Luz*, where he lodged the firſt Night, were about 48 *Engliſh* Miles, which was no inconſiderable Day's Journey. If there be any Meaning therefore in this Fiction of theirs, it muſt conſiſt in this,——That *Jacob* was ſent away with his Father's Bleſſing, and, in Virtue of that, was filled with a certain divine Power, which ſupported, and carried him on with Pleaſure, ſo that the Day might thence ſeem ſhorter to him; and, tho' his Father ſent no Friend or Domeſtick along with him, yet there is no doubt to be made, but that there was a Companion and Guardian of a far nobler Order aſſigned him, who led him by the Hand, as it were, and *kept him in all his Ways*. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in Locum.

* The Place were *Jacob* took up his Lodging, was near *Luz*, which ſignifies an *Almond*, and might very likely have its Name from the many Groves of Almond-Trees, which were thereabouts; and under ſome of which, 'tis not unlikely that *Jacob* might take up his Lodging, becauſe the Largeneſs of their Leaves, in that Country, wou'd afford no incommodious Shelter from the Weather. *Jacob*, upon the Account of the Viſion, which he had in this Place, called it *Bethel*; and the *Iſraelites*, when they conquer'd *Canaan*, in the Remembrance of the ſame, continu'd the Name. It lay to the Weſt of *Hai*, about eight Miles to the North of *Jeruſalem*, in Confines of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Benjamin*. So that, upon the Revolt of the ten Tribes, it belong'd to the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, and was therefore one of the Cities, where *Jeroboam* ſet up his golden Calves, whence the Prophet *Hoſea* [Chap. iv. 15.] alluding to the Name given it by *Jacob*, calls it *Beth-aven*, inſtead of *Bethel*, i. e. *the Houſe of Vanity* or *Idols*, inſtead of *the Houſe of God*. *Patrick*'s *Commentary*, and *Wells*'s Geography, of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I.

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Times was) † pour'd Oil upon it, and then, in pious Commemoration of the heavenly Viſion, called the Place, which before was called *Luz)* by the Name of *Bethel*, i. e. the Houſe of God. But, before he went from thence, he made a † ſolemn Vow to God, "That, if he would "protect and proſper him in his Journey, "provide him with † common Neceſſa-"ries in his Abſence, and grant him an "happy Return to his Father's Houſe; "to him alone would he direct his reli-"gious Worſhip; in that very Place "where the Pillar ſtood, upon his Re-"turn, would he make his devout Ac-"knowledgments, and offer unto him the "† Tenth of whatever he ſhould gain in "the Land of *Meſopotamia*." From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

His Arrival at Haran, *and Interview with* Rachel.

HAVING thus performed his Devotions, he ‖ proceeded in his Journey, and, after ſome Weeks, arriv'd at *Haran*. As he came near the Town, he ſaw ſome Shepherds, with their Flocks, not far from a Well, which was covered with a large Stone; and, while he was enquiring of them concerning *Laban* and his Family, he was given to underſtand, that they were all well, and that it would not be long before

† Hence it ſeems evident, that, *Jacob* did not leave his Father's Houſe, without being firſt provided for his Journey; for it cannot bethought, that, if he wanted other Neceſſaries, he would have carried Oil along with him, and that in ſuch Plenty, as to pour it out, in ſuch a ſeemingly profuſe Manner, upon an inanimate Subject. *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

† Several Annotators have obſerv'd, that this is the firſt *Vow*, that we read of in Scripture; but this is no Reaſon for our ſuppoſing, that *Jacob* was the firſt, who worſhipped in this Manner, but rather that in *this* he did no more, than what his Fathers, *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, had done before him, and as they had inſtructed him, both by Example and Precept. As for *Abraham*, tho' there be no mention made expreſsly of a *Vow*, yet very certain it is, that in effect he did the ſame Thing. For, when the Lord is ſaid to have *made a Covenant with him*, Abraham, on his Part, muſt be ſuppos'd to expreſs his Conſent and Acceptation of it; and not only ſo; but to vow and promiſe to perform the Conditions, in order to attain the Benefit of it. And, in like Manner, when *Iſaac* is ſaid to have *intreated the Lord for his Wife*, 'tis highly probable, that he vowed a Vow to God, that, upon his Performance of the Promiſe of multiplying his Seed, &c. he would, on his Part, as an Acknowledgment of it, make ſome or other ſuitable Return; for the Word, which we render *intreat*, in its Original, has a much ſtronger Signification, and denotes a Solliciting of Favours, whether from God or Man, by Gifts, Vows, or Promiſes. So that we may juſtly conclude, that his Son did not do this of his own Head, or upon an immediate Revelation commanding him ſo to do, but that he was before taught, and inſtructed by his Father in this Solemnity, as a Part of both *natural* and *poſitive* Religion. *Biblioth. Biblica.*

† *Jacob*'s Words, upon this Occaſion, are, *If God will give me Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on*, which two Articles comprize all the Neceſſaries of Life, and therefore we find them, in the Writings of the Philoſophers, always put together. For *theſe are the Bounds*, ſays *Seneca*, [Ep. 4.] *which Nature has ſet us, that we ſhould not hunger, nor thirſt, nor be cold:* For *our Diet and Dreſs*, ſays *Tully*, *ſhould contribute to our Health and Strength, not to Luxury or Pleaſure*, [de Offic. l. 1. c. 13.] We may obſerve however further, that, by the Patriarch's covenanting here with God only for *Food* and *Raiment*, does appear the groſs Miſtake of thoſe, who pretend that he ſupplanted his Brother for covetous Ends, as if his Father's Eſtate, and the Poſſeſſion of a rich Country for himſelf, and his Heirs, were the Things, which he had only in View. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in Locum.

† This is the ſecond Mention of *Tythes* or *Tenths*, and the firſt Dedication of them to God; and from this Place we may fairly conclude, that *Jacob*, the *Grand-Child* of *Abraham*, vowing the *Tenth of all* (as *Abraham* had given *the Tenth of the Spoil)* was induced to do it by the Cuſtom, which then prevailed among religious People. How they came to pitch upon this *Portion*, rather than a *fifth*, or *ſixth*, or any other Quantity, is not ſo eaſy to be reſolved; but they ſeem to ſpeak with much Reaſon, who obſerve, that, in this Number *ten*, all Nations in a Manner do end their Account, and then begin again with *compound* Numbers, (or as others phraſe it) that this is the End of *leſs* Numbers, and the Beginning of the *greater*, for which Reaſon it was looked on as the moſt perfect of all other, and accordingly had in great Regard: But, after all, it ſeems moſt likely, that they had ſome divine Precept and Direction for it. At this Time 'tis certain, that the Order of Prieſthood was not inſtituted; and therefore the only Purpoſe, to which *Jacob* could appropriate the *Tythes*, he gave, were, either for the Maintenance of Burnt-Sacrifices, and other pious Uſes, or perhaps for the Relief of the Poor. But how, and when, he actually performed his Vow, does no where appear in Scripture, unleſs it was from his Return from *Padan-Aram* [Gen. xxxv. 7, 14.] when he *built an Altar at* El Bethel, *and ſet up a Pillar in the Place, where God had talked with him, and poured a Drink-Offering, and Oil thereon.* *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‖ The Words in the Text are, *And came to the Land of the People in the Eaſt*, Gen. xxix, 1. which makes ſome imagine, that he travelled *Eaſtward:* But this is a Miſtake, becauſe *Meſopotamia*, and particularly *Haran*, lay *Northward* from *Bethel*. *Babylon* however lay *Eaſtward* from both Places; and therefore, *Meſopotamia* being Part of the *Babyloniſh* Dominions, the *Babylonians* might well be called the *People of the Eaſt*, and *Jacob* is only ſaid to have gone into a Country, of which they were Lords and Maſters. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, l. 3. c. 4.

JACOBS first meeting with RACHAEL.



M. Scheits Del. Kirkall Sc

And Jacob looked and behold a Well in the Field, and lo there were Three Flocks of Sheep lying by it. page 291

Pl.34 And while he yet Spake with them Rachael came wth her Fathers Sheep. Gen. 29

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fore his Daughter † *Rachel* would be there with her Flock. Nor had this Diſcourſe long paſſed, before ſhe came; whereupon *Jacob* having very obligingly rolled away the Stone, and watered her Sheep for her, took Occaſion to let her know who he was, and, as he proceeded to ſalute his Couſin, was, in a Manner, ready to weep for Joy; while ſhe made what haſte ſhe cou'd home, in order to inform her Father, of what had paſſed. He immediately came to meet his Nephew, and receiv'd him with all the Kindneſs, and all the Tenderneſs imaginable, whilſt he related to him † the Occaſion of his leaving his Father's Family, and what Adventures, he had met with, in the Way.

Marries both her, and her Siſter Leah.

JACOB had not been long in his Uncle's Houſe, before he applied himſelf to Buſineſs; and having now ſerv'd him, for the Space of a Month, in the Capacity of a Shepherd, his Uncle, one Day, took an Occaſion to diſcourſe him, and to let him know, that he neither expected nor thought it reaſonable, to have his Labour for nothing, and therefore deſir'd him to name what Wages he wou'd have. The lovely Shepherdeſs had already captivated *Jacob*'s Heart; and therefore he names her for the Reward † of his Seven-years Service, which her Father readily conſented to, and he as readily enter'd upon, becauſe the Love, which he had to his *Rachel*, made him account the longeſt Time ſhort. From Gen. xxviii. 20. to Ch. xxxvii.

LABAN, we muſt know, had another Daughter, named *Leah*, older than *Rachel*, but not ſo beautiful, having ſome Blemiſh, or Soreneſs in her Eyes; and when the Time of *Jacob*'s Servitude was expired, and he demanded his Wife, his Father-in-law ſeem'd to ſolemnize the Nuptials with great Magnificence, but, in the Evening, he put an unfair Trick upon him. For, inſtead of the beauteous *Rachel*, he † brought the blear-ey'd *Leah* to his Bed; which when *Jacob* perceiv'd next Morning, and thereupon made juſt Remonſtrances, the Father had his Anſwer ready, and, and in a magiſterial Tone, told him, "That it was an unprecedented Thing in "that Country (and wou'd have been "deem'd an Injury to her Siſter) to marry "the Younger before the Elder; but,

(continu'd

† *Rachel*, in the *Hebrew* Tongue, ſignifies a *Sheep*: Nor need we wonder at her being called ſo, ſince it was a common Thing, among the Antients, to give Names, not only to particular Perſons, but even to conſiderable Families, [as the Words *Porcius, Ovilius, Caprilius, Equilius*, &c. mentioned by *Varro* de Re Ruſticâ, l. 2. c. 1. ſufficiently ſhews] from Cattle, both great and ſmall. Much leſs Reaſon have we to wonder, that we find her keeping her Father's Sheep, ſince that Employment, in thoſe early Days, was accounted very honourable, as from *Homer* and other antient Writings, is ſufficiently evident. We need not ſuppoſe however, that the whole Drudgery of the Work lay upon her; ſhe had thoſe under her, who took this off her Hands, and her Buſineſs was only, as the chief *Shepherdeſs*, to inſpect over them. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† The Things, which *Jacob* inform'd his Uncle *Laban* of at this Time, may be ſuppos'd to be ſuch, as related to the Occaſion of his Journey; as, particularly, all that had paſſed between his Brother and him, as to the Right of *Primogeniture*; the *Purchaſe* which he had made of it, and what enſu'd; their two different Manners of living; the *Deſign* of his Father, with reſpect to them; the *Management* of the Mother, to procure him the Bleſſing; the *Reſentment* of his Brother at this Diſappointment; the prudent *Diſmiſſion* of himſelf thereupon, both by Father and Mother; the *Diſpleaſure*, they had conceived at his Brothers matching himſelf into *ſtrange* Families; and the *ſtrict Orders*, they had therefore given him, to take a Wife out of his own Kindred, and of the Houſe of his Mother's Father, which was the Reaſon of his coming thither; and, laſtly, the wonderful Occurrences, he had met with on his Journey, more eſpecially, as to the whole Affair of *Bethel*, and the happy Meeting of his Daughter at the Well, to his great and ſurpriſing Satisfaction. *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

† It was a Cuſtom, which had prevailed almoſt in all Ages, that, in contracting Marriages, as the Wife brought a *Portion* to the Huſband, ſo the Huſband ſhould be likewiſe obliged to give her, or her Parents, Money, or Preſents, (which ſometimes in Scripture are called the *Dowry*) in Lieu of this Portion: But *Jacob*, being deſtitute of Money, offers his Uncle ſeven Years Service, which muſt needs have been equivalent to a large Sum: and being ſo, it is more to be wondered at, that he did not ſend over to his Parents, for a Supply upon this Occaſion, rather than bind himſelf a Servant for ſo long a Term. But, from the Cuſtom in uſe among us, there is no Judgment to be made what the Cuſtom and Practice was then. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† The Modeſty of thoſe Times made them bring the Bride to her Huſband's Bed *veiled*, and without Lights, which *gave Laban* an Opportunity to impoſe upon *Jacob*, and made it a Thing almoſt impoſſible for him to diſcern, the Deception, until next Morning. *Howell*'s Hiſtory, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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" (continu'd he, in a milder Tone) if you " will † fulfil the nuptial Week with " your Wife, and conſent to ſerve another " ſeven Years for her Siſter, I am content " to take your Word for it, and to give " *Rachel* to you, as ſoon as the ſeven " Days are ended." *Jacob* could not but be troubled at ſuch unfair Procedure, but he loved *Rachel* too well, not to obtain her at any Price; and therefore he conſented to theſe hard Conditions, and, at the Week's End, was married to *Rachel* likewiſe.

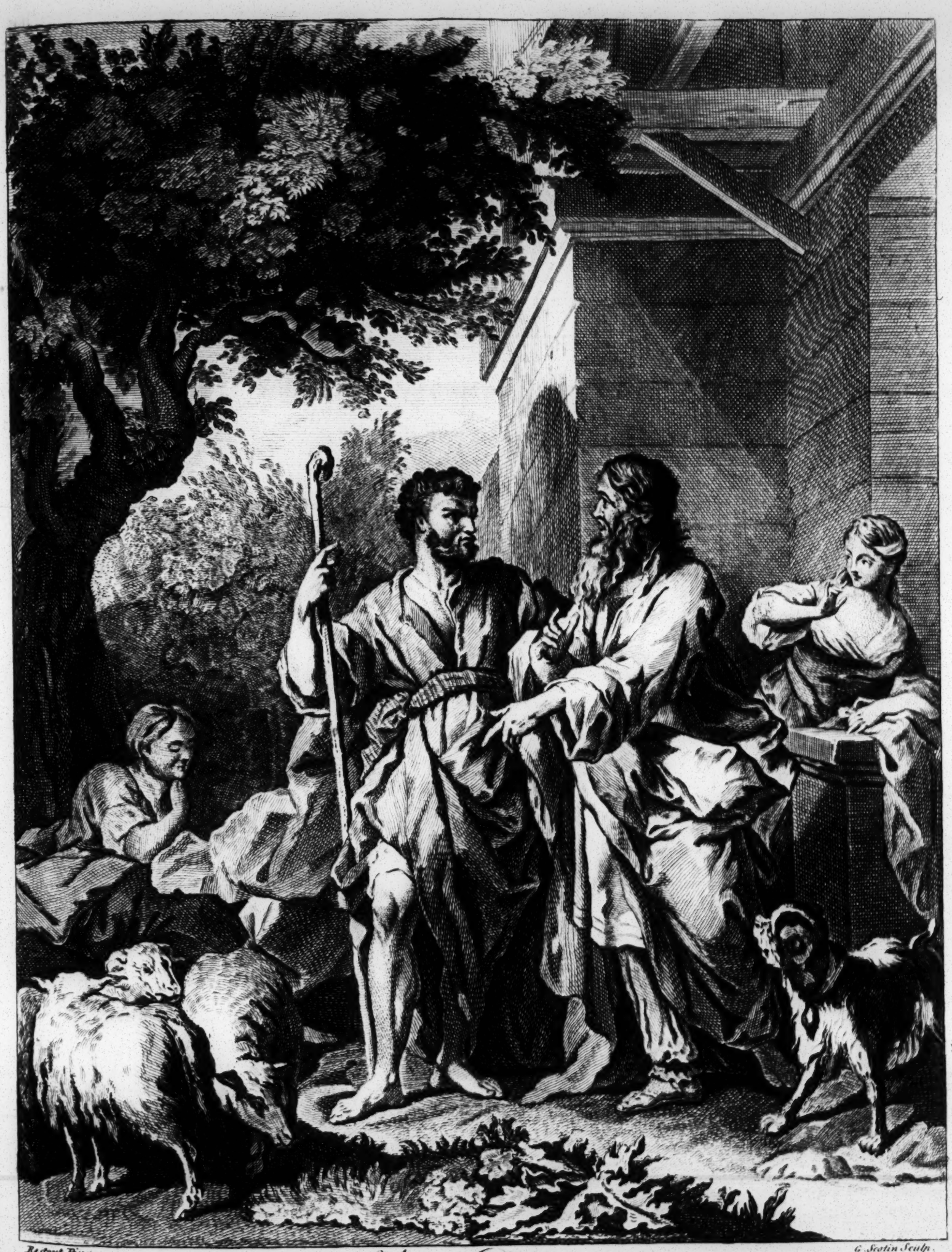
The Children he had by them.

But, tho' he preferred *Rachel* much before *Leah*, yet God put quite another Difference between them, by making the latter the Mother of four Sons, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, *Levi*, and *Judah*, before her Siſter had one. This was ſo great a Trouble to *Rachel*, that ſhe came one Day, in a Fit of Melancholy, and told her Huſband, that, unleſs *he gave* her Children alſo, ſhe ſhould certainly die with Grief. Which Speech, ſeeming to lay the Blame of her Sterility upon him, ſo provoked him, that he ſharply rebuked, and told her, " That it was not in his Power " to work Miracles; that God, who " had ſhut up her Womb, was alone able " to open it; but that ſuch uneaſy and " diſcontented Behaviour was the Way " to prevent, rather than obtain, ſuch a " Favour." This mortifying Anſwer made her bethink herſelf of ſupplying the Defect of Nature, by her Grandmother *Sarah*'s Expedient, and therefore ſhe deſir'd her Huſband to take her Handmaid *Bilhah* for a *concubinary* Wife, and by that Means to try to make her a Mother; which he conſenting to, had by her a Son, whom *Rachel* named *Dan*, and, in a proper Space of Time, another, whom ſhe called *Naphtali*. After which *Leah*, ſuppoſing herſelf to have left off Child-bearing, and willing to imitate her Siſter's Policy, gave her Maid *Zilpah* to her Huſband, by whom ſhe had likewiſe two Sons, *Gad* and *Aſhur*. From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

About this Time it ſo fell out, that *Reuben*, *Jacob*'s eldeſt Son, going into the Fields, about the Time of Wheat-harveſt, chanced to meet with ſome *Mandrakes*, which he gathered, and carried to his Mother, *Leah*. *Rachel* no ſooner ſaw them, but deſiring to have ſome of them, receiv'd from *Leah* a forbidding Anſwer: " That, having robbed her of her " Huſband's Affections, ſhe could not " expect to have any Part in her Son's " Preſent." It was † *Rachel*'s Turn that Night to have her Huſband's Company; and therefore, to compromiſe the Matter, ſhe tells her Siſter, that in caſe ſhe will oblige her with ſome of her Son's *Mandrakes*, ſhe would wave her Pretenſions, and conſign the Right of his Bed to her. Upon *Jacob*'s coming home, *Leah* calls upon him to confirm the Bargain, which accordingly he did, and the Conſequence was, that ſhe conceived again, and had a Fifth

† Some are of Opinion, that *by her Week* (as it is in the Text) we are to underſtand, a *Week of Years*, or ſeven Years, and conſequently, that to *fulfil her Week* was as much as to ſay, that *Jacob* was to ſerve other ſeven Years for *Rachel*, before he was to marry her. Some old *Engliſh* Verſions render it thus: But the Order of the Story ſeems to gainſay it. For, tho' *Jacob* liv'd with *Laban* twenty Years, it is plain, that, at the End of the fourteenth Year, he propoſed to part, and return home; and yet we may obſerve, that *Rachel* (tho' ſhe had been a good while barren) had borne *Joſeph* before that Time, which could not have been, had not ſhe been married before the End of his *ſecond ſeven Years* Service. Since *Laban* then (as we read *Gen.* xxix. 22.) had invited a great deal of Company, and the cuſtom, in thoſe Days, was, to devote a whole Week to the *nuptial* Solemnities, the plain Senſe of his Words to *Jacob* (according to *Selden*'s ſhort Comment on them, *de Jure Nat.* l. 5. c. 5.) is this, " ——— Since Mar- " riages are to be celebrated, according to Cuſtom, by a ſeven Days Feaſt; compleat this Marriage, thou haſt begun " with *Leah*, and then, upon Condition of another ſeven Years Service, thou ſhalt marry *Rachel* alſo, and keep " her Wedding-Feaſt ſeven Days." And the Reaſon why *Laban* was ſo deſirous of this, was, that a Week's Coha- " bitation with *Leah* might be a Means, either to knit *Jacob*'s Affection to her, or, at leaſt, to confirm the Marriage ſo, that it ſhould not be in his Power to diſannul it. *Le Clerc* and *Patrick*'s Commentaries, *Howell*'s Hiſtory, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

† The Cuſtom of thoſe Countries, where *Polygamy* was allowed, was for the Huſband to take his Wives by Turns. The Kings of *Perſia* (if we believe *Herodotus*) were not exempt from that Rule; which makes it more probable, that *Rachel* ſold her turn to her Siſter for that Night, than that ſhe directed her Huſband, which of the four he ſhould lie with. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.



Restout Pinx. G. Scotin Sculp.

Laban's Deceit

And it came to pass, that in the morning, behold, it was Leah: & he said to Laban, What is this thou hast done unto me? did not I serve with thee for Rachel? Wherefore then hast thou beguiled me

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fifth Son, whom ſhe called *Iſſachar*; after him another named *Zebulun*; and laſt of all a Daughter, whoſe Name was *Dinah*, the Feminine of *Dan*.

RACHEL had hitherto no Iſſue of her own Body; but now it pleaſed God to remember her, and to bleſs her with a Son, whom ſhe called † *Joſeph*: And it was not long after his Birth, that his Father *Jacob*, having now ſerved out his laſt ſeven Years, began to entertain Thoughts of returning into his own Country, and accordingly deſired of his Uncle to diſmiſs him and his Family. But *Laban*, who had found, by Experience, no ſmall Advantage by having ſuch a Servant, begged him to ſtay with him a little longer; and promiſed him, upon that Condition, to give him whatever Wages he ſhould think fit to name. Hereupon *Jacob* took an Occaſion of reminding him, how much his Subſtance had increaſed, ſince it was put under his Care, but that it was now high Time for him to make ſome Proviſion for his own Family; and that therefore he was reſolv'd to return to *Canaan*, unleſs he could ſhew him ſome Way of improving his Fortune in *Meſopotamia*. *Laban* could not bear the Thoughts of parting; and therefore he preſs'd him to ſtay, and offer'd him his own Terms, which at laſt were reſolved into this Agreement, —— That, in the whole Flock both of Sheep and Goats, a Separation ſhould be made between the ſpeckled and the white; that the ſpotted Cattle ſhould be given to *Laban*'s Sons to keep, and that *Jacob* ſhould have the Care of the *White*; and that whatever † ſpotted or brown Sheep or Goats ſhould, from that Time forward, be produced out of the white Flock (which he was to keep) ſhould be accounted his Hire. *Laban* was very well ſatisfy'd with theſe Conditions. Accordingly, the Flocks were parted; the ſpotted Cattle were deliver'd to *Laban*'s Sons; the Remainder, that were white, were given to *Jacob*; and, that there might be no poſſibility of intermixing, they were ſent three Days Journey apart.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Chap. xxxvii.

WHETHER it was from his own obſervation of the Power of Fancy, in the Time of Conception, or what ſeems more likely) from ſome private Suggeſtion of the divine Wiſdom, that the Project proceeded; but ſo it was, that, by *Jacob*'s taking Twigs of green Wood, peeling off the Rinds in Slips, and ſo laying them in the Watering-places, when the Flocks came to drink † about coupling-time, theſe ſpeckled Twigs ſtruck the Eyes of the Females, and ſo made them conceive and bring forth party-colour'd young ones. But it was not to all the Flock that *Jacob* did this, only to ſuch as were the ableſt and ſtrongeſt; for thoſe, that were weak and languid, he left to their natural Courſe, that his Artifice might be the leſs ſuſpected, when it appear'd that the Number of his Father-in-law's Cattle was not too much diminiſhed.

He returns to Canaan.

HIS Father-in-law however, envying his Proſperity, repented of his Bargain, and ſeveral Times alter'd the Agreement,

† *Joſeph* ſignifies *Increaſe*; and the Reaſon, why *Rachel* named him ſo, is ſaid to be, becauſe *God had taken away her Reproach*; for to be barren was formerly reckoned a Diſgrace, for theſe three Reaſons: 1. Becauſe Fruitfulneſs proceeded from the Bleſſing of God, who ſaid, *increaſe and multiply*; 2. Becauſe barren People ſeem to be excluded from the Promiſes of God, made to *Abraham*, concerning the vaſt Multiplication of his Seed; and, 3. Becauſe the *Meſſias* could not proceed from them. *Pool*'s Annotations.

† The *ſacred Hiſtorian* makes uſe of four different Words, to denote the Cattle, which ſhou'd properly belong to *Jacob*: The firſt is *nakod*, which we tranſlate *ſpeckled*; for the Word ſignifies little *Points*, or *Pricks*, which the *Greeks* call στίγματα. The ſecond is *talu*, which ſignifies ſuch *broader* and *larger Spots*, as we frequently ſee in Cattle. The next is *akod*, which ſignifies ſpotted with *divers Colours*, or rather with *Rings*, or *Circles* about the *Feet* or *Legs*; and the laſt is *barud*, which ſignifies *whitiſh Spots*, like *Hail*; which ſeems to take in all the Kinds of Variegation. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Several *antient* Commentators are of Opinion, that *Jacob* laid theſe ſtreaked Rods before the Cattle, only in Spring Time, when the Sun was aſcending, and the Cattle luſty and vigorous, but let them alone, when the Cattle came to couple in *September*, or the Decline of the Year: But, as there is no Certainty in this, our *Moderns* have thought it more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he laid the Rods only before the young and luſty Sheep and Goats, but left the old and weak to take their Chance, by which Means the beſt Lambs and Kids came to his Share, and the worſt to *Laban*'s. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 2. c. 77. and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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which God, as many Times, turned to *Jacob*'s Advantage; till at length, obſerving in his Carriage a Coldneſs and Indifference, and over-hearing, at a certain Time, his Sons grudging and complaining, that he had raiſed himſelf an Eſtate out of their Fortunes, he began to form a Reſolution of retiring into his own Country, with his Family and Effects, which God in a Viſion confirm'd him in; but, before he put it in Execution, he thought it proper to adviſe with his two *principal* Wives, and to endeavour to gain their Conſent. To this Purpoſe he ſent for them into the Field, that he might have an Opportunity of diſcourſing the Matter with more Freedom and Privacy; and then told them, that, for ſome Time he had obſerv'd, that their Father's Carriage had been alter'd, but for what Reaſon he could not deviſe: He appealed to them concerning his Fidelity and Diligence, and their Father's unworthy Requital of him; reminded them of God's Goodneſs in defeating his ‖ Contrivances againſt him, and converting them to his great Advantage and Increaſe; acquainting them that the ſame God, who had thus bleſſed him, had appeared to him (as he did at *Bethel*, in his Paſſage from *Canaan* thither) and commanded him to return to his native Country, which Command he was reſolv'd to obey. They heard him with a willing Mind, declar'd their Opinion concerning their Father, in the ſame Manner, as he had done, and profeſſed themſelves ready to attend him, when he pleas'd to ſet out. *Jacob* therefore preparing all Things for the Journey, mounting his Wives and Children upon Camels, and taking the Advantage of his Father-in-law's Abſence (which gave *Rachel* an Opportunity likewiſe of ſtealing away his *Gods*) himſelf went along with the Cattle, and all the other Subſtance, which he had acquir'd at *Haran*: He had now paſſed † the *Euphrates*, and gain'd † the Mountains of *Gilead*, (as they were afterwards called) before *Laban* had Intelligence of his Flight, and was able to overtake him. *Laban*, no doubt, at his firſt ſetting out after *Jacob*, purſu'd him with a Mind whetted with Revenge; but God, who appeared to him that Night in a Dream, was pleaſed to avert it, by threatening him ſeverely, if he committed any Hoſtility or Violence againſt him: So that, the next Morning, when he, and the Relations he had with him, came to ſpeak with *Jacob*, he only expoſtulated with him, that he had ſtolen away, without giving him an Opportunity to take his Leave of his Children, and Grandchildren, or to ſend them home with an Equipage ſuitable to their Rank, or with the uſual Ceremonies of Muſick and Dancing. *Jacob*, on the other Hand, was not without his Complaints. The Cheat which *Laban* had put upon him, in making him ſerve ſo long for a Woman he did not love; the changing his Salary ſo many Times, and his late ſtrange Behaviour towards him and his Family; all theſe, and many more

From Gen. xxviii. to Chap. xxxvii.

Is overtaken by his Father-in-law, *and expoſtulates with him.*

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‖ In the Complaint, which *Jacob* makes to his Wives, there is one particular Article againſt their Father, *viz.* that he *had changed his Wages ten Times*, Gen. xxxi. 7. And yet he lived in Contract with him only ſix Years. But, to ſolve this Difficulty, we are to obſerve, that the Cattle in *Meſopotamia* bred twice every Year; and therefore ſuppoſing that, for the firſt Year, *Laban* ſtood to his Bargain, but ſeeing his Son-in-law thrive exceedingly, alter'd the Form of it the *next*, and ſo continued to do every half Year, till the ſixth Year came about, when *Jacob* thought proper to leave him; the ſeveral Times, wherein he *changed his Wages*, will be exactly ten; though there is no Neceſſity for this exact Calculation, when it is ſo common a Figure of Speech to put a *certain* for an *uncertain* Number. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Tho' the Text does not ſay what River he paſſed, yet it is plain, it could be no other, than the *Euphrates*, which the Scripture ſometimes calls the River *Perah*, ſometimes the *great River*, and ſometimes emphatically *the River*; either becauſe *that*, and the *Nile*, were the only two conſiderable ones, the *Iſraelites* knew; or becauſe it was one of the four Rivers of *Paradiſe*; or, laſtly, becauſe it was the Boundary of the *Promiſed Land*. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. i. c. 7.

† The Heap of Stones which *Laban* and *Jacob* raiſed in Memory of their Agreement and Covenant, was called *Gilead*, i. e. *an Heap of Witneſſes*; and in After-ages, gave the Name to the whole Country thereabout, which lies on the *Eaſt* of the Sea of *Galilee*, being Part of that Ridge of Mountains which ran from Mount *Lebanon Southward* on the Eaſt of the *Holy Land*, and included the mountainous Region, called in the *New Teſtament*, *Trachonitis*. *Wells*'s Geography, Vol. I. Ch. 13.

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he anſwer'd him, were but ill Requitals for his Care and Diligence, as well as the Bleſſings, which God had heaped upon him for his Sake. *Laban* had yet another Thing to lay to his Charge, namely, the Stealing of his *Gods:* But *Jacob*, (who knew nothing of *Rachel*'s Theft) deſir'd him to make the moſt diligent Search for them throughout his Family; aſſuring him withal, that the Perſon, on whom they were found, ſhould immediately be put to Death. Hereupon *Laban* went, and ſearched every Place; but, as he enter'd into *Rachel*'s Tent, (who had hid them under the Camel's Furniture, and ſet herſelf down upon them) ſhe kept her ſitting, and alledged in Excuſe, that the Condition, ſhe was in, allow'd her Sex to be excus'd from the uſual Ceremonies. *Laban* not ſuſpecting the Falacy, which his Daughter had put upon him, in Point of Modeſty, deſiſted from any farther Search, and ſo went and acquainted his Son-in-law with his bad Succeſs; whereupon *Jacob*, appealing to his very Friends, ſharply upbraided him with his unjuſt Suſpicion; and then, recounting the long Servitude he had held him in, and the many Hardſhips he had made him undergo both Day and Night, together with the cruel and unequal Terms he had all along put upon him, he concluded with theſe Words, *Except the God of my Father had been with me, ſurely thou hadſt ſent me away empty.* From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

THIS Charge of *Jacob*'s was ſo juſt, that *Laban* could make no Defence for himſelf; and therefore he thought it beſt to let fall the Debate, and to enter upon a more agreeable Subject, which was to make an Alliance between them, and to erect a † Monument, as a ſtanding Witneſs of it to all future Ages. At the ſame Time they took mutual Oaths, that neither of them ſhould, at any Time, invade the other, and *Jacob* in particular, that he would uſe his Wives and Children with all becoming Tenderneſs and Affection.

WHEN this *Ceremony* was over, and a Sacrifice, in Confirmation of it, offer'd, *Jacob* feaſted the whole Company for the reſt of the Day; and, in the Morning, *Laban*, having embraced, and bleſſed the whole Family, return'd home to *Padan-Aram*.

JACOB had no ſooner parted with his Father-in-law, but the Remembrance of his Brother's ancient Grudge againſt him began to give him freſh Uneaſineſs; but the Viſion of a great † Number of Angels, (ſent from Heaven to protect him) which he had in his Way to *Canaan* (at a Place, which he therefore call'd † *Mahanaim*, i. e. *two Camps*, viz. one of Angels,

† This Monument *Jacob* ſeems to have erected after the ſame Manner, as he did that at *Bethel*. It muſt not be ſuppoſed to have been a Heap of looſe Stones; for then it could not have continued long in the ſame Poſition, nor given a Name to the Country around it. It was doubtleſs a regular and permanent Building; but then, what the Form and Figure of it was, it is not ſo eaſy to determine. Had it been only for a Memorial to Poſterity, and not for ſome preſent Tranſaction alſo, the Figure either of a Column, or a Pyramid, would have been very proper: But we find, that the preſent Uſe of it was, to eat and ſacrifice upon, and therefore we may imagine, that it was made in the Figure of a Table, and have ſome Authority to think of a round Table, becauſe the Name, which *Jacob* calls it by, is taken from a Verb, which ſignifies *to turn round*, as the Word *Gilal* is properly the Circumference of a Circle. *Bibliothca Bibl.*

† *Interpreters* are generally of Opinion, that theſe were two *Hoſts*, or *Armies* of Angels, whereof one was that of the *guardian* Angel of *Meſopotamia*, who, with his Company, conducted *Jacob* ſafely to the Confines of *Canaan*, where the *guardian* Angel of *Canaan*, with his Company, received him into their Care; and this is inferr'd from the Neceſſity of ſuch Protection, by *Jacob*'s being expoſed to the Treachery of *Laban*, and the Cruelty of *Eſau*, which made Providence more particularly careful of *him*, to whom the Promiſes were made. But it is ſufficient to the Purpoſe of giving the Partriarch Comfort and Encouragement under his uneaſy Apprehenſions, that, beſides his own Family (which was pitch'd here in Order, like a Camp) a certain Number of Angels were repreſented to him, as drawn up like another Army, ready and prepared for his Defence. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† This Place was ſituated between Mount *Gilead*, and the River *Jabbok*, not far from the Banks of the latter, and very near the Confines of *Gad*, and half Tribe of *Manaſſeh*, which was on the Eaſt of *Jordan*. It became in Time a City of great Strength, and, for this Reaſon, was made Choice of by *Abner* for the Seat-Royal of *Iſhboſheth*, the Son of *Saul*, when he made War againſt *David*, and for a Retiring-place by *David* himſelf, during the Rebellion of his Son *Abſalom*. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I. c. 13.

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Angels, and the other of his own Retinue) did diſſipate his Anxiety for a while. As he approach'd to his Brother's Country however, his Fears and Uneaſineſs return'd upon him: And therefore he thought it adviſeable, before he advanc'd any farther, to ſend him a *ſubmiſſive* Meſſage, in order to diſcover, at leaſt, how he ſtood affected to him. *Eſau*, when *Jacob* was gone to *Haran*, underſtanding how ſtrictly his Father had charged his Brother not to marry a *Canaanitiſh* Woman, began to be diſſatisfied with his own Marriages; and therefore went to *Iſhmael*, and, having married one of his Daughters, ſettled in Mount † *Seir*, in the Land of *Edom*. Hither it was that *Jacob* ſent ſome of his † chief Servants, with Inſtructions to acquaint his Brother, that, after a Stay of twenty Years in *Meſopotamia*, and the Acquiſition of all Manner of Wealth there, he was now upon his Return to his *native* Country; but that he could not paſs over *Jordan*, without notifying his Arrival to him, and imploring his Favour and Friendſhip.

The Meſſengers went, and ſoon return'd again, but with this melancholy News, that his Brother was coming to meet him, at the Head of four hundred Men; which made him conclude, that this muſt be with an hoſtile Intent, and in order to deſtroy both him, and all that belong'd to him. In this Situation what could he do? To fight, he was not able, and to fly, his Retinue was too cumberſome. At length he came to this Reſolution, to divide his Company into two Bands, that, if *Eſau* ſhould fall upon one, he might have a Poſſibility of eſcaping with the other: And having done this, he addreſſed himſelf to God in a very humble and ſubmiſſive Prayer; acknowledging "his great Mercies to him, and "his own Unworthineſs of them; im-"ploring his future Protection againſt his "Brother's Sword; and that he wou'd be "ſo gracious, as to fulfil all his former "Promiſes to him." From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

JACOB had acquainted his Brother, how God had enriched him: That therefore his firſt Meſſage might not look like an empty Piece of Formality, he order'd a Preſent of the choice of his Flocks and Herds to be ſent before, in ſeveral Droves, and charged the Drivers, that, whenever they met his Brother, they ſhould tell him, that they were Preſents ſent by *Jacob* to his *Lord Eſau*, in Hopes of obtaining his Favour and Good-will; and, after this, he ſent his Wives, and Children, and all his Subſtance, over the Brook † *Jabbok*, early next Morning, before it was Day, whilſt himſelf,

† The Mountains of *Seir* lay on the *Eaſt* and *South* of the *Dead Sea*, and the Country extended itſelf from thence to the *Arabian Gulf*. 'Tis certain from Gen. xxxvi. 21, 22. that, in *Abraham*'s Days, the *Horites*, who were the Deſcendants of *Seir*, had the Poſſeſſion of this Region; and therefore we may ſuppoſe, that, after the Departure of *Jacob*, *Eſau*, who (according to the Prediction concerning him) was to *live by his Sword*, expell'd the old Inhabitants, and made himſelf Prince thereof, before his Brother returned from *Meſopotamia*. From Gen. xxxii. 13. xxxiii. 4. xxxvi. 8, 9. and Deut. ii. 12. we may learn, that *Eſau* made War with theſe People with great Succeſs, tho' we have of it no Particulars in the Writings of *Moſes*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Seir*.

† Several Commentators have taken Notice of *Jacob*'s great Wiſdom and Prudence, in the Order and Diſpoſition of this his Embaſſy to his Brother. He ſent his *Servants*, and not his *Sons*, tho' that would have been doing him a great deal more Honour; but then it would have been running too great a Riſque. In the Preſent, which he ſent, he *put a Space between Drove and Drove*, that, the more Time was taken up in their paſſing by *Eſau*, his Paſſion might ſtill grow cooler and cooler; that the Preſent itſelf might make ſo much the greater Appearance, and that, if the Droves, which went firſt, were not well accepted by him, thoſe, who came later, might be at Diſtance enough, to haſten back to their Maſter, and give him Intelligence of what he was to expect. In the Form of Addreſs, he ordered them all to make Uſe of the ſame Words, 1ſt, That the Repetition of them might ſtrike the deeper, and make the ſtronger Impreſſion upon *Eſau*; 2dly, That they might not ſpoil the Compliment, or not ſpeak ſo properly, if left to their own Expreſſion; and, 3dly, That *Eſau* might know by the very turn and Elegancy of them, that the Words of the Meſſage came from *Jacob*. *Muſculus*, *Ainſworth*, *Patrick*, &c. The Appellation, he gives his Brother of being his *Lord*, and himſelf his *Servant*, we ſhall take notice of hereafter.

† This is a ſmall River, which is by all agreed to flow from the adjacent Mountains of *Gilead*; but ſome make it to run into the *Sea of Galilee*, others into the River *Jordan*, *below*, or *South* of that Sea. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I. c. 13.

JACOB Wreſtleth with an Angel.



Pl. 36 *And* **Jacob** *was left alone, and there wrestled a Man with him* page 301
Until the breaking of the Day. Gen. XXXII. *ver.* 24.

Schatzdelin *Claud Du Bosc sc.*

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Wreſtles with an Angel.

himſelf all alone, † tarried behind for ſome Time. And here it was, that an Angel, in the Shape of a Man, appear'd to him, and began to *wreſtle* with him. The Conteſt was certainly unequal; but ſo it was, that the Angel did not overcome him; but, to ſhew how eaſily he might have done it, at one Touch he put his Thigh out of Joint. He then told him the *ſymbolical* Intent of his *wreſtling* with him; and, after he had bleſſed him, gave him ‡ the additional Name of *Iſrael*, which ſignifies, *a Man, that has prevailed with God:* And this occaſioned *Jacob* to call the Place, where this Tranſaction happen'd, *Peniel*, or the *Face of God*, becauſe he concluded that it was God, or ſome of his Angels, who had had this Conflict with him.

As ſoon as the Angel was gone, *Jacob*, tho' lame, made what haſte he cou'd to join his Company; and it was not long, before he ſaw his Brother afar off, coming towards him with a large Retinue, which made him betray ſome freſh Tokens of Diſtruſt: And therefore, to prepare for the worſt, he divided his Family into three Companies, and placed them at equal Diſtances; the two *Maids*, and their Sons, went firſt; *Leah* and her Children next; and *Rachel* and *Joſeph* (who was then about ſix Years old) as fartheſt from Danger, were the laſt; whilſt himſelf marched in the Front of all, and, as he approach'd his Brother, bowed himſelf to the Ground *ſeven Times*.

And is kindly received by his Brother Eſau.

WHATEVER Apprehenſions *Jacob* might conceive of *Eſau*'s Reſentments, he had the Happineſs to meet him in a much better Temper, than he expected. At firſt Sight, he ran to meet him; he embraced him with the greateſt Tenderneſs; he wept over him with Tears of Joy; and, ſeeing his Wives and Children proſtrate themſelves before him one after another, and in the ſame Order, wherein *Jacob* had diſpoſed them, he returned their Civilities with the ſame Tenderneſs, that he had his Brother's. The Preſents indeed, which *Jacob* had ſent him, he kindly acknowledg'd, but deſir'd to be excus'd from accepting of them, becauſe they were *ſuperfluous* to him, who had enough of every Thing; but *Jacob* preſſed him ſo earneſtly, that at length he prevailed: And therefore, to make him a Recompence, *Eſau* invited him to *Seir*, and proffer'd his Service to accompany, and conduct him thither. *Jacob* however had no Deſign to accept of the Invitation, and yet was afraid directly to refuſe it. And therefore he repreſented the Tenderneſs of his Children and Flocks, and that they cou'd not travel with Expedition. He begged that they might not confine him to their ſlow Movements, but that he wou'd return home his own Pace; and promis'd withal, that they wou'd follow as faſt as they cou'd conveniently. *Eſau* then offer'd to leave him a ſufficient Number of his Men, that might guard and conduct them into his Territories; but this Compliment likewiſe *Jacob*, in an handſome Manner, evaded, and ſo they

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

NUMB. XXIV.

† Tho' the Reaſon, which made the Patriarch, after he had forded the River to try if it was paſſable for his Family, return back again, and not go along with them, be not expreſs'd by *Moſes*; yet it is very natural to ſuppoſe that he ſtay'd ſome Time behind his Family in this Place of Viſion, which he afterwards call'd *Peniel*, to recommend himſelf, and them in Prayer, (as the Danger approach'd nearer and nearer) to the Protection of Almighty God. *Muſc. Patrick*, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

‡ The Words in the Text, according to our Tranſlation, are, —— *Thy Name ſhall be no more called* Jacob, *but* Iſrael; and yet it is certain, that this Patriarch was very frequently, nay, in the very next Verſe but one, is called *Jacob*, and therefore this ſeeming Contradiction may be amended, by rendering the Words, inſtead of *no more, not only*; or, *not ſo much* Jacob, *as* Iſrael; becauſe it is certain, that, in his Poſterity at leaſt (who were called *Iſraelites*, but never *Jacobites*) the latter Name aboliſh'd the former. *Iſrael* is certainly derived from the Word *Sar*, which (as St *Jerom* obſerves) ſignifies a *Prince*, with the *Jod*, which is the common Note of a proper Name; but then there is ſome Obſcurity in our *Tranſlation*, as to the latter Part of the Verſe, *as a Prince haſt thou Power with God, and with Men, and haſt prevailed*; which ſhould rather be tranſlated, *Thou haſt been a Prevailer with God, and with Men thou ſhalt alſo powerfully prevail.* This is the literal Verſion of the Words; is conſonant to the *vulgar Latin*, Onkelos and the *Septuagint*; and very juſtly expreſſes the true Senſe of the Place. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. lib. vii. cap. 7.

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† parted; *Eſau* went to *Seir*, and expected his Brother to follow him; but his Brother turned another Way, and, by eaſy Journies, came to *Succoth* (which in *Hebrew* ſignifies *Booths*) and there intending to ſettle for ſome Time, he built an Houſe for his Family, and proper Conveniences for the Reception of his Cattle. But in a ſhort Time he removed from hence, and || ſafely arriv'd at *Shechem*, where having purchaſed a Piece of Ground of *Hamor*, the Father of *Shechem*, for an hundred † Pieces of Money, he pitched his Tents in the Place, and there built an Altar to the Lord, whom he called *El Elohe-Iſrael*, or *the mighty God of Iſrael*. From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

Dinah's *Rape and her Brothers Cruelty.*

Here *Jacob* might have liv'd peaceably and happily, being beloved by all the People, had not * *Dinah*'s Curioſity of viſiting the Women of the City prov'd the Cauſe of much Miſchief, and oblig'd her Father to

† After this, *Moſes* gives us no farther Account of *Eſau*, and his Family, only that he was aſſiſting at his Father's Funeral, and had *three* Wives, whereof it is proper to take Notice, that, when he barely mentions theſe Wives [as in *Gen.* xxvi. 34. and *Gen.* xxviii. 9.] he gives them quite other Names, than what he does, when he comes to ſpeak of the Poſterity, which *Eſau* had by them, Chap. xxxvi; which may lead an unweary Reader to think, that he had more than three, eſpecially when the Fathers of the two firſt are likewiſe called by different Names. Thus his firſt Wife *Judith*, the Daughter of *Beeri*, is afterwards called *Adah*, the Daughter of *Elon* the *Hittite*; the Second, *viz. Bathſhema*, the Daughter of *Elon*, is again called *Aholi Bamah*, the Daughter of *Anah*, the Daughter of *Zibeon*, the *Hivite*; and the laſt, called in one Place *Mahalah*, is now called *Bathſhemah*; but what ſhews, that theſe two latter Names mean the ſame Perſon, and that the ſame Thing may be ſuppoſed of the other two, is, that, in both Places, ſhe is called the Daughter of *Iſhmael*, the Siſter of *Nabajoth*. All the Accounts, that can therefore be given for this Difference, is, that they had *two* Names, and that it was uſual to call them, ſometimes by one, and ſometimes by another; in the like Manner, as we find the Mother of *Abijam*, King of *Judah*, in one Place called *Maacah*, the Daughter of *Abiſhalon*, [1 Kings xv. 2.] and in another, *Michaiah*, the Daughter of *Uriel* of *Gibeah*, [2 Chron. xiii. 2.] with many more Inſtances of the like Nature. After having taken this Notice of *Eſau*'s Wives, *Moſes* enumerates his Children, and ſome of their Deſcendants, the Princes of the Tribes of the *Edomites*; the Kings that ſucceeded them; and the *Chiefs*, who governed after the Kings; but as to the Order of Succeſſion, wherein they are to be placed, there is ſome Diſpute among the Learned. One Remark more, that we ſhall make, before we part with *Eſau*, is, that, all Things conſidered, he was not that very bad Man, which ſome would make him. His generous and open Temper appears in his affectionate Deportment towards his Brother, and his ſpeedy and utter Oblivion of the Slights, and Perfidies, he had receiv'd from him; and, tho' St *Paul* calls him a *profane Perſon*, and ſays, that he was *hated by God*; yet, all that he means by the Word *Hatred*, is no more than a bare *Poſtponing*. For, the *Apoſtle*'s Purpoſe is to ſhew, that God had, all along, beſtow'd the Favours, which lead to the *Meſſiah*, on whom he pleas'd; on *Abraham*, not on *Lot*; on *Jacob*, not on *Eſau*; on the *Gentiles*, not on the *Jews:* And he therefore calls him *profane*, not becauſe he was more wicked than other Men of his Age, but becauſe he ſeems not to have been ſo mindful of the Promiſes, made to his Family, as *Jacob* was, and conſequently was not ſo fit to be the Heir of the Mercies peculiar to it. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 4. and *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. c. 7.

|| The Words in our Tranſlation are, that *Jacob came to* Shalem, *a City of* Shechem: But, beſides that there was no ſuch Place as *Shalem*, in the Confines of *Shechem*, (which ſeems itſelf, at this Time, to have been but a ſmall Town, without any dependant Villages) ſince the Word *Shalem* is ſo frequently taken *adjectively*, to denote any Thing *ſafe and ſound*, as we call it, and as *Onkelos*, and ſome of the beſt *Jewiſh* Interpreters, have it; it may very properly be render'd ſo here. And this *Soundneſs*, as ſome imagine, may have Reference to *Jacob*'s *Halting*, which was perfectly cur'd before he reach'd *Shechem*; as his *Safety* has Reſpect, either to his having eſcap'd all Danger, at his Interview with his Brother, or, rather, to his having met with no evil Accident of any Sort, ſince he left *Laban:* And this Obſervation *Moſes* might the rather be induced to make, becauſe he was juſt going to relate a ſad Diſaſter, that, not long after his Arrival at *Shechem*, befel his Family. *Shechem* (by the bye) otherwiſe called *Sichar*, was a City of *Samaria*, ſituate among the Mountains belonging to the Tribe of *Benjamin*, ten Miles from *Shiloh*, forty from *Jeruſalem*, and fifty-two from *Jericho*, near which was *Jacob*'s *Well*, or Fountain, where our bleſſed Saviour enter'd into Converſation with the *Samaritan* Woman, *John* iv. 7. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentary. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, and *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament.

† The Word *Keſhitah*, which is here rendered *a Piece of Money*, ſignifies likewiſe a *Lamb*, from whence the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, *Oleaſter*, and others, have tranſlated it *an hundred Lambs:* But ſince, long before this, Money was in Uſe, and made the Inſtrument of Traffick, [*Gen.* xxiii. 16.] which muſt, of Courſe, deſtroy the Method of exchanging one Commodity for another, it is much more probable, that it was ſome ſort of Coin (tho' of what Value it is uncertain) which had a Lamb ſtamped upon it, and was called by that Name, as we do call an *Angel*, from the Stamp it bears of one. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7. and *Patrick*'s Commentary in Locum.

* At what Time this Misfortune happen'd to *Dinah*, the Scripture gives us no Account: It is preſum'd however, from the bold Exploit of her two Brothers to avenge her Diſhonour, (which implies that they were Men grown) that ſhe could not be leſs than fifteen or ſixteen Years of Age; and the Occaſion of her running herſelf into this Premunire, *Joſephus* tells us, was a great *Feſtival*, then held at *Shechem*, which ſhe, deſirous to ſee the fine Sights, and Faſhions of the Place, adventur'd to go to. Antiq. l. 1. c. 21.

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to withdraw. *Shechem*, the Son of *Hamor* the *Hivite*, who was Prince of that Country, ſaw her, fell in love with her, and, having gain'd a ſecure Opportunity, raviſh'd her. But, notwithſtanding this diſhonourable Act, his Soul was ſo enamour'd with her Charms, that he deſir'd nothing more earneſtly, than to marry her; and, to this Purpoſe, prevail'd with his Father to enter upon a Treaty with her Friends. *Jacob* ſoon heard of the Rape committed upon his Daughter, but concealed the Matter until his Sons were come home; and when he had made them acquainted with it, their Reſentment grew to ſuch an Height, that they vowed ſeverely to revenge the Diſhonour done unto their Family. In the mean Time, *Shechem* having prevail'd with his Father to obtain him the Damſel, they both went together to make the Propoſal to her Father; promiſing to give her as large a * *Dowry*, and her *Relations* as coſtly Preſents, as he ſhould deſire; and alledging withal, that, if his Family were to intermarry with the *Shechemites*, it would prove the moſt effectual Means to make them both live together in perfect Harmony and Friendſhip. This was a fair Offer; but the treacherous Sons of *Jacob*, who meditated nothing but the moſt bloody Revenge, made them this Reply: "That it was not lawful for them to contract an Affinity "with any *uncircumciſed* Nation, but "that, if he and his People wou'd conſent to be circumciſed, as they were, "they would then come into his Propoſal."

HAMOR and *Shechem* agreed very readily to this Condition; and, when they returned to the City, and had convened the Inhabitants, "They commended the "*Iſraelites* highly for a peaceable and good-"natur'd People, from whom they might "reap many great Advantages, and, in "Proceſs of Time, make all their Subſtance (which was very conſiderable) "their own, if they were to intermarry "with them; but that this would not be "done without a general Conſent to be "circumciſed." How averſe ſoever the People might be to ſuch an Operation at firſt, yet the *Thirſt of Gain*, joined with the powerful Intereſt, which *Shechem* had among them, ſoon won their Conſent, inſomuch, that, on that, very Day, every Male of them was circumciſed. But, * three Days after this, when their Wounds had made them incapable of making any Reſiſtance, *Simeon* and *Levi* entered the City, and, having put all the Men to the Sword, made Search in *Shechem*'s Houſes, where they found their Siſter *Dinah*, and brought her away. After which, they reentered the Town, plunder'd the Houſes, took both Women and Children Captives, and carried away all the Cattle that they found in the neighbouring Places.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

JACOB was much concern'd at the furious Proceedings of his Sons, for which he juſtly reproved them. He was apprehenſive indeed, that the Inhabitants of the Land would unite againſt him, and deſtroy his Family, for this violent Outrage: But *Simeon* and *Levi*, who were the chief Actors in the Tragedy, were ſo warm'd with the Thoughts of the Diſhonour done to their Siſter and Family, that they did not

Jacob's *Removal to* Bethel.

* This ſhews more fully, that the Cuſtom of thoſe Times was (as we noted before) for Men to give Money for their Wives, and to give it generally to their Parents. The Money, or Preſents ſo given, were by the *Greeks* called ἕδνα; for ſo we find *Vulcan*, when he had caught his Wife *Venus* in an Act of Incontinency, telling her, and her *Paramour*, that he would not let them go.

Εἰσοκε μοι μάλα παῖλα ματὴρ ἀποδώσει ἕδνα,
Ὅσσά οἱ ἐγγυάλιξα κυνώπιδος εἵνεκα κούρης. Hom. Odyſſ. 8.

But there was a greater Reaſon for a *Dowry* now, and a large one too, that he might make Compenſation for the Wrong he had done. There is to be obſerv'd, however, a *natural Equity* in the ſubſequent Laws of *Moſes* (Exod. xxii. 16. and Deut. xxii. 28.) by which a Man was bound to make Satisfaction to the Father, if, either by Inticement, or Violence, he had abuſed his Daughter. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* The third Day, as *Phyſicians* take Notice, was the Time, when Fevers generally attended *Circumciſion*, occaſion'd by the Inflammation of the Wound, which was generally more painful then (as the *Hebrews* obſerve) than at any Time elſe; and, for this Reaſon, the Sons of *Jacob* took the Opportunity of falling upon the *Shechemites*, when they were leaſt of all in a Condition to defend themſelves. *Howell*'s Hiſtory.

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not think they had carried their Reſentment, in the leaſt, too far for ſo baſe an Injury. *Jacob* however thought it adviſeable, for his own Security, to tarry no longer there, but to ſhift into ſome other Part of the Country. And accordingly, having received particular Directions from God to remove to *Bethel*, and there to build an Altar (whereon to perform the Vow, which he made, when he fled from his Brother *Eſau*) he ſet his Reſolution to go thither: But, before he did that, being willing to carry nothing, that might be offenſive to God, to ſo ſacred a Place, he found it neceſſary to make a Reformation in his Family. To this Purpoſe he commanded all that propoſed to go along with him, to bring out their *Idols*; which they not only did, but gave up their * *Ear-rings* likewiſe, which they were uſed to wear, as Spells or Amulets againſt Sickneſs, and other Misfortunes. Theſe he took, and buried privately in a deep Hole, which he cauſed to be dug up under an Oak near *Shechem*, and ſo having purified * themſelves, even to the waſhing and changing of their Garments, they ſet forward to *Bethel*, and arrived there ſafe, and without any Diſturbance, becauſe God had ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Cities round about them, that, notwithſtanding the late Provocation in the Matter of *Shechem*, No-body offered to moleſt or purſue them.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

As ſoon as *Jacob* came to *Bethel* (where || *Deborah*, his Mother's Nurſe, happened to die) he erected an Altar, as God had commanded

* It was a Cuſtom, in ſeveral Countries, for the Men as well as the Women, and for the meaner as well as the better Sort, to wear Ear-rings; and therefore we find *Plautus* in his Play, called *Pœnulum*, Act 5. taking this Notice of ſome *Carthaginian* Slaves——— *That their Hands ſhould be without Fingers, one would think, becauſe they wore their Rings in their Ears.* But, beſides the Rings deſign'd for Ornament, it was a common Thing for idolatrous Nations to wear others for ſuperſtitious Uſes. Theſe (as ſome ſay) were made in Form of a *Semicircle*, and reached over the Forehead from Ear to Ear. They had aſtronomical Characters and Signatures engraven upon them, and to them they imputed a thouſand ſupernatural Virtues. They were always dedicated to ſome falſe Deity; and therefore, St *Auſtin*, in ſeveral Places, exerts himſelf, with a becoming Zeal, againſt ſuch impious Fooleries, and tells his Countrymen, the *Africans*, (among whom this Cuſtom had got ſome Footing) that, in this *Execrable Superſtition*, as he calls it, they did not *deſign to dreſs themſelves out to pleaſe Men, ſo much as to ſerve and pleaſe Devils.* And therefore *Jacob* was highly to be commended for deſtroying theſe Relicks of *Idolatry*, which his Haſte to be gone, both according to God's Command, and his own Apprehenſions of Danger, made him bury under Ground, rather than ſtay to melt them down. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentary. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 13. and *Calmet*'s Dictionary under the Word *Rings*.

* The Manner, wherein *Jacob* requir'd of his Domeſticks to *purify* themſelves, was by waſhing their whole Bodies, and putting on clean and freſh Apparel: And, that this was a Cuſtom among other Nations, as well as the *Jews*, when they ſet about any ſolemn and religious Office, is plain from that Paſſage in *Euripides*, where *Alceſtis*, being to perform ſome holy Rites in behalf of her Children,

———ὕδασι πολαμίοις λευκὸν χρόα
Ἔλυσατ', ἐκ δ' ἐλθοῦσα κεδρίνων δόμων
Ἐσθῆτα, κόσμον τ', εὐπρεπῶς ἠσκήσατο.
Καὶ στᾶσα ἀρόσθιν ἑστίας καπνὸν ἔλαβε. Alcestis, Act I.

But, of all other Nations, the *Egyptians* (as *Herodotus* tells us, l. 1. c. 37.) and more eſpecially their Prieſts, were moſt remarkable for this Sort of Cleanneſs: "They ſhav'd their Bodies all over every third Day: They bathed themſelves "in cold Water twice a Day, and twice a Night; and wore conſtantly nothing but Linnen Veſtments, and Shoes "made of *Papyrus*, for this Reaſon, I ſuppoſe, becauſe they were the moſt proper to be waſh'd." Not that we are to ſuppoſe, that God reſpects a Worſhipper for his *ſpruce* Appearance, ſo long as his Conſcience is polluted within. In Sordidneſs indeed there is ſomething diſtaſteful, and 'tis an unſeemly Thing to appear before a great Man in dirty Apparel: But the principal Deſign of God's appointing this outward *Cleanlineſs*, was, to be a Sign, and *Memorandum* to the Perſon approaching his Preſence, what the inward Temper and Complexion of his Mind ſhould be; and therefore we find the *Royal Pſalmiſt*, in Alluſion to this very Cuſtom, declaring his pious Purpoſe, *I will waſh my Hands in Innocency, and ſo will I go to thy Altar.* Pſal. xxvi. 6. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

|| In Gen. xxiv. 59. we read, that *Deborah* went along with her Miſtreſs *Rebekah*, when *Iſaac*'s Steward was ſent to conduct her out of *Meſopotamia*; how is it then, that we find her here in *Jacob*'s Retinue ſo long afterwards, and when he was returning from the ſame Place? The *Jewiſh* Doctors tell us, that *Rebekah*, having promiſed her Son, at his Departure, that ſhe would ſend for him again, as ſoon as ſhe found him out of Danger, did now ſend *Deborah* to fetch him back. But, beſides, that a younger Meſſenger would have been much more proper, we do not find that *Jacob* was ſent for, but that he left the Country, by God's Appointment, and upon the bad Uſage of his Father-in-law. Some *Chriſtian* Commentators are therefore of Opinion, that, after ſhe had brought her Miſtreſs *Rebekah* to her Marriage, and ſeen her well ſettled in her Family, ſhe went back to *Haran* again, and there dwelt in *Laban's* Houſe,

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commanded him, whereupon he performed his Vow; and, not long after, God appeared to him again, confirming the Change of his Name, and giving him freſh Aſſurances of his Deſign to multiply his Poſterity, and to give him the Inheritance of the Land of *Canaan*; which induced him to erect a Pillar of Stone (whereon he poured a *Drink-offering, and Oil)* as a laſting Monument of his Gratitude and Devotion.

Rachel's *Death and Burial.*

THE Deſire, which *Jacob* had to viſit his aged Father, made his Stay in *Bethel* not long: And therefore removing from thence, he intended to have reached † *Ephrah*, (which was not far diſtant) that Night, but was prevented by *Rachel*'s falling in Labour of her ſecond and laſt Child, for of him ſhe died, as ſoon as ſhe was delivered, and had juſt Time to name him *Benoni*, i. e. the *Son of Sorrow*; but his Father, unwilling to perpetuate the Remembrance of ſo melancholy a Subject, called him † *Benjamin*, which ſignifies *the Son of my Right-hand*, or *my Strength*. She was buried in the Way to *Ephrah*, where her Huſband built * a Monument of Stone over her Grave, which the ſacred Hiſtorian tells us was extant in his Days. But this was not the only Misfortune which attended *Jacob* in this Place; his eldeſt Son *Reuben*, having taken a Liking to *Bilhah*, the *concubinary* Wife, which *Rachel* had given him, made no Scruple to commit Inceſt with her, which Thing grieved his Father ſo, that though he forbore taking any preſent Notice of it, yet he could not but *(a)* reſent it at his dying Hour. Soon after this *Jacob* left this melancholy Place, and came at length to *Mamre*, the Place of his Father's Abode, who was doubtleſs not a little overjoyed at the Return of his Son, after ſo long an Abſence.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

The

Houſe, 'till upon *Jacob*'s returning home, ſhe, having a Deſire to ſee her old Miſtreſs once more, put herſelf under his Convoy. Others again ſuppoſe, that *Jacob* had been at his Father's Houſe before this Time; or that, after *Rebekah*'s Death, *Deborah*, hearing of his Return into *Canaan*, might be deſirous to ſpend the Remainder of her Life with his Wives, who were her Countrywomen. Any of theſe Conjectures may be ſufficient to ſolve the Difficulty of her being found in *Jacob*'s Family; and the Reaſon, why *Moſes* takes Notice of her Death, is, not ſo much becauſe it was a Circumſtance of Moment enough to be preſerv'd in Hiſtory, as that it was of Uſe to aſſign the Reaſon, why the *Oak*, near which ſhe was buried, and which perhaps was ſtill ſtanding in his Days, came by its Name. But what will, in ſome Meaſure, ſerve, both to vindicate the *ſacred Hiſtorian*, and to ſhew, at the ſame Time, how much theſe *Nurſes*, and Women, who had the Care and Education of Perſons of Birth and Quality, were honour'd and eſteem'd in thoſe early Days, is a Paſſage, upon the like Occaſion, in the Poet *Virgil*:

Tu quoque littoribus noſtris, *Æneia* Nutrix,
Æternam moriens famam, *Caïeta*, dediſti,
Et nunc ſervat honos ſedem tuus, oſſaque nomen
Heſperia in magna (ſi qua eſt ea gloria) fignat. Æneid. l. 7.

† This Place was afterwards called *Bethlehem*, a City about two Leagues diſtant from *Jeruſalem*, famous for the Birth of *David*, King of *Iſrael*, but infinitely more ſo, for the Birth of *Chriſt*, the Son of God, and Saviour of the World. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

† From the different Names, which the Father and Mother gave this Son of theirs, ſome have obſerv'd, that Names are oft-times ſtrangely adapted to Things, and the Preſages of Parents have antiently been obſerv'd to be fulfilled:

——— Heu nunquam vana parentum
Auguria ——— ———

which was certainly no where more, than in the Fate of *Benjamin*'s Poſterity, ſince no Tribe in *Iſrael* was more valorous, and yet none more ſubject to Diſaſters, than *his*; ſince it was almoſt quite extirpated in the Time of the Judges, Ch. xx. and yet, before the Concluſion of that Age, became ſo powerful, as to have the firſt King of *Iſrael* choſen out of it. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* The learned *Bochart* is of Opinion, that this *Monument* of *Rachel*'s (which is the firſt, that we read of in Scripture) was a *Pyramid*, curiouſly wrought, and raiſed upon a *Baſis* of twelve large Stones, whereby *Jacob* intended to intimate the Number of his Sons. It was certainly ſtanding in the Time when *Moſes* wrote, Ver. 20. and, juſt before *Saul* was anointed King, there is ſome mention made of it, 1 Sam. x. 2. But that the preſent Monument cannot be the ſame, which *Jacob* erected, is very manifeſt from its being a modern and *Turkiſh* Structure. Mr *Le Brun*, who was at the Place, and took a Draught of it, ſays, that the Tomb is cut into the Cavity of a Rock, and cover'd with a Dome, ſupported by four Pillars, on Fragments of a Wall, which open to the Sepulchre. The Work is rude enough, and without any Ornament; but the whole is as entire, as if it had been but juſt made, which makes it hard to imagine that it has ſubſiſted ever ſince *Jacob*'s Time. *Maundrell*'s Travels, and *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

(a) Gen. xlix. 4.

A. M. 2149, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1855, &c.

From Gen. xxviii. to Ch. xxxvii.

The Objection.

" IT cannot be denied indeed, but that " *Laban* dealt very treacherouſly with " his Son-in-law (after he had undergone " ſo long a Servitude for his *Miſtreſs*) in " palming one Daughter upon him inſtead " of another; but ſtill it muſt be con- " feſſed, that *Jacob* was more than even " with him, in the Manner of enriching " himſelf, by ſupplanting his Father-in- " law of the beſt of his Cattle. *Laban*, " to be ſure, underſtood the Bargain in " the moſt obvious and natural Senſe of " the Words. By *theſe Jacob* was to give " up to him all the Lambs and Kids, that " were *white*, and to reſerve to himſelf " thoſe, that were *party-coloured*. There " was no ſuſpicion of uſing any Art in " this Caſe: He meant no more, than a " bare *caſual* Production, and *Jacob* to " make him believe he intended the ſame, " lays his Hand on his Heart, as it were, " and hopes that *his Righteouſneſs would* " *anſwer for him in the Time to come:* " But, notwithſtanding all this Air of Ho- " neſty, we find him betaking himſelf " to an Artifice, which, he knew, would " do the Work; tho' it badly became an " honeſt Man to ſtudy how to *outwit* " another, who dealt upon the *Square*, " and had no Suſpicion of any fraudulent " Reſerves in the Bargain.

" BUT well might he be deem'd per- " fidious to Man, when we find him " making a Vow to God, conceived in " Terms that ſeem *mercenary* enough, and " as if he were inſiſting upon Conditions " with the Almighty; and yet neglecting, " for many Years, to perform it, though " God had abundantly made good the " Covenant on his Part, and brought him " in Triumph, as it were, into the Coun- " try, and within the very Confines of " the Place, where the Vow was made; " when, notwithſtanding all theſe Bleſ- " ſings from the divine Bounty, we find " him tamely permitting Idolatry, and " *ſtrange Gods*, to continue in his Family, " and never once thinking of a Reforma- " tion, until he was ſummon'd *to appear* " *before God*; when we find him be- " traying the Rights of *Primogeniture* " (which coſt him ſome Perfidy to attain) " in the abject Meſſages and Speeches, he " made to his Brother; violating the Laws " of *Chaſtity* in the *inceſtuous* Marriage of " two Siſters at once; and (what looks " very odd, as well as preſumptuous) in " daring to *wreſtle*, and contend with his " Maker.

" THERE is ſomething ſo groſs in the " Notion of a Man's *wreſtling* with God, " ſomething ſo incongruous, ſo incompa- " tible, that we ſhould rather think it " poſſible for his two Sons, *Simeon* and " *Levi*, to attack a *whole* City, maſſacre " the Men, plunder the Country, and take " the Women and Children Captives, and " all this with two pair of Hands, than " for their Father *Jacob* to encounter, " were it but a created Angel, and yet " prevail.

" *JACOB* however, in the main, " might be a very good Man, but we " cannot but think that his Example was, " in a great Meaſure, loſt in his Family; " when we find his eldeſt Son violating his " Father's Bed (a Fact, which *Moſes* might " as well have omitted, if but for the Ho- " nour of the *Jewiſh* Nation) and the two " next imbruing their Hands in innocent " Blood, and even proſtituting the Credit " of a *Sacrament*, to accompliſh their *vin-* " *dictive* Ends.

" *SHECHEM* we allow might have " ſuffer'd, and others, that were *acceſſary* " in injuring the young Lady, and putting " a Slur upon the Family; but what Ac- " count can we give for their murthering " thoſe, who had no Hand in the *Rape*, " and for making free Booty of the Wo- " men, who (had they known it) would " have probably prevented it, and of the " little

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" little *Children*, who had no Notion " wherein they had offended, and could " give no Reaſon why they were en- " ſlaved?

" WHAT Account indeed can be given " for ſeveral other Actions in this *Period* " of Hiſtory; particularly for *Rachel*'s " coveting of *Reuben*'s *Mandrakes*, and " purchaſing them of his Mother at ſo " odd a Rate? Women, that are Preg- " nant, we know, have oftentimes the " Cravings of their Appetites very unac- " countable; but this was not *Rachel*'s " Caſe, and therefore one would think " ſhe ſhould not ſo paſſionately have de- " ſired a *Fruit* (if it was a Fruit) which " is known to be diſagreeable to the " Smell, and confeſſedly of ſo vile a " Taſte, that the meaneſt Peaſant would " refuſe it.

" WHAT Account can be given for her " ſtealing away her Father's *Gods*, (ſuch " Gods as no Man can inform us what " they were) and, at the Expence of a " Lye, hiding them from his Search? " Great Care did poor *Rebekah* take, to " ſecure her darling Son from marrying " into an *idolatrous* Family, and yet ſhe " ſeems not to have mended the Matter " much, when ſhe ſent him into her *own*, " wherein the very *Damſels* we found to " be ſuch *Bigots*.

" TO name but one more: What Ac- " count can be given for that eager De- " ſire, which theſe patriarchal Matrons ex- " preſs'd, to give their Handmaids to their " Huſbands, that by them they might " have Children, rather than none at all? " 'Tis a Thing ſomewhat extraordinary, " for a Woman to encourage her Huſ- " band's Adultery; nor can we conceive " how a Child born of the Maid's Body " can become the Right and Property of " the Miſtreſs, any other Way, than by " Adoption, be it never ſo much *(b) born* " *upon her Knees*."

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing that Jacob was not culpable in getting the beſt of Laban's Cattle to himſelf.

THE worſt Accuſation againſt our Patriarch, is, that of his *purloining* (as ſome may call it) or appropriating to himſelf a conſiderable Part of *Laban*'s Subſtance; and Shame light on him, who pretends to apologize for this, in order to give Countenance to any *Trick* or *Colluſion* in Matters of Commerce. The Scripture only relates the Fact, without either Cenſure or Approbation: And we read it to wrong Purpoſe, if, becauſe we find a Thing recorded of a Patriarch, and yet not cenſur'd by the holy Penman, we therefore immediately conclude it to be right *(c)*. Men will be Men, full of Imperfections, and govern'd by their Paſſions, ſo long as they live in this World; nor are the *Examples*, propounded in Scripture to beget in us Humility and Watchfulneſs upon every Remembrance of human Frailty, but the *Laws* contain'd therein, which *are true and righteous altogether*, to be the Rule and Meaſure of our Conduct. We readily grant therefore, that this Action of *Jacob*'s, conſidered in itſelf, and according to the Rules of ſtrict Juſtice, can hardly be vindicated; but then we are to remember, that there was a much ſuperior Agent, even the great Proprietor of the World, and who has an undoubted Right to transfer Poſſeſſions where he pleaſes, by whoſe Direction it was done.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

FOR ſuppoſe we allow (what ſome great Men, both *Phyſicians* and *Philoſophers*, are wont to maintain) that the Fancy of the Dam, in the Time of Conception, is of Power ſufficient to influence the Form, and Shape, and Colour of the *Young*, and to produce the Effect which it had upon *Laban*'s Cattle; yet we cannot imagine that *Jacob* knew any Thing of this Secret. Men had not as yet enquir'd into the Powers of Nature, and Obſervations of this Kind were not much regarded. *(d)* Religion, and the Worſhip of God, was, in theſe Days, the *Wiſdom of the World*; and a Simplicity of Life, and Integrity of Manners more ſtudied, than any curious and philoſophical Speculations. If Study and Philoſophy had help'd Men to this Knowledge, how came *Laban*

(b) Gen. xxx. 3. *(c)* Scripture vindicated *(d) Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 7.

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Laban and his Sons to be utter Strangers to it? And yet, had they not been Strangers, they could not but apprehend, that *Jacob* might by Art *variegate* the Cattle, as he pleaſed, and would not therefore have made ſo weak a Bargain with him. They certainly therefore had no Notion that any ſuch Thing could be done; neither had *Jacob* any Intelligence of it, when he made the Contract with *Laban*; but, being reſolv'd to be contented with what the Divine Providence ſhould allot him, he made choice of the *ſpeckled* Cattle, merely to put an End to all Cavils about Wages, as not doubting but that God would ſo order Matters, that, in the Event, he ſhould have enough: And therefore his Words, *So ſhall my Righteouſneſs anſwer for me in the Time to come*, are juſt as if he had ſaid: *(e)* "I may be "thought to have acted imprudently in "naming this Hire, as if it were impoſſi- "ble for Cattle, that are all *white*, to "bring forth any, but ſuch as are like "themſelves; but, in the Reſult, it will "appear, that God had Reſpect to my "juſt Dealing, and this you will plainly "ſee, when you come to pay me my "Wages."

But tho' *Jacob*, at firſt, might be ignorant of the Secret, we cannot deny, but that, after the Bargain was made, God might give him ſome Intimation of it, and perhaps might enjoin him to put it in Execution; and yet, after all, he might not apprehend any natural Efficacy in the Thing. Inſtances there are more than enough in Scripture of God's requiring Perſons to perform ſuch Actions, as might teſtify their Faith, and Reliance on his Promiſes, in order to receive ſuch Bleſſings, as he intended for them. Thus *Naaman* the *Syrian*, when he came to beg of God a Cure of his Leproſy, was directed *(f) to waſh ſeven Times in* Jordan. Waſhing in *Jordan* was to be an Evidence of his believing that God would heal him, and, upon his giving this Evidence, he was cur'd; which was the Caſe of *Jacob* here before us. God had told him that *(g) he had ſeen all, that* Laban *had done unto him*, but that he would take Care that he *ſhould not hurt him*; that all *Laban*'s Contrivances to defraud him of his Wages he would turn ſo much to his Advantage, as that they ſhould tend to the Encreaſe of his Proſperity; and then very probably (as a token of his Belief and Dependance on him) he commanded him to take peeled Rods, and uſe them as he directed. *Jacob* believed, and did as he was commanded: But, all this while, he might no more think, that the peeling of Rods in green Boughs, and laying them in the Watering-places, where the Flocks were to drink, was a natural Way to cauſe them to bring forth *ſpotted* and *ſpeckled* young ones, than *Naaman* did, that waſhing in a River was a Cure for a *Leproſy*. But, even ſuppoſe the Caſe, that *Jacob* had the Notion, that *party-coloured Rods* might be a *natural* Means to produce *party-colour'd Cattle*; yet, if he uſed them in Obedience to the divine Command, and not merely as a Means to enrich himſelf at the Expence of another, we cannot perceive wherein he was culpable. God Almighty determined to puniſh *Laban* for his Injuſtice, and to reward *Jacob* for his Fidelity. He reveal'd to *Jacob* the Manner, in which he deſign'd to bleſs him, and ordered him to do an Action, as a Token of his Reliance on him, for the Performance of his Promiſe. *Jacob* faithfully obſerv'd the Orders, that were given him, and the Event prov'd accordingly.

From Gen. xxviii. 10 to Ch. xxxvii.

Here was no Trick, no Circumvention in the Matter; tho' it muſt be allow'd, that, had it been lawful for any private Perſon to make *Repriſals*, the injurious Treatment he had received from *Laban*, both in impoſing a Wife upon him, and prolonging his Servitude without Wages, was enough to give *Jacob* both the *Provocation*, and *Privilege* ſo to do. God Almighty however was pleaſed to take the Determination of the whole Matter

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(e) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. (f) 2 Kings v. 10. (g) Gen. xxxi. 12.

A. M. 2149. &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1855, &c.

Matter into his own Hands; and therefore the true Concluſion is, what *Jacob* himſelf expreſſes, in his Speech to his two Wives, *Ye know, that, with all my Power, I have ſerved your Father, and your Father hath deceived me; but God ſuffered him not to hurt me. If he ſaid thus, the ſpeckled ſhall be thy Wages, then all the Cattle bare ſpeckled; and if he ſaid thus, the ring-ſtreaked ſhall be thine Hire, then bare all the Cattle ring-ſtreaked. Thus God hath taken away the Cattle of your Father and hath given them to me.*

His Vow *vindicated, and the Reaſon of his delaying to pay it.*

A MAN ſo highly favoured by God, and ſo ſenſible of his peculiar Goodneſs, can ſcarce be ſuppoſed capable of making any *Vow* with a *mercenary* View, or of neglecting to perform it, when made. The Vow, which the Patriarch made upon his Journey into *Meſopotamia*, is conceiv'd in theſe Terms: *(h) If God will be with me, and keep me in this Way, that I go, and will give me Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on, ſo that I come again to my Father's Houſe in Peace, then ſhall the Lord be my God*; i. e. I will religiouſly worſhip and ſerve him: But it is an unfair Conſtruction to ſay, that, unleſs God did bring home in Peace, he wou'd not worſhip him. The Right, which God has to the Service and Homage of his Creatures, is abſolute and unalienable: His Dominion, his Power, his Goodneſs, Covenant, and Promiſes, do all require this of us; and therefore the Words muſt mean, either that, beſides God's natural Property in him, he ſhould have alſo a farther Demand of Duty upon him, in conſequence of this Vow; or *(i)* that he would perform ſome ſignal Service to him, and worſhip him with a more than ordinary Devotion, conſecrating (as it follows) the Place, where he then ſtood, to his Honour; offering him Sacrifices; and giving him the Tenth of all he had, to maintain this Worſhip.

SUCH is the Senſe of the Vow; and the Conditions relating to it ſeem to denote the ſecret Wiſh and Deſire of his Soul, and not any expreſs Stipulation with God. Man certainly cannot inſiſt on Terms with his Maker, but he may deſire and humbly hope for a Supply of his Wants. More than this the Patriarch does not expect; and leſs than this God never intended to give. *Our heavenly Father knows that we have need of Food to eat, and Raiment to put on*, and 'tis a Renunciation of our Dependence upon his *providential* Goodneſs not to aſk them. To ſerve God for no Conſideration, but that of his own Glory, is a Notion, that may well enough comport with our future exalted State, when we ſhall *hunger no more, neither thirſt any more*, and where our Service will always be attended with Viſion; but, while we are inveſted with theſe weak and frail Bodies, they, and their Concerns will tenderly affect us, and God, who *conſiders whereof we are made*, expects no other, than that they ſhould.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

CONSIDERING then the Circumſtances, that *Jacob* was in, leaving now his *own*, and going into a *ſtrange Country*, we need not much wonder that we find him ſollicitous *for his daily Bread. With his Staff he paſſed over* Jordan; and when he returned with a great Retinue, the grateful Acknowledgment, which he makes upon that Occaſion, he expreſſes in theſe Words: *(k) I am not worthy of the leaſt of all the Mercies, and of all the Truth, which thou haſt ſhewed unto thy Servant*; and a Temper like this would never have neglected to *pay its Vows unto the moſt High*, had not the Patriarch either met with Obſtructions, that made it not ſafe for him to go, or waited, till God (who had all along conducted him hitherto) ſhould direct him to go, to the Place appointed for ſuch Oblation.

The Reformation *in his Family what.*

BEFORE he came to that Place indeed, we are told that he *(l) commanded his Houſhold, and all that were with him, to put away the ſtrange Gods, that were among them.* And from hence it may be preſum'd, that there were ſeveral of his Family (and poſſibly *Rachel* herſelf) addicted to Idola-

(h) Gen. xxviii. 20, &c. (i) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (k) Gen. xxxii. 10. (l) Ch. xxxv. 2.

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try, which he might connive at; but this is a Miſtake, which ariſes purely from the Faultineſs of our *Tranſlation*. There the Word *ſtrange* is ſuppoſed to refer to *Gods*, and to be another Name for *Idols*: Whereas the Words *(Elohei han-necar)* do properly ſignify *the Gods of the Stranger, that was among them*, i. e. the Gods of the *Shechemites*, whom they had taken Captive, and brought into *Jacob*'s Family. This alters the Senſe of the Words quite, and throws the Charge of Idolatry, not upon *Jacob*'s *Houſhold*, but upon the *Strangers*, that were in it. The Captives of *Shechem*, which his Sons had taken, were now to be incorporated into his Family, and put under new Reſtrictions. Whatever Singularities were in their Dreſs or Ornaments, or in the Rites and Uſages of Religion, they had been accuſtomed to, theſe he intended to abrogate, and to reduce them all to the ſame Purity of Worſhip, and Simplicity of Life and Manners, which he deſign'd to keep up among them. And this is ſo far from being a Stain upon his Conduct, (as if he were a tame Conniver at Impiety) that we find him undertaking the Reformation even of *Strangers*, as ſoon as they were come under his Roof, with a Spirit and Reſolution, not unlike that of holy *David*, *(m) Mine Eyes look unto ſuch, as are faithful in the Land, that they may dwell with me, and whoſo leadeth a godly Life, he ſhall be my Servant*.

His ſending to Eſau, a Thing highly neceſſary.

Some Writers have made it a Queſtion, how *Jacob*, upon his Return home, ſhould know where his Brother *Eſau* dwelt, and why he ſhould ſend him ſo humble and ſubmiſſive a Meſſage: But *(n)* we can hardly imagine that *Jacob* ſhould be ſo imprudent, as to carry his Wives, Children, and Subſtance into *Canaan*, without knowing whether he might ſafely venture thither. 'Tis preſumable therefore, that, while he reſted at *Gilead*, he ſent Meſſengers to enquire whether his Father was alive; what Condition he was in; how the People of the Land were affected to him; and whether he might come, and live with Security near him. From theſe Meſſengers he might learn the Place of his Brother's Habitation; and, when he found that he ſhould meet with no Obſtruction, if he could but reconcile *Eſau* to him, he very prudently ſent to him likewiſe, with an Intent (if he found him inexorable) to bend his Courſe another Way. And indeed, if we conſider what had paſſed between *Eſau* and *Jacob*, before the latter went from home, we ſhall ſoon find Reaſon enough why *Jacob* ſhould ſend to him, before he adventur'd to come, and ſit down with his Subſtance near his Father. *Eſau* ſtill expected to be his Father's Heir, eſpecially as to his *Temporalities*; and therefore, if *Jacob* had returned home without *Eſau*'s Knowledge, this, at their Father's Death, would have laid the Foundation of a greater Miſunderſtanding, than ever: For *Eſau* would then have thought, that his Brother had been inveigling his Father, and drawing a great Part of his Subſtance from him. He could never have imagin'd that any Perſon, in a State of *Servitude*, cou'd have acquir'd ſo large a Fortune; and therefore, when he came to ſee all that Wealth (which he knew nothing of before) he muſt have concluded that he had defrauded him.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

'Twas not from Pride or Vanity therefore, or to gratify an oſtentatious Humour, that *Jacob* ſent his Brother an Account of his proſperous Circumſtances; but, partly to recognize the Goodneſs of Providence, which had ſo proſper'd him, and partly to let him know, that he was not come to raiſe any Contributions, either upon him, or the Family; that he had brought his Subſtance with him from *Haran*, and was not going into *Canaan* to do him any Wrong.

No Abjectneſs in his Addreſs.

The whole Deſign of this Interview with *Eſau* was to procure a firm Reconciliation with him; and therefore it is no Wonder, that *Jacob* ſhould make uſe of ſuch Terms, as were moſt likely to ingratiate. He knew his Brother's rugged

(m) Pſal. ci. 8, 9. *(n)* *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II l. 8.

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ged and haughty Temper, and conſider'd him as a Perſon, who, by his Valour and Conduct, had rais'd himſelf to a Principality and Dominion, whilſt himſelf, for twenty Years together, had liv'd in no better Capacity, than that of a Servant; and therefore he might juſtly think, that this Difference of Appellations did not miſbecome their different Conditions of Life.

BY the divine Direction indeed, he was conſtituted *Eſau*'s *Lord*, nor did he forgo that Prerogative by calling himſelf *Eſau*'s Servant. *Lord* and *Servant* were no more then, than (what they are now) certain Modes of *Civility*, which paſſed between Perſons of good Breeding, without ever adhering to their ſtrict Acceptation; and therefore *Jacob* might make his Addreſſes to *Eſau* in this Manner, without any Derogation to his ſpiritual Pre-eminence, and confining himſelf to the Bounds of Nature, might reverence him as his elder Brother.

BUT, how jealous ſoever we may be of *Jacob*'s Honour, 'tis certain that the Almighty approv'd of his Conduct, by himſelf interpoſing to bring about the deſir'd Reconciliation. Before this Interview with his Brother, and while he lay under terrible Apprehenſions of his Diſpleaſure, *(o) the Angels*, we are told, *met him. They met him*, i. e. they ſhewed themſelves to him, to aſſure him of their Cuſtody; and by and by we ſee what follow'd: *(p)* His Brother *Eſau*, contrary to his natural Roughneſs, and avow'd Revenge, comes, and treats him in a moſt friendly Manner; which ſudden Change in *Eſau*, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, was occaſion'd by one of thoſe Angels, who appear'd; and who, working upon his Humours and Fancy, ſweeten'd him into a particular Benignity of Temper, ſo that *Jacob*, by his humble and ſubmiſſive Behaviour, gain'd his End.

Jacob's *Caſe in Relation to* Polygamy, *and* Inceſt.

THERE is this peculiar Hardſhip upon *Jacob*, that, in the Matter of *Leah*, he was perfectly impoſed upon; that he had no Deſign of having any Communion with her; was contracted to her Siſter; and, in all Probability, had he enjoy'd her firſt, would never have had Concern with any other. But the Misfortune was, that, in the other's *nuptial* Night, he had carnal Knowledge of her, and thereupon was induc'd to think, that he could not honeſtly leave her. Her Siſter *Rachel* was all this while (bating Conſummation) his lawful Wife, to whom he was contracted, to whom he was ſolemnly married; and therefore he could not in Juſtice relinquiſh her neither. In this *Dilemma* he was, in a Manner, under a Neceſſity of adhering to both; and, as *Polygamy* was not at that Time interdicted, he thought he might do it without any Violation of the Laws of God. The only Queſtion is, whether he did not incur the Sin of *Inceſt* in ſo doing? And to this ſome *Jewiſh* Doctors anſwer, that the Prohibition of Marriages, within ſuch Degrees of *Conſanguinity*, was reſtrain'd to the Land of *Canaan* only; and that therefore it was not unlawful for *Jacob*, in *Haran*, to take two Siſters, nor for *Amram*, in *Egypt*, to take his Father's Siſter: And to this Purpoſe they obſerve farther, that in the *Moſaick* Law itſelf, and particularly in the 20th Chapter of *Leviticus*, where the Sentence of Exciſion is pronounc'd againſt *inceſtuous* Marriages, there is no Puniſhment aſſign'd to him, who ſhall marry *two Siſters*, which as they will have it, was, for the Honour of *Jacob*, omitted. However this be, 'tis certain that there is no ſuch Toleration under the *Chriſtian* Diſpenſation; and therefore he, who pretends to pronounce any Thing upon a Caſe ſo ſingular, as this of our Patriarch's is, ſhould conſider the different State of Things, before the Promulgation of the Law; during the Obligation of it; and ſince the Commencement of the Goſpel; which undoubtly prohibits both a *Plurality* in Wives, and *Conſanguinity* in Marriages, and requires of its *Votaries* the ſtricteſt Chaſtity, from a Conſideration and Motive, which neither the *Law*

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

(o) Gen. xxxii. 1.

(p) Young's Sermons, Vol. II. Sermon 6.

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Law of Nature, nor the *Law of* Moſes, knew any thing of: *(q) Ye are not your own, for ye are bought with a Price, therefore glorify God in your Body, and in your Spirit, which are God's.*

His Wreſtling accounted for.

Of all the Adventures, which happen'd to *Jacob*, that of his *Wreſtling* is deſervedly reckon'd one of the ſtrangeſt, and has therefore been made a Matter of Doubt, whether it was a *real Event*, or a *Viſion* only. *(r) Maimonides*, and ſome other *Hebrew*, as well as *Chriſtian*, Interpreters, are of Opinion, that all this was tranſacted only in *Job*'s Imagination. They ſuppoſe, that the *Patriarch*, being ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the Senſe of the Danger he was going to encounter, ſaw, in a *Viſion*, a Man coming to him, and who, after ſome Altercations, began to *wreſtle* with him; that the Conflict between them continu'd till Break of Day, when his *Antagoniſt*, not able to get the better, deſired to be gone, &c. and that, as a Proof, that this Viſion was more than an ordinary Dream, it ſeem'd to him, that the Angel touch'd his Thigh, and, in effect, as ſoon as he awoke, he found himſelf lame, probably by the Force of his Imagination.

If this Explication be admitted, the whole Difficulty is at an End. 'Tis natural perhaps for a Man, under the Apprehenſions of a dreadful Foe, to dream of *fighting*; and to dream, at the ſame Time, that he comes off victorious, might be accounted an happy *Omen*. But it muſt be confeſs'd, that the *Analogy* of the Story, and more eſpecially *Jacob's* Lameneſs, which was conſequent upon this Conflict, will not ſuffer us to think that all this was only in a Dream. The more general therefore, and indeed the more rational Opinion is, that this Wreſtling was *real*, and that *Jacob* was actually awake, when engag'd in it: But then the Queſtion is, who the Perſon was, that did encounter him?

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

ORIGEN, I think, is a little ſingular and no ways to be juſtified in his Conceit, when he tells us, that the Perſon, with whom *Jacob* wreſtled, was an *evil* Angel, in Alluſion to which he thinks that the Apoſtle grounds his Exhortation: *(s) Finally, my Brethren, be ſtrong in the Lord, and in the Power of his Might, for we wreſtle not againſt Fleſh and Blood, but againſt Principalities, againſt Powers, againſt the Rulers of Darkneſs of this World, againſt ſpiritual Wickedneſs in high Places.* But that *Jacob*, who, at this Time, was ſo immediately under the divine Protection, ſhould be ſubmitted to the Aſſault of *a wicked Angel*; that he ſhould merit the Name of *Iſrael*, i. e. *Conqueror of God*, for overcoming ſuch an one, or call the Place of Combat *Peniel*, i. e. the *Face of God*, in Commemoration of his Conflict with ſuch an one, is very abſurd, if not an impious Suggeſtion. Thoſe, who eſpouſe this Opinion, may poſſibly be led into it from a Thought, that the Perſon, here contending with *Jacob*, was an *Enemy*, and come with a malevolent Intent againſt him; whereas nothing can be more evident, (eſpecially by his bleſſing him before they parted) that he came with a quite contrary Deſign. *(t)* Among the People of the *Eaſt*, from whence the *Grecians* came, and brought along with them ſeveral of their Cuſtoms, *Wreſtling* was an Exerciſe in great Vogue, as highly conducive to the Health and Strength; and a common Thing it was, for two Friends, when they met together, to amuſe and recreate themſelves in this Way. The *Jewiſh* Doctors therefore ſeem to be much in the right, when they maintain, that the Perſon who contended with *Jacob*, was a *good* Angel; and, as their ſettled Notion is, that thoſe heavenly Spirits ſing, every Morning, the Praiſes of God, at the Approach of Day; ſo the Requeſt, which his *Antagoniſt* makes, *(u) Let me go, for the Day breaketh*, ſhews him to be one

(q) 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20. *(r)* Vid. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 17. and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Calmet*'s Dictionary. *(s)* Eph. vi. 10, 11, 12. *(t) Le Clerc*'s Comment. in Locum. *(u)* Gen. xxxii. 26.

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one of the angelick Hoſt, who had ſtayed his prefixed Time, and was now in haſte to be gone, in order to join the heavenly *Choir:* For the Prophet *Hoſea*, I think, has determin'd the Matter very plainly, when, ſpeaking of *Jacob*, he tells us that *(x) he took his Brother by the Heel in the Womb, and by his Strength he had Power with God, yea he had Power over the Angel, and prevail'd.*

HOW *Jacob*, who was an hundred Years old, could be enabled to do all this, muſt be imputed to ſome *inviſible* Power, that aſſiſted him. *(y)* An Angel is here, in an extraordinary Manner, ſent to encounter him, and he, in an extraordinary Manner, is enabled to withſtand him. The whole Scene is contriv'd to cure him of his uneaſy Fears, and a proper Medium to do this, was, to let him ſee, than an *old Man* might conteſt it even with an Angel, and yet not be foil'd; and the Power, he might reaſonably conclude, which aſſiſted him in this (if the Matter were to come to Blows with his Brother *Eſau)* would ſo invigorate his little Army of *Domeſticks*, as to make them prevail, and become victorious.

IT was a common Cuſtom among *Eaſtern* Nations (as appears from ſeveral Paſſages in Scripture) to convey the Knowledge of Things by Actions, as well as Words. To this Purpoſe we find *Zedekiah (z) making him Horns of Iron*, thereby to portend Victory to *Ahab*; and *Elias*, ordering *Joaſh* (*a*) *to ſtrike the Ground with Arrows*, thence to preſignify his Triumph over the *Syrians*. Nay, even *Hannibal* himſelf, (as the Hiſtorian (*b*) tells us) perceiving that his Soldiers were not to be encourag'd with Words, made a puplick Show for them, not ſo much to entertain their Sight, as to give them an Image and Repreſentation of their own Condition. In like Manner, we may ſuppoſe, that God made Uſe of this Expedient to cure *Jacob* of his Dejection; and tho' *Moſes* (who cannot be ſuppoſed to inſert every Thing) ſays nothing of the Angel's giving him this Intimation, yet we find it (*c*) in *Joſephus*, that, no ſooner was the *Wreſtling* ended, but, a Voice called out to him, and ſaid, "Comfort thyſelf in what thou haſt done, for it is not "a common Adverſary, that thou haſt "foil'd, but an Angel of the Lord: Take "it for a Preſage therefore, that thy "Poſterity ſhall never fail, and that thou "thyſelf ſhalt never be overcome."

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

O LORD God of my Father Simeon, *to whom thou gaveſt a Sword to take Vengeance of the Strangers, who looſen'd the Girdle of a Maid to defile her, and polluted her Virginity to her Reproach: Therefore thou gaveſt her Rulers to be ſlain, ſo that they died in their Bed in Blood, being deceiv'd. Thou gaveſt their Wives for a Prey, and their Daughters to be Captives, and all their Spoils to be divided among thy dear Children, who were moved with thy Zeal, and abhorred the Pollution of their Blood, and called upon thee for Aid.* (*d*) This is the *Preface* to the Prayer, which *Judith* makes to God, in the *apocryphal* Book, that goes under her Name. And indeed, were there no other Arguments to prove this Book *ſpurious*, this one Paſſage is enough, were we find the moſt abominable *Maſſacre* called a *divine* Work, and Perfidy, Murder, and Rapine, gilded over with the ſpecious Names of *Zeal for God*, and Indignation againſt Vice. The Abhorrence, which *Jacob* expreſs'd of the Cruelty of his Sons, the Sharpneſs of the Reproaches utter'd againſt them, the Remembrance of it, even to the End of his Life, and the Care he took to recapitulate it upon his Death-bed, give us a much juſter Idea of it, than the Writings of ſome *(e) Rabbins*, who have undertaken not only to *excuſe*, but even to *commend* it. As to the Probability of the Fact however, we are not to ſuppoſe, that, becauſe *Simeon* and *Levi* are only mention'd,

The Slaughter of the Shechemites, *by* Jacob's *two Sons, cenſur'd, and in what Senſe it was* probable.

(*x*) Hoſ. xii. 3, 4. (*y*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (*z*) 1 Kings xxii. 11. (*a*) 2 Kings xiii. 18. (*b*) *Livy*, Lib. xxi. (*c*) Antiq. lib. i. c. 20. (*d*) Judith ix. 2, &c. (*e*) *Selden* de Jur. Nat. l. 7. c. 5.

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they therefore were the only Perſons, who had any Hand in this wicked Exploit. They indeed are only mention'd, becauſe, being own Brothers to *Dinah* both by Father and Mother, and, conſequently, more concerned to reſent the Injury done to her Honour, they are made the chief Contrivers and Conductors of it; but it is reaſonable to think, that the reſt of *Jacob*'s Sons, who were old enough to bear Arms, as well as the greateſt Part of his *Domeſticks*, were engag'd in the Execution of it: Becauſe it is ſcarcely conceivable, how two Men alone ſhould be able to maſter a whole City, to ſlay all the Men in it, and take all the Women Captives, who, upon this Occaſion, may be ſuppoſed more than ſufficient to have over-power'd them.

NOTHING is more known, and common in Hiſtory, than to aſcribe an Action (eſpecially in *military* Affairs) to the chief Commanders in it, how many Under-agents ſoever they may think proper to employ: And we ſhould deny *Moſes* the common Privilege of an *Hiſtorian*, if we ſhould account that a Fault and Omiſſion in him, which, in other Writers of the like Nature (eſpecially where they ſtudy *Brevity)* is reputed a great Beauty and Perfection. *Moſes* however is far from pleading his Privilege in this Reſpect; for having made mention of *Simeon* and *Levi* as the principal Leaders in the Action, he then proceeds and tells us, that (*f*) *the Sons of* Jacob, meaning the reſt of his Sons, who were of competent Age (and with them very reaſonably their Attendants) *came upon the Slain, and ſpoiled the City, becauſe they had defiled their Siſter.*

Why Moſes *takes Notice of* Reuben's *Inceſt.*

IT is very remarkable of the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian *Joſephus*, that he gives us no Manner of Account of *Reuben*'s Inceſt, for fear that his recording ſo vile an action might leave ſome Blot of Infamy upon that Patriarch, and his Poſterity. But *Moſes* has given us a better Proof of his Truth and Integrity, in that he not only mentions this Abomination once, but even, in the Benediction, which his Father gives *Reuben*, makes a Remembrance and Recital of it. And this he did, that he might give us a true Account, why the Right of Inheritance, which was originally in him, came to be conferr'd on *Joſeph*; and the *Kingdom*, or Right of Dominion, which was forfeited by his Tranſgreſſion, came to be tranſlated to the Tribe of *Judah*. This he did, that he might furniſh his Countrymen with Matter ſufficient for their *Humiliation*, who, by this, and many more Inſtances of the like Nature, are given to underſtand, that it was not their *Merit*, but purely God's *Mercy*, which advanced them to the Honour of being his *peculiar People*; and this he did, that he might acquaint us all, how God was pleaſed to make theſe great, theſe elect Heads and Fathers, Inſtances of human Frailty and Sin, in order to ſhew, that there is nothing, even nothing in Man, unleſs God by Grace be with him; that (*g*) *of ourſelves* (as the Apoſtle words it) *we are not ſufficient to do any Thing, as of ourſelves, but all our Sufficiency is from God.*

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

FOR the ſame Reaſon, we may imagine, it was, that *Moſes* makes mention of *Rachel*'s ſtealing away her Father's *Gods*, as a probable Intimation, that ſhe was not entirely cur'd of the idolatrous Superſtition of the Country, from whence ſhe came.

Why Rachel *ſtole away her Father's* Idols, *and what they were.*

THE *Jewiſh* Doctors are generally agreed, that the Word *Teraphim*, which we render *Gods*, is not of *Hebrew* Extraction. The *Septuagint* tranſlates it ſometimes an *Oracle*, and ſometimes *vain Idols*; and ſeveral *Commentators* will have it to be a Word borrow'd from the *Egyptians*, and to import the very ſame with their *Serapis*. (*h*) The *Jews* indeed pretend that this Idol was the Head of a firſt-born Son, pluck'd off from the Neck, and embalm'd; under the Tongue of which was faſten'd a *golden Plate*, with the

(*f*) Gen. xxxiv. 27. (*g*) 2 Cor. iii. 5. (*h*) *Calmet*'s Dictionary, and Commentary; & Jurieu, Hiſtoire des Cultes & des Dogmes.

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the Name of ſome falſe Deity engraven upon it, which, being plac'd in a *Nitch*, with lighted Candles before it, gave *vocal* Anſwers to ſuch as came to conſult it: But others rather think that it was the ſame with what the *Perſians* call *Telephim*, more generally known by the Name of *Taliſmans*, i. e. Images, in human Form, of different Sizes, and different Metals, caſt under certain *Conſtellations*, with the Figures of ſome *Planets* and *magical* Characters, engraven upon them; Whereas others again are of Opinion, that the *Teraphim*, which *Rachel* ſtole, were the *Dii Penates*, or *Houſhold-Gods* of her Father *Laban*, viz. the Images of *Noah*, the Reſtorer of Mankind, and of *Shem*, the Head of his Family; and therefore they obſerve, that *Laban*, by way of Diſtinction, calls them *his Gods*, i. e. the Gods of his *Family*. That theſe *Teraphims* were Statues, or Images of an human Shape and Figure, is manifeſt from *(i) Michal*'s putting one of them into her Huſband's Bed, when ſhe favour'd his Eſcape: That, at their firſt Inſtitution, their Intent was innocent, to the Emblems or Repreſentations only of ſome renowned Anceſtor, whoſe Memory the Family was deſirous to perpetuate; but that, in Proceſs of Time, they came to be look'd upon, as the *Lares*, or *Dii Tutelares* of the Houſe, were made Objects of religious Adoration, and at length perverted to all the vile Purpoſes of *Necromancy*, a learned Author, *(k)* who has examin'd this Matter to the full, has prov'd beyond Exception.

BUT whatever Men or fictitious Deities theſe Figures were made to repreſent, 'tis certain, that the Uſe, they were chiefly applied to, was, to foretel future Events, and diſcover what was hid or loſt; and for this Purpoſe, were conſulted and prayed to as *Oracles*, at certain Times, and under ſome particular *Aſpects* of the Planets. Among other Reaſons therefore, for *Rachel*'s ſtealing away her Father's *Teraphim*, this is generally ſuppoſed to be one, —— That he might not, by enquiring of them, gain Intelligence which Way it was, that *Jacob* had taken his Flight. From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

THE Truth is, there ſeems to have been in *Laban* an odd Mixture of Religion. In his Converſation with *Abraham*'s Steward, when he came to negociate a Match for *Iſaac*, he ſeems to expreſs a very devout Senſe of the *Being* and *Providence* of God; and yet, at his firſt coming up with *Jacob*, he ſeems to be chiefly ſollicitous for the Loſs of *his Gods* (as he calls them) which were but dumb and ſenſeleſs *Idols*. In the Treaty, which he makes with *Jacob*, he invocates the God of *Abraham*, which is allow'd to be the great God of Heaven and Earth; and yet we can hardly forbear thinking, that he muſt have believ'd a *Plurality* of Gods in Subordination to the *Supreme*, by Reaſon of his anxious Concern for theſe Images. *Jacob*, no doubt, during his Abode with him, uſed all the Intereſt, he had in the Family, to rectify his Notions, and convince him of his Error, but he was not able to prevail; and therefore ſome imagine that *Rachel* ſtole away his Idols, that ſhe might remove the Occaſion of his ſuperſtitious Worſhip, and hinder him from going on in his Impiety.

THESE *Idols*, we may preſume, were made of *Gold*, or ſome very valuable Subſtance; and therefore it may be ſuppoſed that ſhe took them along with her, not only to deſtroy them, but to make herſelf a Reparation likewiſe for the Wrongs ſhe had receiv'd from him, and whereof we find both the Siſters making this Complaint, *(l) Is there yet any Portion or Inheritance for us in our Father's Houſe? Are we not counted of him Strangers? For he hath ſold us, and hath quite devoured alſo our Money.*

BUT, even ſuppoſing the worſt of the Caſe, that *Rachel* did take with her theſe Idols, becauſe ſhe ſtill retain'd an Hankering after the Religion of her Anceſtors; yet *Jacob* is not to be diſcommended for marrying one of his own Family, who adher'd to the true Worſhip of God, tho' mix'd

(i) 1 Sam. xix. 13. *(k)* Jurieu, Hiſtoire des Cultes & des Dogmes. *(l)* Gen. xxxi. 14, 15

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mix'd with ſome ſuperſtitious Cuſtoms, which he might eaſily reclaim in Time; rather than any of the *Canaanitiſh* Line, which was every Day ſinking more and more into Idolatry, and for that Idolatry, and other flagitious Practices, were, in Proceſs of Time, to undergo an utter Exciſion: Eſpecially conſidering, that, when he came into the Land of *Canaan*, where he had a full Liberty of acting as he pleas'd, he made a thorough Reformation in his Family, and had all theſe little *Emblems* of her former Superſtition taken from her, and deſtroy'd.

What Reuben's Mandrakes *were, and why* Rachel *coveted them.*

The Word *Dudaim*, which we render * *Mandrakes*, is one of thoſe Terms, whoſe true Signification the *Jews*, at this Time, pretend not to underſtand. There is but one Place more in Scripture wherein it occurs, and that is in the 7th Chapter of *Canticles*, wherein the *Bridegroom* invites his *Spouſe* to go with him into the Fields: *Come, my Beloved, let us get up early to the Vineyards, let us ſee if the Vine flouriſh, whether the tender Grapes appear, and the Pomegranates bud forth. The Mandrakes give a Smell; at our Gates are all Manner of Fruits, which I have laid up for thee, O my Beloved.* Here we find it plac'd among the moſt delicious and pleaſant Fruits, the Grape, the Pomegranate, &c. and repreſented as very fragrant and odoriferous in its Smell; but the Mandrake, *ſay ſome*, is a *ſtinking* and *ill-ſcented* Fruit, of a bad Taſte, and a cold narcotick Quality; and therefore they have render'd the Word *fine and lovely Flowers*; and ſome of them will have it, to be the *Violet* or *Jeſſamin*, which ſuit very well with the Seaſon of the Year here mentioned) whilſt others contend very ſtrongly for the *Lilly*, which, in *Syria*, grew in the Fields, and was of a moſt agreeable Beauty and Smell.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

That Paſſage in *Solomon*'s Song however will not ſuffer us to doubt, but that it was a Fruit (of ſome Kind or other) and *Ludolff*, *(m)* in his Hiſtory of *Ethiopia*, will needs have it to be what the *Syrians* call *Mauz*, a Fruit, much about as big as a ſmall *Cucumber*, that hangs in Cluſters, ſometimes to the Number of Forty upon the ſame Stalk, and is in Figure and Taſte not unlike the *Indian* Fig.

It is not to be doubted indeed, but that the *Mandrake* in *Paleſtine* is of a different Kind to what we have in theſe Climates. St *Auſtin*, who thought it a great Curioſity to ſee one, tells us, that it was very beautiful to the Eye, and of a fragrant Smell, but utterly inſipid; ſo that he wonders what ſhould make *Rachel* ſet ſo high a Value upon it, unleſs it were its Scarceneſs, and rich Scent. In the Province of *Peking* in *China*, we are inform'd, that there is a Kind of *Mandrake* ſo valuable, and when mixed in any Liquor, makes ſo rich a Cordial, that a Pound of

* *Calmet*, in his Dictionary, gives us a Deſcription of this Plant, as it is found in the *French* King's Gardens.—Its Root is white, and ſomewhat rough; is two or three Times as big again as its Stem, and always grows taper. Generally, at ſome Diſtance from its upper Part, it divides into two Branches, which is the Reaſon that this Root has ſomething of the Figure of a Man, whoſe two Thighs are repreſented by the two Branches. From the Sides of the Root proceed a great Number of ſmall Fibres, in ſeveral Places, which ſerve to imbibe the Juice of the Earth, for the Nouriſhment of the Plant. From the Root there ariſes a round and ſmooth Stem, of a pretty deep Red; and, at the Top of the Stem, grow four Branches, which ſpread, at equal Diſtances, from each other. Every Branch has five Leaves, which are indented, of a dark Green, and terminate in a Point. From the Center of theſe Branches proceeds another very ſtrait and ſmooth Stem, at the Extremity of which grows a Knob of about twenty-four Fruits, round, and of a beautiful Red; and within this Fruit is a kind of Nut, much of the Figure with a Lentil. This Nut includes in it the Seed of the Plant, which dies and grows again every Year, and has nothing valuable in it but the Root, whoſe Virtues are wonderful. Of this Plant (as *Dioſcorides* informs us) there are two Sorts: One is black, and called the *female Mandrake*, having Leaves not unlike Lettice, tho' leſs, and narrower, which ſpread upon the Ground, and are of a very diſagreeable Scent. It bears ſomething like *Services*, which are pale, and of a ſtrong Smell, with Kernels within, like thoſe of a Pea. It has two or three very large Roots, twiſted together, black without, but white within, and cover'd with a thick Rind. The other Sort, or the *male Mandrake*, produces Berries, as big again as thoſe of the *Female*, of a good Scent, and a Colour not much unlike Saffron. Its Leaves are large, white, broad, and ſmooth, like the Leaves of a Beach Tree, and its Root reſembles that of the *Female*, but is much thicker and bigger, and the Quality of them both is to *ſtupify* and make *ſleepy* thoſe that take it. Lib. 6. c. 61.

(m) Lib. i. cap. 17.

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of its Root (for in the Root lies all the Virtue) is worth thrice its Weight in Silver.

IT was a general Opinion among the Antients, that there was a certain Quality in the Juice of *Mandrakes* to excite amorous Inclinations, and therefore they call them *the Apples of Love*, as the *Hebrew* Word *Dod* (from whence comes *Dodaim)* is frequently ſet to ſignify *Love*. Thus whether we conſider this Fruit as pleaſant to the Eye, Smell, or Taſte, or as a Reſtorative to Nature, and helpful to Conception, any of theſe Reaſons are ſufficient, why *Rachel* ſhould take ſuch a Fancy to them: And, why ſhe purchaſed them at ſo ſtrange a Rate, was chiefly occaſioned by *Leah*'s ſullen Reply, that ſhe had *taken away her Husband*'s Affections *from her*, which provok'd the other, who (according to the eſtabliſh'd Order of ſucceeding to his Bed) had certainly the *Property* in him that Night, to reſign him to her.

MOSES however only mentions this Circumſtance, to let his Reader know, upon what Occaſion it was that *Leah*, after ſhe had done Child-bearing, (as ſhe thought) came to conceive again. *(n)* It had been below the Dignity of ſuch a ſacred Hiſtory, as his is, to take notice of ſuch trivial Matters, had there not been ſomething of great Conſideration in them; and what could that be, but chiefly the Birth of the *bleſſed Seed*, which was the Object of the Hopes of all pious People in thoſe Days? It it evident from the Conduct both of *Rachel* and her Siſter, that it was Children they deſired, and not merely the Company of their Huſband; nor would their Huſband have ever been determined by their blind Bargains, had it not been Matter of pure Indifference to him, whether of their Embraces he went to, ſo long as his Family was but increaſed and multiplied.

From Gen. xxviii 10. to Ch. xxxvii

THAT it was a very antient Cuſtom, not only among the *Hebrews*, but with many other Nations, and particularly the *Greeks* and *Romans*, in the Marriages both of their Sons and Daughters, and eſpecially of the *latter*, for the Parents to give with the *Bride* or *Bridegroom*, as Part of the Portion or *Dowry*, a Servant, to abide in their Power and Property, is a Matter ſo plain, * from ſundry Examples, that it needs no conteſting. The great Difficulty is, —— For what Reaſon it was, that theſe Matrons of old were ſo very deſirous, that their Huſbands ſhould have Commerce with theſe their *dotal* Maids, in caſe they had no Children of their own: And for the Solution of this we muſt obſerve, that, according to the Principles of the oldeſt Philoſophy, SPIRIT is the univerſal efficient Cauſe in Nature, but eſpecially in Generation, and in human Generation moſt of all; ſo that a *ſpiritual* Conception muſt of Neceſſity precede, and direct every *bodily* one, inſomuch that there can be no *corporeal* Conception without a *ſpiritual* one, but a *ſpiritual* there may be, without a *corporeal* one, *i. e.* when the Matter, or Medium,

Why the Patriarchal *Wives deſired Children by their* Maids.

(n) Patrick's Commentary.

* In the Tragedy of *Euripides*, which is called *Iphigenia* in *Aulis*, *Clytemneſtra* is brought in, as preparing and haſtening all Things for the *Nuptials* of her Daughter, who, unknown to her, was devoted for a Sacrifice, and addreſſing herſelf in this Manner:

Πάρειμι νυμφαγωγὸς ἀλλ' ἐχημάτων
Ἔξω πορεύεθ' ἅς φέρω φερνὰς κόρη,
Καὶ πίμπλε εἰς μέλαθρον εἰλαβέμιναι. Act III.

Old *Demænetus*, in the *Aſinaria* of *Plautus*, is told by his Slave,

Dotalem ſervum Sauream uxor tua
Adduxit, cui plus in manu ſit quam tibi. Act I.

Theſe Servants among the *Greeks* were called φέραι, (from whence is derived the *Latin Verna)* and by the *Romans*, *Dotales*, *Receptitii*, or *Receptitiæ*. They had likewiſe the Name of λάτρις given them, and their Service was expreſſed by the Word λατρία, which ſignifies the Service due from Man to Almighty God; which is wont to be diſtinguiſhed from any other Sort of Service, and denotes, that ſuch Perſons were entirely at their Miſtreſſes Devotion *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Annot. 32.

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is not adapted to that Purpoſe. Now this *Poſition* being laid down, it may be obſerved farther, that theſe *Matrons* very probably were not ignorant, that the Mother contributes nothing, of herſelf, towards the Formation of the *Fœtus*, and, much leſs to its Inſpiration with Life, but merely the Bearing it in the Womb; and hence they might infer, that the Bearing it in the Womb was not ſufficient of itſelf to confer a *Right* to the *Fruit of it*, which came thither they knew not how, which they had no Hand in the Faſhioning of, and which they were no more able to quicken, than they were to enliven a dead Body. It being therefore no ſtrange Thing, in theſe Days, for one Man to *raiſe up Seed* for another, or to propagate by another; by Parity of Reaſon, they might conclude, that one Woman might as well do the ſame for another, or *bear* in her ſtead, under ſuch and ſuch Circumſtances, by the Union and Co-operation of their Wills, and ſtrong Attraction of the Imagination in *two* conſociating into one. And this was the Conſideration, which moved them to preſs this Matter ſo very earneſtly, as they did; when finding, that, after they had *ſpiritually* conceived of their Huſbands, by taking into them an *ideal* Image for Elaboration, there was wanting Strength in them to bear, and to work out what they had received; they could afterwards have no greater Pleaſure, than to appoint one, who ſhould faithfully ſupply that Part, (wherein they themſelves were defective) and thereby be able not only to remedy the *Reproach* of their *Barrenneſs*, but to eſtabliſh a ſtronger Intereſt in the Family for themſelves, and for all, that they could call their *own*.

(o) THE *bearing upon the Knees* therefore (as the Expreſſion is in *Moſes)* muſt certainly denote ſomething more, than that *Rachel* deſign'd to make herſelf a Nurſe to her Maid, or ſet a Child upon her Knees, as her own, in which ſhe had no Part or Portion; but that her Servant ſhould conceive, and become with Child through her, as in her Preſence, and as it were *upon her Knees*, to the End that her Miſtreſs might be made a Mother by her *Inſtrumentality*, and might have Children, whom ſhe cou'd call her own, tho' not born of her Body. And, accordingly, we may obſerve, that *Rachel* herſelf had this Notion of the Matter; for, upon the Birth of her firſt Son, born to her by her *Subſtitute*, ſhe expreſly declares that God had *given her a Son*, and (as the Cuſtom for Mothers then was) herſelf impoſed on him a Name, as a Mark of her thinking him really to be *her*'s. From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Chap. xxxvii.

THUS have we endeavour'd to ſilence ſome of thoſe *Cavils*, which may be made againſt particular Paſſages in the *Moſaick* Hiſtory, during this Period of Time; and, for the farther Confirmation of its Truth and Authority, we might produce the Teſtimony of ſeveral Heathen Writers, *(p)* ſuch as *Sanchoniatho*, *Beroſus*, *Hecatæus*, *Eupolemus*, and others, as they are quoted by *Euſebius* in his *Præparatio Evangelica*. The Fiction of *Jupiter*'s *Chain* in *Homer*, reaching from Heaven to Earth, as it relates to the divine *Providence*, had its Original from *Jacob*'s Ladder. The Memory of his Wreſtling with an Angel has been preſerv'd, ever ſince, by a whole Nation's abſtaining from a particular Part of the *Thigh*, which, without that Suppoſition, cannot be accounted for. *Jacob*'s living with his Uncle *Laban* in the Capacity of a Servant, gave Riſe to the Story of *Apollo*'s being reduced (when expelled from his Father's Houſe) to the Neceſſity of turning *Admetus*'s Shepherd. The Fable of the *Bethleans*, which *(q) Euſebius* takes out of *Philo Biblius*, came undoubtedly from the Altar of *Bethel*; and, to name no more, the whole Buſineſs of *Jacob*'s Arrival at *Shechem* upon his Return from *Meſopotamia*, of his Daughter *Dinah*'s Rape *Several of theſe Facts confirm'd by Heathen Writers.*

(o) Bibliotheca Bibl. Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 33. l. 9. c. 21.

(p) Vid. *Grot.* de Verit. l. 1.

(q) Præp. Evan.

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Rape by the Prince of the Country, and of the terrible Revenge, which her Brothers took for that Indignity, are related by *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, as he is quoted by the ſame Father, much in the ſame Order, and with the very ſame Circumſtances, that we find it recorded in the Works of *Moſes*. From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

DISSERTATION III.

Of Jacob's *Ladder and Pillar.*

The Occaſion of Jacob's *Viſion.*

TO judge of the Occaſion of *Jacob*'s Viſion, wherein this *emblematical* Ladder was repreſented to him, we muſt imagine, that we ſaw the Heir of a powerful Family taking his Leave of his aged Parents, and for fear of an angry Brother, departing from his Father's Houſe; beginning a Journey of 450 Miles, into a ſtrange Country, all alone, on Foot, and without any Servant to attend him; travelling all the Day with a penſive Heart, and forc'd at Night to take up his Lodging in the open Air, and with nothing better, than an hard Stone to be his Pillow: If we ſuppoſe *Jacob* in this Condition, I ſay, we ſhall ſoon perceive the Reaſon, why God thought it convenient, at this Time, to give him Comfort and Conſolation in the Way of a Dream.

THAT *Dreams*, or nocturnal Viſions, were a common Way of God's revealing himſelf to Mankind of old, is evident from Inſtances almoſt innumerable; and the Reaſon of his making Choice of this Method might be, either *(r)* to convince them of his *Omni-preſence*, that *he was about their Bed, and about their Paths, and ſpied out all their Ways*; or to convince them of his conſtant *Care*, and that he was not unmindful of them, even when they little thought of him, and were moſt abſent from themſelves; or to convince them of his unlimited *Power* over their Souls, when even Sleep itſelf could not hinder his acceſs to them; or becauſe that the Mind, in the Dead and Silence of the Night, was fitter to receive divine Impreſſions, when Nature was huſh, and the Paſſions aſleep, and no Variety of Thoughts to diſtract its Attention.

BUT, whatever God's Reaſons might be for conveying Things by Dreams, 'tis certain, that the Viſion of the *Ladder*, and the comfortable Words, which he ſpake from the Top of it, made ſuch a lively Impreſſion upon *Jacob*, that he proceeded in his Journey with Chearfulneſs and Alacrity: *(s) Behold I am with thee, and I will keep thee in all Places, whither thou goeſt, and will bring thee again into this Land; for I will not leave thee, until I have done that, which I have ſpoken to thee of:* Theſe are the *verbal* Aſſurances, which God gives *Jacob*; and therefore we may preſume that the Repreſentation of the Ladder had ſomething *analogous* in it.

The Meaning *of it.*

THIS *Ladder* (according to the Senſe of the *(t)* beſt Interpreters) is an *Emblem* of the divine *Providence*, which governs all Things. Its being *ſet upon the Earth* denotes the *Steadineſs* of Providence, which nothing is able to unſettle; its *reaching up to Heaven* ſignifies its *Univerſality*, or that it extends to all Things; the *ſeveral Steps of the Ladder* are the Motions and Actions of Providence; the Angels *going up and down* ſhew, that they are the great Miniſters of Providence, never idle, but always employ'd in the Preſervation of the Juſt; *their aſcending* means their going up to receive the divine Orders and Commands, and *their Deſcending*

(r) Watſii Miſcel. ſacra de Somniis. Vol. I. *(s)* Gen. xxviii. 15. *(t) Maimonides* More Nevoc.

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Deſcending their coming down upon Earth to put them in Execution. So that, in this *Hieroglyphick*, God ſignified to *Jacob*, now full of Care and uneaſy Apprehenſions, that the Man, who was under the Cuſtody and Protection of divine Providence, wanted not Company, in a Wilderneſs; wanted not Security, in the midſt of Dangers; wanted not Direction, in the moſt difficult Undertakings; ſince there were ſo many *miniſtring Spirits*, holding Correſpondence between Earth and Heaven, and daily and hourly *(u) ſent fourth* from God's Preſence, *to miniſter unto them, who ſhall be Heirs of Salvation*.

Other Interpretations there are in great Numbers, but too * full of Fancies and Conceits, to be here taken Notice of: One however ſeems a little more ſolid, and may not undeſerve our Obſervation. *(x)* the Promiſe, (we may remember) which God is introduc'd as making to *Jacob* from the Top of the Ladder, does chiefly relate to his Covenant with *Abraham*, which was principally founded in *Chriſt*, that choſen Seed, *in whom all the Families of the Earth were to be bleſſed*: And the Analogy of the Thing may induce us to believe, that this Ladder was deſign'd for a *Type* and *Emblem* of the *Covenant of Grace*, which was in Force from the Time of Man's firſt *Apoſtacy*, but began to be put in Execution at the Incarnation of our Saviour *Chriſt*, that only *Mediator*, who open'd an *Intercourſe* between Earth and Heaven; by whoſe Interceſſion Plenty of all ſpiritual Bleſſings deſcended to us, and by whoſe Merits and Doctrines our Natures are *ſanctified*, and ſo become meet to be *Partakers with the Saints in Light*, or to aſcend into Heaven. From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

And to this myſtical Meaning of the Ladder, our Saviour himſelf may be thought to allude, when he tells us, that *(y) Hereafter ye ſhall ſee Heaven open, and the Angels of God aſcending and deſcending upon the Son of Man*; which *(z)* a learned Commentator has, in this Manner, *paraphraſed*: "Ye have heard, no doubt, *of* "*thoſe of Old*, that ſeveral Things, rela- "ting to the *Meſſias*, have been repreſent- "ed by *Jacob*'s Ladder; and ye are to "know, that they are all now to be "accompliſh'd in me, and ſhall every Day "be more and more accompliſhed, until "the Time of my Aſſumption into Hea- "ven. Ye ſhall know, that Heaven, "which by the Sin and Corruption of "Mankind was ſhut in *Adam*, ſhall, by "my Diſpenſation and Doctrine, be "opened again; and that God, being "reconciled to the World by me, ſhall "continue in Covenant with them for "ever. Ye ſhall know, that I am that "*Ladder*, and *Way* to Heaven, by which "ye may gain Admittance to the Father; "for I am he, that unites Heaven and "Earth together, ſo that from hence- "forward the Angels ſhall continually be "paſſing from the one to the other. In "ſhort, ye ſhall know, that I am the "Lord not only of the *viſible* Creation, "but the Prince likewiſe of Angels, and "all *inviſible* Spirits, even the true God. "This, I ſay, ye ſhall henceforth more "fully

(u) Heb. i. 14.

* The *Rabbins*, having given us long *chimerical* Deſcriptions of this Ladder, will have it repreſent almoſt every Thing, that comes into their Fancies: Some pretend, that the *aſcending* Angels were thoſe, who had the Care of *Jacob* in his *going*; the *deſcending*, thoſe, whoſe Buſineſs it was to ſecure him in his *returning* from *Meſopotamia*. Another [*Jarchi* on Gen. xxxviii. 12.] is of Opinion, that God deſign'd hereby to point out the Place, where he wou'd have the Temple built one Day; and, to reconcile this Opinion to *Geography*, he affirms, that God, at this Time, tranſported to *Luz* the Hill of *Sion*, upon which the Temple at *Jeruſalem* was afterwards built. *Philo*, who certainly believ'd a *Metempſychoſis*, tells us, that the Angels which *Jacob* ſaw, are *Emblems* of Souls, whereof ſome *deſcend* to animate Bodies, whilſt others *aſcend*, having quitted the Bodies, which they once animated. St *Auſtin* will have this *Ladder* to repreſent the *Croſs* of *Chriſt*; and ſome of the *myſtical* Divines, making it an Emblem of a *contemplative* Life, do maintain, that the Angels, *aſcending* the Ladder, are thoſe *Believers*, whom they call *perfect*, as having the Faculty of cauſing their Affections to *ſoar* up to the higheſt Heavens, and that the *deſcending* repreſented thoſe mean and abject Souls, whoſe Center is the Earth, and whoſe Delight conſiſt in fleſhly Things. *Saurin*'s Diſſertations.

(x) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriarch. Vol. II. Exercit. 16. *(y)* John i. 51. *(z)* *Bullinger*'s Commentary.

A. M. 2140, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1855, &c.

" fully know by my Doctrine, my Mira-
" cles, my Death, my glorious Reſur-
" rection, and triumphant Aſcenſion into
" Heaven."

THUS, according to the Declaration, which God makes from the Top of the Ladder, it ſeems reaſonable to imagine, that he might have a two-fold Deſign in making this Repreſentation to *Jacob*, viz. by a proper *Type*, to prefigure the Incarnation of his Son, which, like this Ladder, joined Heaven and Earth, the divine and human Nature together; and, by a proper *Emblem* of the Angels aſcending and deſcending upon it, to give him an Evidence of the watchful Providence of God, that attended him. The former of theſe Deſigns might perhaps be a little too abſtruce for *Jacob*'s Comprehenſion at preſent, but the latter he immediately underſtood; and therefore we find him, as ſoon as he aroſe, (out of a grateful Senſe of the divine Goodneſs in ſending him a Viſion ſo full of Conſolation) erecting, and conſecrating a Pillar, in order to perpetuate the Memory of ſo momentous an Event.

The Form and End of Jacob's *Pillar.*

IT is the Opinion of ſome *Commentators* indeed, that, to preſerve the Memory of his heavenly Viſion, *Jacob* took the Stone, whereon his Head lay, and wherein they diſcern nothing extraordinary, and ſet it up, for a Monument, or Pillar upon the Top of ſome other Stones, which he had gather'd, and heap'd together: But, beſides that the Fancy of an Heap of Stones ſeems unworthy of the holy Scriptures, and betrays us into a low and trifling Idea of this great Affair; there is not the leaſt Ground, from the Text itſelf, nor from this *ſymbolical* Way of tranſmitting Facts to future Generations, to ſuppoſe, that there was any more than one ſingle Stone.

From Gen. xxviii. 10 to Ch. xxxvii.

THE Word *Matzebah*, which our Interpreters render a *Pillar*, is by the *Septuagint* tranſlated Στήλη, by the *vulgar Latin*, *Titulus*; and from hence ſeveral, both Antients and Moderns, have ſuppos'd, that there was an *Inſcription* upon this Pillar. The Manner of *conſecrating* this Pillar was, by pouring Oil upon it, which *Jacob* might have by him, without a Miracle, (conſidering how common the Uſe of Oil was in theſe hot Countries) to refreſh the Limbs, when weary with travelling, and how neceſſary upon that Account it was, to carry ſome with him in his Journey: Nor is there any Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that *Jacob* made uſe of this Form of *Conſecration*, in Compliance with the Cuſtom of the Country, where he then was. It is uncertain whether this Cuſtom was eſtabliſh'd in *Jacob*'s Time; but, if it was, it is hardly credible, that a pious Man, as he is repreſented, would have adopted a ſuperſtitious Ceremony into the Worſhip of the true God. *(a)* The much more probable Opinion therefore is, that as the Rites of *Sacrificing* and *Circumciſion* were inſtituted before the Promulgation of the Law; ſo this Manner of conſecrating Things, by Way of Unction or Libation, was at firſt enjoin'd the Patriarchs *Abraham* and *Iſaac* by God, and, either by Precept or Tradition from them, came afterwards to be practis'd by *Jacob*. Nor is it unlikely, but that *Jacob*'s Practice in this Particular, and the great Veneration, which was afterwards paid to his *monumental* Pillar, might give Occaſion * to the Worſhipping ſuch erected Stones in future Ages, and (upon ſuch Abuſe) of God's ſo ſtrictly prohibiting any to be ſet up: *(b) Ye ſhall not make ye any Idols or graven Image, neither ſhall ye rear up*

(a) Heidegger's Hiſt. Patriar. Exercit.

* From *Jacob*'s pouring Oil upon the Stone of *Bethel*, did ariſe the Superſtition of the Antients for their *Betuli*, which were Stones anointed and conſecrated to the Memory of great Men after their Death. *Sanchoniatho*, or rather *Porphyry*, the Author of the Fragment, which *Euſebius* has preſerv'd, under the Name of *Sanchoniatho*, attributes the Invention of theſe *Betuli* to *Saturn*; but the beſt Account, that can be given of this abſurd Practice, is from hence; and a ſufficient Demonſtration it is, how the beſt and nobleſt Acts of Piety may be perverted, and degenerate into mere Stupidity, by a fond ſuperſtitious Imitation. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Bethel*, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 30.

(b) Lev. xxvi. 1.

A. M. 2149, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1855, &c.

any Matzebah (Statue or Pillar) *to bow down unto it, for I am the Lord your God.*

In the religious Senſe of the Word then, *Matzebah* may properly ſignify a large conſecrated Stone, erected *Pillar-wiſe*, before which Proſtrations and Adorations were made, and upon which Oblations and Libations, but not any bloody Sacrifices, were preſented: But then the Queſtion is, how *Jacob* cou'd think to ſecure this Monument from being thrown down by the Natives, or Paſſengers, or how he cou'd impoſe a new Name upon it, and eſtabliſh that Name in future Ages, when the Place had a Name before, and no Perſon was preſent to bare Teſtimony of what he did. This indeed the Scripture gives us no Manner of Account of, and therefore (if we do it but *modeſtly*) we are left at Liberty to make our own Conjectures.

What it was. According to the antient *Verſions* of the Word, we may ſuppoſe, that there was upon this Stone ſome legible and intelligible Title, or Inſcription; nor is it improbable, that the Title ſhould be, what the Patriarch, in a ſort of Extaſy, called it, *Bethel*, or the *Houſe of God.* How *Jacob* might be provided with an Iron-pen, or *Stile*, for the Purpoſe of engraving this Title, can be no difficult Thing to imagine, if we do but conſider, that the *Stile* was the common Inſtrument of writing in thoſe Days, which every *Scholar* us'd to carry about with him, and which *Jacob*, * having led a ſtudious and contemplative Life under his Father and Grandfather, and as (ſome ſuppoſe) under *Melchiſedeck* likewiſe, was not unqualified to make uſe of; and that the very antient, if not univerſal Cuſtom of erecting, anointing, and conſecrating ſuch like Stones, with an Inſcription, either *literal*, or *hieroglyphical*, and ſometimes both, could hardly have any other Foundation, than this Practice of his. From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

But, beſides the bare Inſcription of the Name, and the Title of the Stone, there might probably be yet ſomething more, to attract the Eyes of the Traveller, and to raiſe a Veneration for the Place. And therefore, admitting the Stone to be *ſquare*, we find that there were two Oaths, as it were, taken upon it, by the covenanting Parties, *i. e. the Oath of God to* Jacob, repeating the Subſtance of what he had ſworn to his Fathers, and limiting it to him, and his Seed; and *the Oath of* Jacob *to God*, obliging himſelf and his Poſterity, to ſuch a conſtant Homage, as is therein ſpecified; and, hereupon we may infer, that for the better Preſervation of the Memory of this great *League*, there might be written, on one Side, the *Obligation of God* exactly in the Terms of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Verſes, and, on the *oppoſite*, the *Obligation* of *Jacob*, as expreſs'd by him in the three laſt Verſes of the 28th Chapter of *Geneſis*. And, becauſe it was neceſſary, that the Name of the Perſon who erected, and conſecrated the Stone, ſhould be preſerv'd; we may farther ſuppoſe, that, as God's ſigning, this Covenant on his Part might be in this Form, Ani Jehovah, Elohe Abraham, Elohe Isaac, *I the Lord, the God of* Abraham, *the God of* Iſaac; by Parity of Reaſon, *Jacob*'s ſigning might run thus, Ani Jacob, Ben Isaac, Ben Abraham, *I* Jacob, *the Son of* Iſaac, *the Son of* Abraham.

On the *vacant* Sides of the Stone, we may ſuppoſe again, that the other awful Sentences, which *Jacob*, upon this Occaſion, pronounced, *(c) How dreadful is this Place, This is the Gate of Heaven, and verily the Lord is in this Place!* were engraven:

* That *Jacob* was a Man of Learning, and of an extraordinary Genius, is not only a general *Tradition* of the *Jews*, but ſupported likewiſe by ſome Lines in the Character, which the Pen of *Moſes* gives us of him. He had certainly great Advantages under his Father, and Grandfather, who juſtly deſerv'd a Name among the oldeſt *Oriental* Philoſophers; and therefore he is deſcrib'd, in the *Eaſtern* Stile, as a *Man dwelling in Tents*, as much as to ſay, one, who leads a philoſophical and contemplative Life, or a *Miniſter*, or Student of *the Houſe of Learning*, as the *Targums* truly interpret the Phraſe. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 35.

(c) Gen. xxviii. 16, 17.

A. M. 2149, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1855, &c.

engraven: And, becauſe a very early Cuſtom of crowning ſuch publick Pillars with *Garlands* might very likely take its Riſe from *Jacob*'s Practice at this Time, we may therefore be allow'd to make one Conjecture more, *viz.* that as *Luz*, near which this Tranſaction happen'd, had its Name from a Grove of *Almond-trees*, not far diſtant from it; ſo *Jacob* might think it very decent, in Memory of the divine Favours there receiv'd, to crown, and adorn the Top of this *titular* Stone, with a Garland of *Almond-branches* taken from thence. All this, we allow, is no more than Suppoſition and Conjecture: But, without ſome ſuch Contrivance as this, how could this Stone have been an Inſtrument to perpetuate the Memory of any Event? How, a Means of *Jacob*'s impoſing a new Name upon a Place, that was entirely in the Poſſeſſion of others? Well might the Natives, or Proprietors aſk, by *what Authority* this was done; and, ſince *Jacob* was not there to give them an Anſwer, his only Way could be, to leave the Hiſtory, and Occaſion of it, engraven upon the *very* Stone.

AND indeed, without ſome ſuch Suppoſition, why ſhould this Stone, even by different Nations, be accounted ſuch a valuable Piece of Antiquity? Why ſhould the *Jews* be ſo fond to have it thought, that they had it in the *Sanctuary* of their *ſecond* Temple, and that upon it the *Ark of the Covenant* was plac'd? Since the Deſtruction of their Temple, why ſhould it be their Cuſtom, one Day in a Year, with great Lamentation, *to go, and anoint this Stone*, in Remembrance of their Father *Jacob*, and the Covenant made with him? And why ſhould the *Mahometans* pretend, that they have this Stone (tho', by Miſtake of one Patriarch for another, they call it *the Stone of* Abraham) ſet up at their Temple at *Mecca*, which they make their common *Kibla*, or Point of Worſhip, and before which the Pilgrims pay their ſolemn Devotions.

THESE, we allow, may be no more than falſe Pretences; but ſtill they are an Evidence, that this *Pillar* was once held in high Veneration, which it could hardly have been, but muſt very ſoon have been buried in Oblivion and Rubbiſh, had it been no more than a large ragged Stone, without any Thing to diſtinguiſh it, *i. e.* without any Sculpture, or Inſcription on it. And therefore, (notwithſtanding the Silence of Scripture) we have ſufficient Reaſon to conclude, that this Pillar was erected in order to preſerve the Remembrance of the heavenly Viſion, which God, in this Place, vouchſafed *Jacob*; that to this Purpoſe it was engraven with ſuch Inſcriptions, as might give Poſterity ſufficient Intelligence upon what Occaſion it was erected; that, by Means of ſuch Inſcriptions, it came to be recogniz'd as *Jacob*'s Pillar, and held in great Eſteem in future Generations; that this Pillar thus engraved, (as it was the firſt of its Kind, that we have upon Record) gave probably the Origin to the Invention of *Stylography*, or the antient Manner of writing upon Stone, ever after; and that the Conſecration of this Stone, and the Impoſition of a new Name upon the Place where it ſtood, is enough to juſtify the Practice of *ſanctifying* Places, appointed for religious Worſhip, by ſome ſolemn Form of *Separation*; of calling them the *Houſe of God*, and imputing to them a *relative* Holineſs; in Chriſtian Countries, of *dedicating* them to the Memory of departed *Saints* and *Martyrs*; and, every where, of obſerving that wholeſome and devout Advice of the *Preacher*: *(d) Keep thy Foot, when thou goeſt into the Houſe of God, and be more ready to hear, than to give the Sacrifice of Fools. Be not raſh with thy Mouth, and let not thine Heart be haſty to utter any Thing before God, for he is in Heaven, and thou upon Earth, therefore let thy Words be few.*

From Gen. xxviii. 10, &c. Ch. xxxvii.

(d) Eccleſ. v. 1, 2.

CHAP.

A. M. 2276, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1728, &c.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Life of JOSEPH*, *which includes the reſt of* JACOB's.

The HISTORY.

Joſeph *is hated by his Brethren*, and why.

JACOB had not been long with his Father, before there befel him another ſad Diſaſter. *Joſeph* was his beloved Child, as being the Son of his dear departed *Rachel*, and ‡ a Youth of a very promiſing and extraordinary *Genius*. As a Mark of his peculiar Love, the fond Father gave him Cloathes, richer than he did the reſt, and, among others, † one Coat more eſpecially, which was made of a *changeable*, or *party-colour'd* Stuff. This made his other Brothers envy him not a little; and, what gained him no Good-will among them, was their looking upon him as a *Spy*, becauſe he had told his Father ſome Things, wherein the Sons of *Bildah* and *Zilphah* (†with whom he was chiefly converſant) † had groſly miſbehaved, which made

* Two Reaſons are generally aſſigned, why *Moſes* is more prolix in relating the Adventures of *Joſeph*, than of any other of *Jacob*'s Children: Both becauſe his Life is a bright Example of Piety, Chaſtity, Meekneſs, and Prudence; and becauſe it was, by the Means of *Joſeph*, that *Jacob* went down into *Egypt*: And, as his going down gave Occaſion to the wonderful Departure of the Children of *Iſrael* from thence, ſo the Hiſtory of the *Jews* would have been ſadly imperfect, and indeed altogether unintelligible, without a longer Account, than ordinary, of *Joſeph*'s Life, and Tranſactions there. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 20.

‡ Moſt Verſions, as well as ours, have made *Jacob* to love *Joſeph*, becauſe he was *the Son of his old Age*: Whereas, had this been the Cauſe of his Affection, he muſt have loved *Zebulun* as much as *Joſeph*, becauſe he was of the ſame Age, and *Benjamin* much more, becauſe he was above fifteen Years younger. It ſeems therefore, as if they had confounded the Words *Ben-Zekevim*, the *Son of Senators, or Elders* (as he is called here) with *Ben Ziknah*, the *Son of old Age*, whereas the former has a Signification quite different. According to the *Hebrew Idiom*, it ſignifies *the Son, or Diſciple of Senators*, i. e. one endued with an extraordinary Wiſdom and Prudence; accordingly the *Samaritan*, *Arabick*, and *Perſian* Verſions have rendered it, *becauſe he was a wiſe and prudent Son*, tho' even this comes ſhort of the *Energy* of the *Idiom*, and might more properly be rendered, *becauſe he was as wiſe and prudent, as a Senator*. And this juſtifies the Reaſon of *Jacob*'s extraordinary Love to *Joſeph*, becauſe 'tis natural for Parents, eſpecially for Fathers, to admire thoſe Children, who ſhew any Degree of Wiſdom above their Years; whereas to be fond of a Child, begotten in one's old Age, and for no other Reaſon, is no more than a Piece of Dotage, which *Moſes* would hardly have thought worth recording. Univerſal Hiſtory l. 1. c. 7. and *Howell*'s Hiſtory l. 1.

† The Coat, whereby *Jacob* diſtinguiſhed his Son *Joſeph* from the reſt of his Brothers, is generally thought to ſignify a Garment, that was wrought with Threads of divers Colours, or made up of Pieces of Silk or Stuff, which had much Variety in them; but the Word *Paſſim*, which is here made uſe of, according to ſome learned *Annotators*, does properly ſignify a *long Garment*, down to the Heels or Ancles, with long Sleeves down to the Wriſts, which had a *Border* at the Bottom, and a *Facing* (as we call it) at the Hands, of a Colour different to the Garment, which was, accounted noble, as well as beautiful, in antient Times. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† He choſe the Sons of his Father's Concubines, rather than thoſe of his Wife *Leah*, to be his Compànions, on purpoſe perhaps to avoid the ill Conſequences of the latter's Envy and Emulation againſt him. For, 'tis not unlikely, that *Leah*'s Sons, conſidering the exceſſive Love, which their Father had for him, might be ready to ſuſpect, that he deſign'd to bequeath the Right of *Primogeniture* to him, which each of them thinking they had a better Title to, might thereupon be tempted to malign, and mal treat him: Whereas among the Sons, deſcended from Concubines, (as having not the like Ambition) he might find better Quarter, and to their Company the rather reſort, out of a Principle of Humility and Condeſcenſion, and to diſcountenance the haughty Behaviour of the Sons of *Leah* towards the Sons of the Concubines. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in Locum.

† The *Hebrew* and the *Alexandrian* LXX have it, *they brought unto their Father an evil Report*, or *grievous Complaints againſt* Joſeph, *i. e.* they begun their baſe and barbarous Treatment of him with Lyes and Calumnies. However

JOSEPH'S Dream.



M Scheits delin.

G Vander Gucht Sculp.

And Joseph dreamed a Dream and he told it his Brethren and they hated him yet the more. Gen. 37. Chap. V. 5.

Pl. 37

A. M. 2276, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1728, &c.

made them treat him ſo very ſurlily, that, whenever he ſpake to them, they would ſcarce give him a civil Anſwer. But, that which compleated their Envy and Reſentment, or rather turned them into an irreconcileable Hatred, was, his *innocently* telling them ſome of his Dreams, which ſeem'd to portend his Advancement in the World above them.

HE told them, that, one Night, he dreamt, that, as he, and they were binding Sheaves together in the Field, his Sheaf ſtood upright, while theirs fell proſtrate before it, as if they had been doing Obeiſance; and that, at another time, he fancied himſelf mounted on high, and the Sun, Moon, and eleven Stars, doing him the like Homage. This raiſed the Indignation of the reſt, as thinking it a Diſparagement to have a *younger* Brother their *Superior:* Which their Father perceiving, (in Hopes of mitigating their Reſentment) * thought fit to diſcountenance him in the *Interpretation* of his Dreams, by telling him, that they were vain, and *chimerical*, and what could never come to paſs; tho', in himſelf, he could not but think, that there was ſomething extraordinary and *ominous* in them. His Brothers however, inſtead of abating their Hatred, grew, every Day, more and more exaſperated; ſo that they reſolved, at laſt, to cut him off, and only waited for a convenient Opportunity. From Gen. xxxvii to the End.

IT happen'd, at this Time, that *Joſeph*'s ten Brethren (for *Benjamin* was, as yet, too young for any Buſineſs) were keeping their Flocks not far from *Shechem*, when their Father, not having heard from them for ſome Time, and † being not a little anxious for their Welfare, ſent *Joſeph* to find them out, and know how they did. As he drew near to *Shechem*, he was informed by a Perſon, whom he met with by Accident, that they had removed from thence, and were gone, about twenty Miles farther *North*, to a Place called † *Dothan*. Thither *Joſeph* went after them; and no ſooner did they ſee him approaching, but their old Malice revived, and immediately they reſolved to make away with this *Maſter-dreamer*, (as they called him) and ſo perſuade their Father that ſome wild Beaſt had devoured him.

THIS Reſolution, barbarous as it was, had certainly been put in Execution, † had not

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† It was a Town about twelve Miles to the *North* of the City of *Samaria*, as *Euſebius* informs us. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I.

† He either thought himſelf moſt concerned to ſave his Brother, as being the Firſt Born, and therefore like to be the firſt in the Blame; or he might hope, by thus piouſly and compaſſionately preſerving the Favourite *Joſeph*, to recover

JOSEPHS Dream.



M. Schoeff. delin. A Vander Gucht Sculp.

And Joseph dreamed a Dream and he told it his Brethren and they hated him yet the more. Gen. 37. Chap. V. 5.

VI 37

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made them treat him ſo very ſurlily, that, whenever he ſpake to them, they would ſcarce give him a civil Anſwer. But, that which compleated their Envy and Reſentment, or rather turned them into an irreconcileable Hatred, was, his *innocently* telling them ſome of his Dreams, which ſeem'd to portend his Advancement in the World above them.

HE told them, that, one Night, he dreamt, that, as he, and they were binding Sheaves together in the Field, his Sheaf ſtood upright, while theirs fell proſtrate before it, as if they had been doing Obeiſance; and that, at another time, he fancied himſelf mounted on high, and the Sun, Moon, and eleven Stars, doing him the like Homage. This raiſed the Indignation of the reſt, as thinking it a Diſparagement to have a *younger* Brother their *Superior*: Which their Father perceiving, (in Hopes of mitigating their Reſentment) * thought fit to diſcountenance him in the *Interpretation* of his Dreams, by telling him, that they were vain, and *chimerical*, and what could never come to paſs; tho', in himſelf, he could not but think, that there was ſomething extraordinary and *ominous* in them. His Brothers however, inſtead of abating their Hatred, grew, every Day, more and more exaſperated; ſo that they reſolved, at laſt, to cut him off, and only waited for a convenient Opportunity. From Gen. xxxvii to the End.

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not *Reuben*, who was the eldeſt, interpoſed, and diſſuading them from imbruing their Hands in his Blood, adviſed rather to throw him into the next Pit, with a Deſign himſelf to draw him out privately, and convey him ſafe home to his Father. *Reuben*'s Advice was liked: and therefore, as ſoon as *Joſeph* came up to them, they immediately ſeized him, pulled off his fine Coat, and threw him into a Pit, which, at that Time, chanced to be dry; whereupon *Reuben* withdrew, to contrive ſome Means for reſcuing his Brother, whilſt the others (as if they had done ſome glorious Act) ſat down to eat, and drink, and regale themſelves.

Is ſold into Egypt.

In the mean Time || a *Caravan* of *Iſhmaelites*, who were travelling from Mount *Gilead* into *Egypt* with Spices and other Merchandize, appeared in Sight, which put *Judah* in the Thought of taking their Brother out of the Pit, and ſelling him to theſe Merchants, which wou'd every whit anſwer their Purpoſe as well, or better. The Propoſal was no ſooner made, than it was approved: *Joſeph* was taken out of the Pit, was ſold to the Merchants, and the Merchants ſold him again to *Potiphar*, one of the King's chief Officers, and *Captain of his Guards*. *Reuben*, being abſent while this was done, came to the Pit not long after, in order to reſcue his Brother; but, finding him not there, he began to bewail and lament himſelf to ſuch a Degree, that his Brethren, to pacify his Grief, were forced to tell him, in what Manner they had diſpoſed of him; whereupon *Reuben*, finding it impoſſible now to recover him, joined with them in contriving how to manage the Matter with their Father, ſo as to take off from themſelves all Manner of Suſpicion. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

To this Purpoſe they killed a Kid, and dipping *Joſeph*'s Coat in the Blood of it, || ſent it to their Father, as if they had found it in the Field, and were fearful that it was their Brother's. Their Father ſoon perceived whoſe Coat it was; and, ſuppoſing that ſome wild Beaſts or other had ſlain his Son, † he rent his Cloaths, and put

recover that Place in his Father's Affection, which he had loſt by his Inceſt with *Bilhah*, his *concubinary* Wife. The Speech, which *Joſephus* introduces him as making upon this Occaſion, is very moving, and very *rhetorical*: "It were an abominable Wickedneſs, *ſays he*, to take away the Life, even of a Stranger, but to deſtroy a Kinſman "and a Brother, and, in that Brother, a Father and a Mother too, with Grief for the Loſs of ſo good, and ſo "hopeful a Son.———Bethink yourſelves, if any Thing can be more diabolical. Conſider that there is an *all-*"*ſeeing* God, who will be the *Avenger*, as well as *Witneſs* of this horrid Murder. Bethink yourſelves, *I ſay*, and "repent of your barbarous Purpoſe. You muſt never expect to commit this flagitious Villainy, and the divine Ven-"geance not overtake you; for God's Providence is every where, in the Wilderneſs, as well as in the City, and "the Horrors of a guilty Conſcience will purſue you wherever you go. ——— But, put the Caſe your Brother "had done you ſome Wrong; yet is it not our Duty to paſs over the Slips of our Friends? When the Simplicity "of his Youth may juſtly plead his Excuſe, his Brothers certainly, of all Men living, ſhould be his *Friends* and "*Guardians*, rather than his *Murtherers*; eſpecially when the Ground of all your Quarrel is this———That "God loves your Brother, and your Brother loves God." *Joſephus*, l. ii. c. 3.

|| Tho' we name the *Iſhmaelites* only, yet here ſeems to be two, if not three ſorts of Merchants mentioned in this Paſſage, the *Iſhmaelites*, the *Midianites*, and the *Medanites* (as they are called in the *Hebrew*, Gen. xxxvii. 36.) who were a diſtinct People from the *Midianites*, as deſcended from *Medan*, one of *Abraham*'s Sons by *Keturah*, and Brother to *Midian*, Gen. xxv. 2. But as they, and the *Midianites* lived near together in *Arabia*, not far from the *Iſhmaelites*, they all joined together in this *Caravan*, and one Society of Merchants, as it is the Cuſtom, even to this Day, in thoſe *Eaſtern* Countries, for Merchants and others to travel through the *Deſarts* in large Companies, for fear of wild Beaſts or Robbers. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

|| In one and the ſame Verſe it is ſaid, that *they* ſent *the Coat of many Colours, and they* brought *it to their Father*: But this ſeeming *Soleciſm* is eaſily reſolved, only by ſaying, that they *ſent* it by the Hands of Perſons, who *brought* it to their Father; or that they *ſent* it by a Meſſenger, as being afraid to be preſent at the firſt Guſt of their Father's Paſſion, and afterwards *brought*, or *produced* it, when one of them (as *Judah* is ſuppoſed to have been their *Spokeſman*) related the Tale which follows: By which Artifice they ſeem'd to give themſelves an Air of Compaſſion, ſince it was no uncommon Thing afterwards, (as in the Caſe of *Julius Cæſar*, and *Julia* his Daughter, the Wife of *Pompey*) on mournful Occaſions, to produce ſuch affecting Relicks and Remains. *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

† *Rending the Cloaths* was an *Eaſtern* Way of expreſſing their Grief for Calamity, or Horror for Sin. *Reuben* was the firſt, we read of, who, to denote his exceeding Sorrow, rent *his Cloaths*; and, as *Jacob*, we find, does the like, we may well ſuppoſe that it was an uſual Manner of expreſſing all Grief and Uneaſineſs of Mind, in thoſe Days; and, by

JOSEPH Sold into Egypt.



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And Judah said unto his Brethren, what profit is it if we slay our Brother.
And they Sold him to the Ishmeelites for twenty peices of Silver. Gen. 37. V 26. 28.

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put on Sackcloth, and began to mourn for his Death. In vain did the reſt of his Children endeavour to comfort him; his Grief would admit of no Remedy; his Reſolution was to † lament his loſs to the Hour of his Death; nor did he ever ceaſe this diſconſolate Way of Life, until he was told the ſurprizing News of *Joſeph*'s Advancement in *Egypt*.

Is tempted and accus'd by Potiphar's *Wife.*

FROM the Time that *Joſeph* had Admiſſion into *Potiphar*'s Family, he ſhewed ſuch Diligence and Fidelity, and prov'd ſo ſucceſsful in every Thing he undertook, that his Maſter ſoon took Notice of him, and, in ſome Time, having made him his *Steward*, † put all his Affairs under his Management.

IN this Condition, *Joſeph* might have liv'd very happy, had it not been for an Adventure of a Nature ſomewhat ſingular. He was now in the † Bloom of his Youth, and of a Beauty and Comelineſs ſo extraordinary, that his Maſter's Wife could not forbear conceiving an *irregular* Paſſion for him. Upon ſeveral Occaſions, ſhe had given him Indications enough of her ardent Deſire to draw him into a wanton Familiarity with her, but he was *blind* to her Signs, and deaf to her ſoft Speeches; ſo that ſhe was at laſt reſolv'd to break through the Rules of her *Sex*, and court him in plain Terms. But how great was her Surprize, when inſtead of a ready Compliance, as ſhe probably expected, ſhe found herſelf not only denied, but ſeverely reprimanded likewiſe for her diſloyal Paſſion! Being willing however to hope that another Opportunity would prove more favourable, after ſeveral fruitleſs Attempts, ſhe, at laſt, laid hold on *one*, when all the Family was abroad, and * accoſted him in ſo violent and paſſionate

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

by putting on Sackcloth, (which *Jacob* is here the firſt Precedent of doing, but was afterwards commonly uſed upon all mournful Occaſions) he ſeem'd to ſignify, that, ſince he had loſt his beloved Son, he look'd upon himſelf as reduced to the meaneſt and loweſt Condition of Life. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* and *Howell*'s Hiſtory.

† *Jacob* expreſſes his Sorrow in theſe Words,——*I will go down unto the Grave unto my Son.* But if, by the Grave, we are here to underſtand a Place of *Sepulchre*, how could *Jacob* ſay, that he would *go down* thither to *his Son*, when he preſumes here, that he was not buried, but torn to Pieces by wild Beaſts? to ſolve this Difficulty, ſome imagine, that the Particle *El* ſhould not, in this Place, be render'd *to*, but (as it ſometimes means) *for*, or *in the ſtead of*; and ſo the Senſe is, *I will go down to the Grave*, INSTEAD OF *my Son*, (who unhappy Child as he was) had no Burial: But, ſince the Word *Scholah*, in *Greek* ᾅδης, in *Latin Infernum*, ſignifies very frequently *the State of the Dead in general*, the much clearer Senſe of the Words will be,——*I will not ceaſe mourning until I die; and be laid in my Grave. Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† The Words in the Text are, *he knew not aught he had, ſave the Bread, which he did eat*; which is one of the higheſt Expreſſions of Confidence, that we can imagine: For it ſignifies, that he was utterly careleſs about any Thing that concern'd his Eſtate, not minding what his Expence or Receipts were; but taking his Eaſe, left all to *Joſeph*'s Honeſty. In ſhort, he thought of Nothing, but only to enjoy what he had, without Care or Trouble. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† *Joſeph*, at this Time, was about ſeven and twenty Years old. For he was ſeventeen, when he was ſold to *Potiphor*, Gen. xxxvii. 2, and he was committed to Priſon immediately, upon his Non-compliance with his Miſtreſs's Temptation; where, (as far as it appears) he had not been long, before he interpreted the Dreams of the two diſgrac'd Courtiers; and, two Years after that, he was releas'd and promoted, *viz.* when he was thirty Years old: So that we may reaſonably conclude, that this Temptation befel him about three Years before his Releaſement, *i. e.* in the twenty-ſeventh Year of his Age. At this Time, it is ſuppoſable, that he was a comely Perſon enough, and the Saying is, that *honeſta Forma muta Commendatio eſt*; but the Stories, relating to his exceſſive Beauty, as they are recorded by the *Talmudiſts*, are ridiculous, and not much better, than what *Mahomet*, in his Hiſtory of the Patriarch, tells us, *viz.* That his Miſtreſs, having invited the Ladies of the Town to a ſplendid Entertainment, order'd *Joſeph* to be call'd for, but that, as ſoon as he appear'd, they were amaz'd at his Beauty, and ſo confounded, that they knew not what they did, but, inſtead of eating their Meat, they eat their Fingers, and ſaid among themſelves, *this is not a Man, but an Angel. Bibliotheca Bib.* in *Locum*, and *Alchoran*, Chap. of *Joſeph*.

Joſephus tells us, that *Potiphar*'s Wife took the Opportunity of a certain *Feſtival*, when all the People were gone a *Merry-making*, to tempt *Joſeph*; that, feigning herſelf ſick, ſhe decoy'd him by that Means, into her Apartment, and then addreſs'd herſelf to him in Words to this Effect: " It had been much better for you, *ſays ſhe*, had you " complied with my firſt Requeſt; if, for no other Conſideration, in Regard, at leaſt, to the Dignity of the Perſon " who is become your Petitioner, and to the Exceſs of my Paſſion. Beſides, it would have ſav'd me the Shame of " condeſcending to ſome Words and Expreſſions, which I am ſtill out of Countenance, when I think of.—— " You might perhaps make ſome Doubt before, whether I was in earneſt; but this is to ſatisfy you, that I mean no " Ill by my perſiſting in the ſame Mind. Take therefore your Choice now, whether you will improve this Op-

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ſionate a Manner, that ſhe would not hear any farther Denial. In vain it was for him * to expoſtulate the Heinouſneſs of the Crime: Her Appetite was eager, and impatient; and therefore ſhe caught him by the Cloak, and preſs'd him to lie with her; and he, having no other way to eſcape, left his Cloak in her Hand, and fled.

Whether it was that ſhe fear'd, by his Manner and Behaviour, that he might accuſe her to her Huſband, or that ſhe was enrag'd at the Slight put upon her proferr'd Love; but ſo it was, that ſhe reſolv'd his immediate Ruin: And, accordingly, ſhe began with * ſetting up a moſt horrid *Outcry*, which immediately brought in all, that were within hearing, and then ſhewing them *Joſeph*'s Cloak, (which ſhe pretended he put off in order to lie with her) ſhe told them, that he had made ſo furious an Attempt upon her Virtue, that nothing but her loud Cries could have ſav'd her.

By the Time that her Huſband came home, * ſhe had dreſs'd up her Story ſo well, and expreſs'd the pretended Indignity put upon her with ſuch an Air of Reſentment, that her *credulous* Huſband, little ſuſpecting his Wife's *Treachery*, was ſo prepoſſeſs'd with the Circumſtance of the Cloak, that, without any Farther Enquiry, † he hurried poor *Joſeph* away, and clap'd him up in the King's Priſon: Where we

" portunity of a preſent Satisfaction, in the Embraces of a Creature, that loves you dearly, and from whom you " may expect ſtill greater Things; or ſtand the Shock of my hatred and Revenge, if you will preſume to value your- " ſelf upon the vain Conceit of your Chaſtity, more than my Favour, &c." Antiq. l. 2. c. 4.

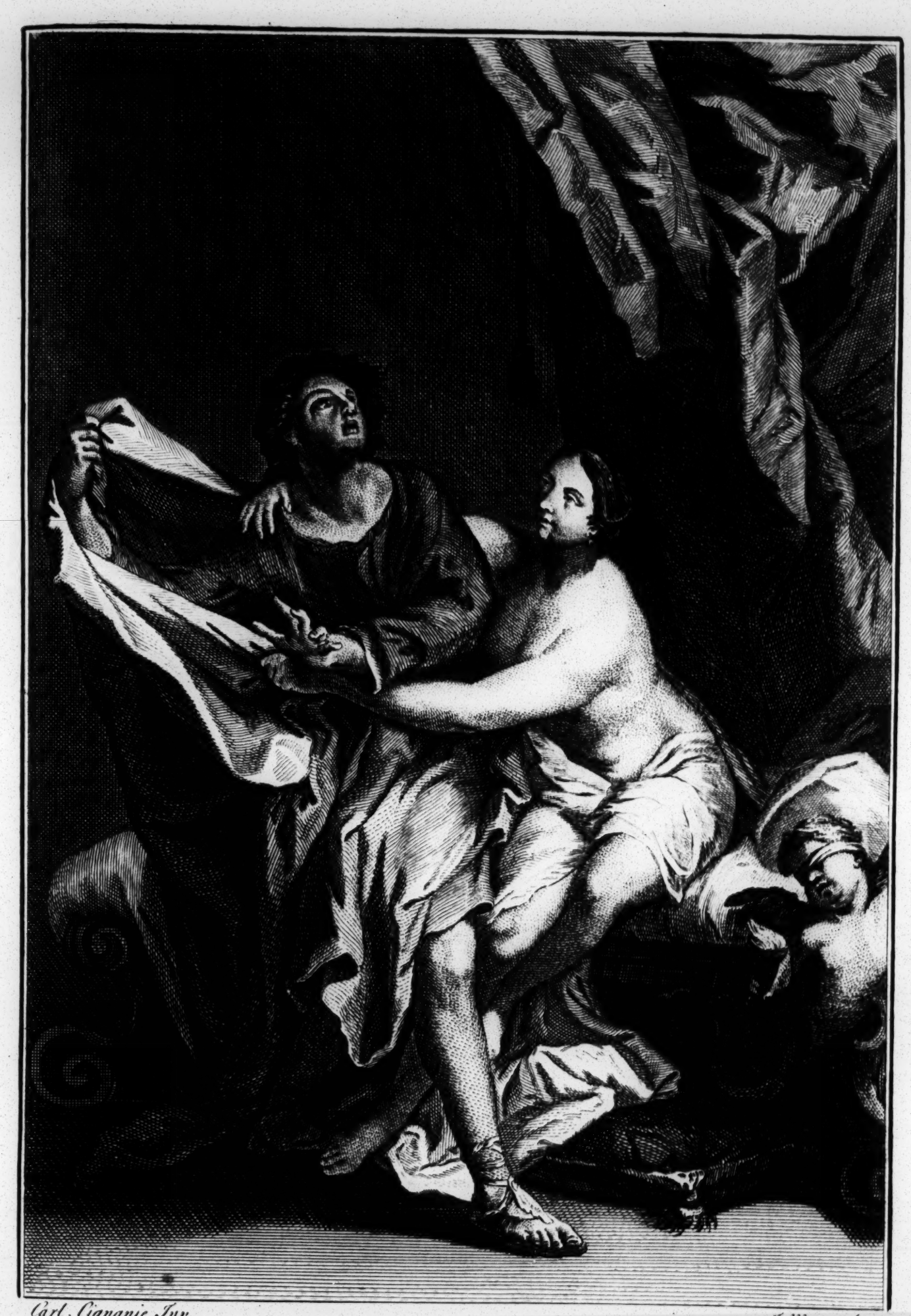
* *Joſephus*, however, brings in his *Name-ſake* expoſtulating the Matter with his Miſtreſs, and reminding her of her Duty to herſelf, and her Huſband, to Piety and common Fame. " What ſignifies, *ſays he*, a *momentary* Pleaſure, " with a certain Repentance immediately to enſue; an Heavineſs of Heart for a Thing once done, and an utter Im- " poſſibility of recalling and undoing it, together with perpetual Fears of Diſcovery and Diſgrace? What does all " this ſignify, *I ſay*, in Ballance of the moſt ſubſtantial Comforts, and the moſt neceſſary Duties of human Life? " Whereas in a *conjugal* State, the ſelf-ſame Delights are all free, ſafe, innocent and warrantable both before God " and Man. Conſider again how it would leſſen your Authority, to make your Servant your Equal by a ſhameful " Participation in one common Crime; and, pray, is it not better to truſt to a good Conſcience, that fears no Light, " than to commit Wickedneſs in the Dark, and then live all your Days in a reſtleſs Dread of being detected? &c." Antiq. ibid.

* There is ſomething not unlike this revengeful Artifice in *Potiphar*'s Wife, in the Repreſentation, which the Poet makes of *Phædra*, when, in an Affair of the like Nature, ſhe finds herſelf rejected by her Son-in Law *Hippolytus*:

Regeremus ipſæ crimen, atque ultro impiam
Venerem arguamus, &c.
Adeſte, *Athenæ*, fida famulorum manus,
Per opem, &c.
——————— En præceps abiit,
Enſemque trepidâ liquit attonitus fugâ,
Pignus tenemus ſceleris, &c. Senec. Hip.

* Upon *Potiphar*'s coming home, *Joſephus* makes his Wife break out into theſe Words: " You'll never deſerve " to live, *Huſband*, unleſs you make an Example of that perfidious Wretch, your Man. He has forgotten what he " was, when you took him into your Houſe, how kindly and reſpectfully he has been treated here, to a Degree " beyond his very Hope, as well as his Deſert. The Charge of your whole Family is committed to him, the Com- " mand of the reſt of your Servants, and the Truſt of all you have. What will you think of this Fellow now, " who, in Requital of all your Bounty, and good Offices, could have the Impudence to attempt the Violation of your " Bed, and to take the Opportunity of this *Feſtival* Day, when you were out of the Way, to break in upon my " Privacy, and preſs the Enjoyment of his beaſtly Ends. You have made him, in effect, Maſter of all Things un- " der your Roof; and would nothing ſerve him, but he muſt have your Wife likewiſe? Here's the ungrateful Vil- " lain's Cloak, which, in his Fright, he left behind him, when I cried out, as he was going to *force* me." Antiq. l. 2. c. 4.

† 'Tis ſomewhat wonderful, that, if *Potiphar* believ'd his Wife's Story, he did not immediately put him to Death; but there is one Thing, which might check the Violence of his Paſſion, and that was, the great Opinion, he had, for ſome Time, been confirm'd in, of *Joſeph*'s Virtue and Integrity. *Joſeph*, he ſaw, was young and beautiful, and therefore he might think it a Thing not impoſſible for a Lady of Diſtinction to be in Love with him, and upon a Diſappointment to be exaſperated: As therefore he would not inflict any *capital*, or corporal Puniſhment on him, ſo he thought it prudent to hurry him away to Priſon unheard, leſt, being allow'd to ſpeak in his own Vindication, he might clear himſelf, and thereby bring Diſcredit upon his Family. It muſt not be denied however (what St *Chry-*



Carl. Cignanie Inv. *I. Mason Sculp.*

And he refusid, & said unto his Master's Wife, there is none greater in this House than I; neither hath he kept back any thing from me, but thee, because thou art his Wife: how then can I do this great wickedness and Sin against God. —— Gen: Chap: 39 Verses 8. 9.

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Thanksgiving for the Victory against the Spaniards.

Servants not to be put away, nor Apprentices to be set free.

Gaming-houses, Dicing-houses, and Bowling-alleys to be suppressed.

Iberniæ Hibernia.

Judges.

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we ſhall leave him for a while, to take a View of what paſs'd in his Father's Family.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

Thamar's *Stratagem againſt her Father-in-law,* Judah.

† BEFORE the Time, that *Joſeph* was ſold into *Egypt*, *Judah*, his Father's Son by *Leah*, had married † a *Canaanitiſh* Woman, named *Shuah*, by whom he had three Sons, *Er*, *Onan*, and *Shelah*. *Er* being cut off for his Wickedneſs, before he had any Children by his Wife, *Thamar*, *Judah* order'd his ſecond Son *Onan* (according to the Cuſtom of the Country) to marry her, and † to raiſe a Poſterity to his Brother. *Onan* ſeemingly obey'd his Father, but not brooking the Thoughts, that any of his Children ſhould inherit his Brother's Name who was dead, he took ſuch a wicked and *unnatural* Way to prevent having any, that God was provok'd to puniſh him with ſudden Death likewiſe. His third Son *Shelah* was not yet fit for Marriage; and therefore *Judah* deſir'd his Daughter-in-law to retire to her Father's Houſe, and there live a *Widow*, until he became *adult*, and then he would make him her Huſband. *Thamar* did ſo, and waited till *Shelah* was come to Man's Eſtate; but finding no Performance of *Judah*'s Promiſe, (as indeed he never heartily intended any) ſhe was reſolv'd to make herſelf amends ſome other Way, which ſhe did by the following *Stratagem*.

JUDAH had lately buried his Wife; and, as ſoon as the uſual Days of Mourning were over, he took a particular Friend with him, and went to *Timnah*, to divert himſelf a little at the *Shearing-Feaſt*. *Thamar* had Intelligence of this; and therefore, putting off her Widow's Weed, and dreſſing herſelf like a *Courtezan*, ſhe threw a Veil over her Face, and planted herſelf between two Ways, where ſhe knew her Father-in-law, in his Way to *Timnah*, was obliged to paſs.

JUDAH no ſooner ſaw her, but, taking her to be what ſhe appear'd, he began to make his Addreſſes to her. What ſhe inſiſted on was only a Reward for her Compliance, which he readily agreed to, and promiſed to ſend her a *Kid*: but ſhe, having a farther Deſign upon him, demanded a Pledge for the Performance of his Promiſe, which was his *Signet*, his *Bracelet*, and his Staff; and ſo being agreed, they went together, had their Enjoyment, and ſhe proved with Child.

JUDAH,

ſoſtom has obſerv'd) that here again was a ſpecial, and, as it were, a miraculous Intervention of the divine Power, which preſerv'd his Life, as it did before, when he was caſt into the Pit. The *ſuperior* Influence, which *ſoften'd* the *Heart* of *Reuben*, *reſtrain'd* the *Hand* of *Potiphar*, in order to make our *Patriarch* a more glorious Example, and to compleat theſe Events, in the Courſe of his Life, which God had predetermin'd and foretold. *Chryſ.* Hom. in Locum.

† Tho' the latter Part of *Judah*'s Story, relating to the *Inceſt* with his Daughter *Thamar*, was acted after *Joſeph* was ſold, and while he was in *Egypt*; yet the former Part of it, relating to his *Marriage*, and the Birth of his three Sons, muſt needs fall out before *Joſeph* was ſold. For, ſince there were but two and twenty, or, at the moſt, but three and twenty Years between *Joſeph*'s being ſold into *Egypt*, and *Jacob*'s going down thither, it cou'd no ways be, that, in ſo ſhort a Space of Time, *Judah* cou'd marry a Wife; have three Sons at three ſeveral Times by her; marry two of her Sons ſucceſſively to one Woman; defer the Marriage of the third Son, to the ſame Woman, beyond the due Time; afterwards, himſelf have Sons by the ſame Woman his Daughter-in-law; and one of theſe Sons, *Pharez*, beget two Sons, *Hezron* and *Hamul*, Gen. xlvi. 12. It can no ways be, I ſay, that all theſe Tranſactions ſhould be compriz'd in ſo ſhort a Time. And therefore we muſt ſuppoſe, that the Buſineſs of his being married, and having Children, was *prior* to *Joſeph*'s being ſold; but that *Moſes*, not willing to intermingle the Story of the two Brothers too much, brings all he had to ſay concerning *Judah* into the Compaſs of one *Chapter*, and ſo concludes his Adventures, before he proceeds to thoſe of *Joſeph*. *Howell*'s Hiſtory, l. 1. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7. and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

† It was not ſo bad for a Man *circumcis'd* to marry the Daughter of one *uncircumcis'd*, as it was for an *Iſraelite* to give a Daughter in Marriage to an uncircumcis'd Huſband, *Gen.* xxxiv. 14. For an uncircumcis'd Man was accounted *unclean*, tho' he had renounc'd Idolatry; but a Woman, born of uncircumcis'd Parents, if ſhe embrac'd the Worſhip of the true God, was not ſo accounted. And ſuch an one we may ſuppoſe *Judah*'s Wife to have been; otherwiſe, he had offended his Father, as much as *Eſau* did *Iſaac* by marrying the *Daughter of* Heth. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† This is the firſt Mention we have of this Cuſtom, which nevertheleſs ſeems to have been a very common one, and well underſtood even by young *Onan*; for he knew, that the firſt-born Child was not to be accounted *his*, but his deceas'd Brother's, was to be call'd by his Name, and inherit his Eſtate. For this, ſay the *Hebrew Doctors*, was an ancient Cuſtom, in Force before the Law of *Moſes*, that, when a Man died without Iſſue, his Brother ſhould marry his Wife, and that the firſt Son, upon ſuch Marriage, was to be reputed her deceas'd Huſband's Heir. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

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JUDAH, according to his Promiſe, ſent by his Friend *Hirah* (for that was his Name) a Kid to redeem his Pledge; but, when *Hirah* came to the Place, the Woman was gone, nor could he find, upon his beſt Enquiry, that any ſuch Perſon, as he deſcribed, had ever been there: So that *Judah*, when he told him his ill Succeſs, thought it the wiſeſt Way to let her go off with the Pledges, rather than run the Hazard of his Reputation, by making any farther Search.

ABOUT three Months after this, Word was brought him, that his Daughter-in-law, had played the Harlot, and was certainly with Child. *Judah*, tho' glad perhaps at the News, becauſe her Death would free him from the Promiſe of giving his Son *Shelah* to her, pretended however to be highly enrag'd at her Incontinency, and, ordering her to be brought forth, † condemn'd her to be burnt, according to the Laws of the Country. *Thamar*, inſtead of being ſurpriz'd at this dreadful Sentence pronounced againſt her, only ſent the Pledges to *Judah*, with this Meſſage, 'That the Owner of theſe Things was the Perſon, by whom ſhe was with Child: Whereupon, ſtruck with Confuſion, and reflecting on the Injury, he had done her, in withholding his Son, he acknowledg'd her † leſs culpable in the whole Affair than himſelf, and, from that Moment, took her home to his Houſe, but had never any more Communion with her. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

WHEN the Time of her Delivery was come, ſhe was brought-to-bed of *Twins*, but the Manner of their Birth was ſomewhat ſurprizing: For, tho' one of them put forth his Hand, about which the Midwife tied a ſcarlet Thread, to diſtinguiſh him for the Firſt-born; yet, as he withdrew it, his Brother got before him, and ſo came firſt into the World; which occaſioned his Name to be *Phares*, i. e. one *breaking forth*, as the other with the Thread on his Hand, was called *Zarah*.

To return to *Joſeph*. He had not been long in Priſon, before his virtuous and obliging Deportment gained him the Favour of the Keeper, inſomuch that he was intruſted with the Management of the Affairs belonging to the Priſon, and with the Cuſtody of the Priſoners themſelves.

AT this Time there were two Perſons of Note, the King's Cup-bearer, and his chief Baker, for ſome Offence or other committed to the ſame Priſon, where *Joſeph* was; and, by the *Head-keeper*, entruſted to his Care and Attendance. To this Purpoſe *Joſeph* coming to their Apartment one Morning, and finding them both penſive and melancholy upon the Account of a *Dream*, which each of them

Joſeph *interprets the Dreams of the King's Cup-bearer.*

† Among *Eaſtern* Nations, as well as elſewhere, Women, who were guilty of Adultery, were more ſeverely puniſh'd, than the Men: Whether it was, that the Injury done the Huſband was reputed to be more heinous, or that the Men, having the Power of making Laws, took care to enact them in Favour of themſelves. Thus God is ſaid, *for the Hardneſs of their Hearts*, to have indulg'd the *Jews* in the Matter of *divorcing* their Wives; but the Wives had not the like Privilege over their Huſbands. In many Places a Man might have as many Wives as he could maintain; but the Women were to be content with one Huſband: And, in like Manner, here *Judah*, we find, condemns *Thamar*, tho' a Widow, for her Crime, to be burnt; whilſt himſelf, in the ſame State of Widowhood, thought Fornication a very pardonable Crime. It is queſtion'd however, by what Right and Authority he could paſs this Sentence upon her: And, to anſwer this, it is ſuppos'd, that every Maſter was Judge and chief Magiſtrate in his own Family; and that therefore *Thamar*, tho' ſhe was a *Canaanite*, yet being married into *Judah*'s Family, and having brought Diſgrace upon it, was properly under his Cognizance. His Cognizance however (according to the Opinion of ſome) did not extend ſo far, as to have her burnt *at the Stake*, (as we call it) but only *branded* in the *Forehead* for a Whore; tho' others deny, that his Authority extended even ſo far: For, being in a ſtrange Place, it can hardly be thought, that the Power of Life and Death, or indeed of any other Penalty, was lodged in him: And therefore they think, that the Words mean no more than this,——That ſhe ſhould be brought before a Court of *Judicature*, and ſentenc'd according to the Laws of the Country. *Selden* de Jure Nat. l. 7. c. 5. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Howell*'s Univerſal Hiſtory.

† The Words in the Text are, *She hath been more righteous than I:* Not more *virtuous* or *chaſte*, for ſhe knowingly committed Adultery and Inceſt, when he deſignedly did neither; but more *juſt*, in that he, by with-holding *Shelah* from her, had provok'd her to lay this Trap for him. So that, tho' *Thamar* was wickeder in the Sight of God, yet ſhe may be ſaid to be juſter before *Judah*, or to have done no more, in drawing him into this *Scrape*, than what he juſtly deſerv'd. *Pool*'s Annotations.

JOSEPH Interpreteth Pharaohs Dream.



La Fontelo Inv.et del. E. Rooker sculp.

And there shall arise after them seven years of famine, and all the plenty shall be forgotten in the land of Egypt: and the famine shall consume the land. Genesis. Chapter. XLI. Verse. 30.

JUDAHS Incest.



When Judah saw her he thought her to be an Harlot because she had covered her face
Gen. 38.15



A. M. 2276, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1728, &c.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

them had had the Night before, and under more Concern ſtill, becauſe, in that Place, they could have no Perſon to interpret for them; to allay their *ſuperſtitious* Humour in truſting to *Diviners* and *Soothſayers*, he told them, in the firſt Place, that the *Interpretation* of Dreams did not depend upon Rules of Art, but, if there were any Certainty in it, muſt proceed from a *divine Inſpiration*, and then deſir'd to know what it was, that they dreamt.

THE *Cup-bearer* began, and told him, —— That, in his Sleep he fancied he ſaw a Vine, with three Branches, which, all on a ſudden, *budded*, then *bloſſom'd*, and ſo bore ripe Grapes; and that he had in his Hand the King's Cup, into which having ſqueez'd the Juice of the Grapes, he gave it to the King, and the King drank it from his Hand as uſual. To this *Joſeph* replied, that, as the three Branches denoted three Days, it would not exceed the Compaſs of that Time, before the King, ‡ having made an Enquiry into the Conduct of his Servants, would reſtore him to his Favour, and his *Poſt* again. Only he deſir'd, that, if his Interpretation prov'd true, he would, in his Proſperity, † be pleaſed to remember him, and to recommend his Caſe to the King; ſince the Truth was, that he had been fraudulently taken † from his own Country, and caſt into Priſon without any Fault or Offence of his.

Of his chief Baker.

† HEARING ſo happy an Interpretation of this Dream, the *Baker* was the readier to propoſe his, which was to this Effect. —— That, while, *as he thought*, he had on his Head three *Wicker-Baſkets*, in the uppermoſt of which were ſeveral Kinds of baked Meats for the King's Table, the Birds came, and eat them out of the Baſket. To which *Joſeph* immediately replied,

‡ The Expreſſion, which *Joſeph* here makes uſe of concerning the King's Cup-bearer and Butler, *Pharaoh ſhall lift up thy Head*, ſeems ſomewhat too literally tranſlated, ſince the Words in the Original mean no more, than that *Pharaoh* would have them brought forth and examin'd. The Antients, we are to know, in keeping their Reckonings or Accounts of Time, or their Liſt of domeſtick Officers or Servants, made uſe of Tables with Holes bored in them, in which they put a ſort of Pegs, or Nails with broad Heads, exhibiting the Particulars, either Number, or Name, or whatever it was. Theſe Nails or Pegs the *Jews* call *Heads*, and the Sockets of the Heads they call *Baſes*. The Meaning therefore of *Pharaoh*'s *lifting up his Head* is, that *Pharaoh* would take out the Peg, which had the Cup-bearer's Name on the Top of it, to read it; *i. e.* would ſit in Judgment, and make Examination into his Accounts. For it ſeems very probable, that both he, and the Baker had been either ſuſpected or accuſed of having cheated the King, and that, when their Accounts were examin'd and caſt up, the one was acquitted, while the other was found guilty. And tho' *Joſeph* uſes the ſame Expreſſion in both Caſes, yet we may obſerve, that, ſpeaking to the Baker, he adds, that *Pharaoh ſhall lift up thy Head from off thee*, i. e. ſhall order thy Name to be ſtruck out of the Liſt of his Servants, by taking thy Peg out of the Socket. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum.*

† There is nothing of a Diſtruſt of God's Goodneſs, Juſtice, or Power, in making uſe of human Means. The Releaſe of the King's Cup-bearer appear'd to *Joſeph* to be a good Opportunity, pointed out by Providence, for him to lay hold on, and wanting he would have been to his own Preſervation, had he not employ'd it. Though therefore it may be thought, that his aſking this Court-Officer to repreſent his Caſe to the King, might be in Reward or Compenſation for his Prediction; yet even herein he may be juſtified by *apoſtolical* Authority, which, in Caſes of this Nature, inſtructs, (1 *Cor.* ix. 4. and *Gal.* vi. 6.) that temporal Advantages may very lawfully be both aſk'd, and receiv'd. In the Cup-bearer's *not remembering* him however, we may obſerve ſomething, that ſeems providentially to have turn'd to his Advantage, ſince, had he been diſcharg'd before *Pharaoh*'s Dream, he might many Ways have miſs'd of that prodigious Favour and Advancement, which, by this Means, he attain'd. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum.*

† The Words in the Text are, *from the Land of the* Hebrews, which ſome Men ſuppoſe were added by *Joſhua*, or ſome other Writer, after the Death of *Moſes*; becauſe, in *Moſes*'s Days, and much more in *Joſhua*'s, *Canaan* was not known by that Name. It is not the whole Land of *Canaan* however, that *Joſeph* here means, but only that Part of it, which lay about *Hebron*, where *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, had, for a long while liv'd, *Gen.* xxii. 1, 2. xxxv. 27. xxxvii. 14. 'Tis ſaid indeed, that they were *Strangers* and *Sojourners* in the Country, but then they were Strangers of great Note and high Renown, who were treated as Princes, liv'd by their own Laws, and made Leagues not only with private Men, but with Cities, and with Kings, *Gen.* xxiii. 6. xxi. 22. xxvi. 28. xxxiv. 6. The Fame of whoſe Deeds could not but be ſpread abroad, both by the Victory, which *Abraham* got in a Battle over ſeveral Kings, and by the ſacking of *Shechem*, which their Neighbours durſt not revenge; all which might very well make that Part of the Country, wherein they, for three Generations, had reſided, not improperly be call'd the *Land of the* Hebrews. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† As fluſh as the chief Baker was with Hopes, there is this obvious *Difference* between his, and the Cup-bearer's *Preſage*, viz. that he was not an Agent, but a Sufferer in his Dream; for he did not give a Cake, or a Confection to the King, as the other did the Cup, but the Fowls of the Air deſcended upon his Baſket, and fled off with the Dainties that were in it. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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plied, that the three *Baſkets* (even as the three *Branches* had done) ſignify'd three Days; but that, in the Space of that Time, the King, having made Scrutiny into his Behaviour, and found him guilty, would order him to be hanged upon a Gibbet, for the Fowls of the Air to devour his Fleſh. And as *Joſeph* foretold, ſo it came to paſs: For, three Days after this, the *Cup-bearer* was reſtor'd, and the *Baker* hanged. The *Cup-bearer* however, when himſelf had got into Proſperity again, thought little of *Joſeph*, till, in about two Years after this, an Accident happen'd, which forc'd him, in a Manner, to call him to Remembrance.

And thoſe of the King himſelf.

The King, his Maſter, had, in one Night, two very portentous Dreams, which gave him the more Uneaſineſs, becauſe none of the * *Egyptian Magi* could give him the leaſt Light into their Meaning. Seeing the King therefore in this Perplexity, the Cup-bearer could not forbear telling him, —— That, while he, and the chief Baker were under his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure in Priſon, each of them, in the ſame Night, had a Dream, which a young Man, an *Hebrew*, then in Priſon with them, interpreted exactly, and as the Event happened; and that, in his Opinion, he had a Talent that Way much ſuperior to any, that had hitherto been conſulted.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

Pleased with this Diſcovery, and eager to have his Dream explain'd, the King gave Orders immediately for *Joſeph* to be ſent for; who, after he had ſhaved, and dreſſed himſelf, was introduced into his Preſence; where he had not been long, before the King related his Dreams to him. "*viz.* That, as he was walking on the "Banks of the River *Nile*, *as he thought*, "he ſaw ſeven *fat* Kine, which fed in "the Meadows. And ſoon after that, "ſeven others, exceeding *lean*, and fright-"ful to behold, which came, and eat up "the *fat* ones, and yet looked not a Bit "the better; and that, after this, he "dreamt again, and fancied that he ſaw "*ſeven* full Ears of Corn, proceeding all "from the ſame Stalk, which were, in "like Manner, devour'd by ſeven others, "that were blaſted and wither'd."

As ſoon as the King had ended, *Joſeph*, giving him firſt to underſtand, that it was † by the Aſſiſtance of God alone, that he was enabled to be an Interpreter of Dreams, told him, that the *ſeven Kine*, and *ſeven Ears* of Corn, ſignified the ſame Thing, and the Repetition of the Dream only denoted the Certainty of the Event; that, therefore, as the *lean* Kine ſeem'd to eat up the *fat*, and the *wither'd* Ears to conſume the full and flouriſhing; ſo, after ſeven Years of great Plenty, other ſeven Years of extreme Famine ſhould ſucceed,

* The *Chaldeans* of old were the moſt famous People in the World for Divinations of all Kinds; and therefore 'tis very probable, that the Word *Hhartoumim*, which we render *Magicians*, is not of *Hebrew*, but *Chaldee* Origin. The Roots however, from whence it ſprings (if it be a compound Word, as probably it is) are not ſo viſible; and therefore Commentators are perplex'd to know by what Method, Men of this Profeſſion proceeded in their Enquiry into ſecret Things, whether they pretended to expound Dreams, and deſcry future Events, by natural Obſervations, by the Art of Aſtrology, (which came much in Requeſt in future Ages) by ſuch Rules, as are now found in the Books of *Oneirocriticks*, or by certain Characters, Images, Pictures, and Figures, which were engraved with magical Rites and Ceremonies. It is not to be doubted indeed, but that the *Magicians*, whom *Pharaoh* conſulted for the Interpretation of his Dreams, made uſe of ſome at leaſt, if not all theſe Arts; and the *Jewiſh* Doctors would make us believe, that, after ſeveral Attempts of divers Kinds, they came at laſt to this Expoſition, that *Pharaoh*'s Daughters (for they ſuppoſe him to have ſeven) ſhould die, and that he ſhould have ſeven others born to him in their Stead; but this being not at all ſatisfactory to their Maſter, put the Cup-bearer in Mind of *Joſeph*'s great Abilities that Way. *Le Clerc*'s, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† The Words, wherein *Joſeph* prefaces his Interpretation of *Pharaoh*'s Dreams, are much of the ſame Kind with what we find *Daniel* addreſſing *Nebuchadnezzar* upon the like Occaſion: *The Secret, which the King hath demanded, cannot the wiſe Men, the Aſtrologers, the Magicians, the Soothſayers ſhew unto the King; but there is a God in Heaven, who revealeth Secrets, and maketh known unto the King, what ſhall be in the latter Days*, Dan. ii. 27, 28. Both theſe holy Men inſinuate, that the Intereſts of Princes are more eſpecially the Care of divine Providence, and that therefore, for their Admonition, he frequently ſends Dreams and Viſions upon them. And this Declaration, previous to the Expoſition, was perfectly proper, and of mighty Force to beſpeak the King's Attention and Regard, at the ſame Time that *Joſeph* was aſſerting the Being and Interpoſition of Almighty God, in the Guidance of human Affairs. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum.*

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ſucceed, which would lay waſte all the Country, and leave no Signs of the former Plenty: And therefore, ſince it had pleaſed God thus to inform the King what Seaſons he intended to bring upon the Earth, he hop'd he would make a right Uſe of the Information, by appointing a wiſe and prudent Man over his whole Kingdom, who ſhould take care to build Granaries, and appoint Officers under him in every Province, who ſhou'd collect, and lay up † a *fifth* Part of each *plentiful* Year's Product, againſt the ſucceeding Years of *Famine*.

Whereupon he is made Vice-Roy, *or Prime-Miniſter.*

† THIS Interpretation, and the good Advice given upon it, made the King conceive ſo great an Opinion of *Joſeph*'s Wiſdom, that he thought no one cou'd be ſo fit to manage the Office of collecting the Corn, in the Years of Plenty, as he, who had ſuggeſted a Scheme ſo very beneficial. He therefore, in a ſhort Time, made him his *Deputy* over the Land of *Egypt*, and to that Purpoſe, inveſted him with the uſual *Enſigns* of that high Station. Gave him his own Signet from off his Finger; caus'd him to be cloath'd in a Robe of fine Linnen, and put a golden Chain about his Neck; order'd him to ride in a Chariot next to his own; and wherever he went, Heralds to go before, and, in Token that the *Viceroy* was coming, to proclaim to the People, † *bow the Knee*. Nor was this all: For, to attach him ſtill cloſer to his Service, and make him forget the very Thoughts of ever returning to his own Country, † he chang'd his Name to that of *Zaphnah-paaneah*, which ſignifies

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

† Since there were to be as many Years of Scarceneſs, as of Plenty, ſome have made it a Queſtion, why *Joſeph* adviſ'd no more than a *fifth Part* of the Corn, in plentiful Years, to be laid up: But to this it may be replied, that the greater and richer Sort were us'd, in Time of Plenty, to fill their Store houſes with Proviſion, againſt a ſcarcer Year, which ſometimes happen'd; that, in the Times of Famine, Men were wont to live more frugally and parciminiouſly, as the *Egyptians*, at this Time, according to *Joſephus*, were oblig'd to do by *Pharaoh*'s ſpecial Command; that, even in the Year of Famine, Tillage went on, and the Harveſt might be ſomething, (tho' not mention'd, by reaſon that the Product was comparatively inconſiderable) eſpecially in the Lands lying near the *Nile*; and that as the tenth Part was an ordinary Tribute due to the Kings of *Egypt*, in the Years of extraordinary Plenty, (when the *fifth* was no more than the *tenth* in other Years) *Pharaoh* might think it proper to double this Charge, or (what is rather to be ſuppos'd from a good King and a good Counſellor) to buy as much more, as was his Tribute, which he might do at an eaſy Rate, when ſuch a vaſt Plenty made Corn extremely cheap. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Here we may obſerve again, that *Joſeph* directs *Pharaoh* to look up to God, as the Author of all theſe Events, and that not in an ordinary, but extraordinary Manner, ſince ſuch Fertility, and ſuch Famine, did not proceed from mere natural Cauſes, but from an over-ruling Providence, which made the River *Nile* overflow its Banks ſo largely for ſeven Years together, and ſo occaſion a great Plenty; and then, for the next ſeven Years, overflow very little, if at all, and ſo produce a very ſore and long Famine. Nor can it be objected to *Joſeph*, that he was guilty of Preſumption or Boldneſs, in giving his Advice to *Pharaoh*, concerning the Proviſion that was to be made againſt the enſuing Scarceneſs, ſince he was conſcious to himſelf, that he was beſt able to give ſuch Advice, and would have been guilty of the Sin of Omiſſion, had he neglected to do it, in ſo great and ſo general a Concern. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

† *Annotators* are much at a loſs to determine of what *Original* the Word *Abrech* is, ſome pretending that it is altogether *Hebrew*, while others make it a Compound of *Hebrew* and *Syriack*, and others contend, at the ſame Time, that it is purely *Egyptian*. Thoſe, who pretend that it is *Hebrew*, beſides the Signification of *bowing the Knee*, (which it very well bears) by dividing it into two Words, make it import a *tender Father*, and ſuppoſe, that *Joſeph* might very properly be call'd a *Father*, in Point of his conſummate Wiſdom, and young or *tender*, in Regard to his Years. Thoſe, who make it a Mixture of *Hebrew* and *Syriack*, divide it, in like Manner, into two Words, and ſuppoſe, that, as *Ab*, in the *Hebrew*, is *Father*, ſo *rech* or *rach*, in the *Syrian* Tongue, is *King*, in the ſame Senſe, that *Joſeph* ſays of himſelf, and (perhaps with Alluſion to this very Name) *God has made me a Father unto* Pharaoh, *Gen.* xlv. 8. i. e. in giving him wholeſome Counſel, even as a Father does his Children: But thoſe, who contend for its being purely *Egyptian*, do freely confeſs, that, at this Diſtance of Time, and under ſuch *Obſoleteneſs* of that Language, 'tis next to impoſſible to find out the genuine Signification of an *honorary* Term, as this very probably was) and therefore they obſerve, that, as the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian makes no Mention of this Circumſtance in *Joſeph*'s Story, he might be induc'd to that Omiſſion, by reaſon of his not underſtanding this Word of *exotick* Growth. In this Uncertainty of Opinions therefore, we have thought it the beſt Way to follow that Tranſlation, which ſome of the beſt *Hebrew* Interpreters, the *Septuagint*, and *Vulgat* Verſions, have approv'd. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 20.

† It was an antient Cuſtom among *Eaſtern* Princes, upon their Promotion of any Favourite, to give him a new Name. *Nebuchadnezzar*, we read, *Dan.* i. 7. impos'd new Names upon *Daniel*, and his Companions in *Babylon*; and, to this very Day, the *Mogul* never advances a Man, but he gives him a new Name, and that ſignificative of ſomething

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fies a *Prime-minister*, and match'd him into a noble Family, to *Asenah*, the Daughter of † *Potipherah*, Priest, or Prince of *On*; by whom he had two Sons, the former of which he call'd *Manasseh*, intimating, that God had made him forget all his Toils; and the other *Ephraim*, because he had made him fruitful in the Land of his Affliction.

His wise Management.

In the mean Time, *Joseph* being now about thirty Years old, when he was rais'd to this Height of Power, took a Progress through the whole Kingdom; built Granaries, appointed proper Officers in every Place, and, in short, order'd all Things with such Prudence and Application, that, before the seven Years of Plenty were expir'd, he had amass'd together an immense Quantity of Corn, enough to supply both *Egypt* and the neighbouring Countries; so that when the Years of Famine came on, and the People apply'd themselves to *Pharaoh*, he remitted them to *Joseph*, who, when he saw it fit, open'd his Stores, and sold Provision to all that came.

In the second Year of the Famine, *Jacob*, who was not exempt from the common Calamity, hearing that there was Corn to be bought in *Egypt*, sent ten of his Sons thither to buy some; who, upon their Arrival, where directed to apply to *Joseph* for an Order, and, as soon as they saw him, prostrated themselves before him, and begg'd that they might be supply'd with Corn. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

And Treatment of his Brethren, when they came to buy Corn.

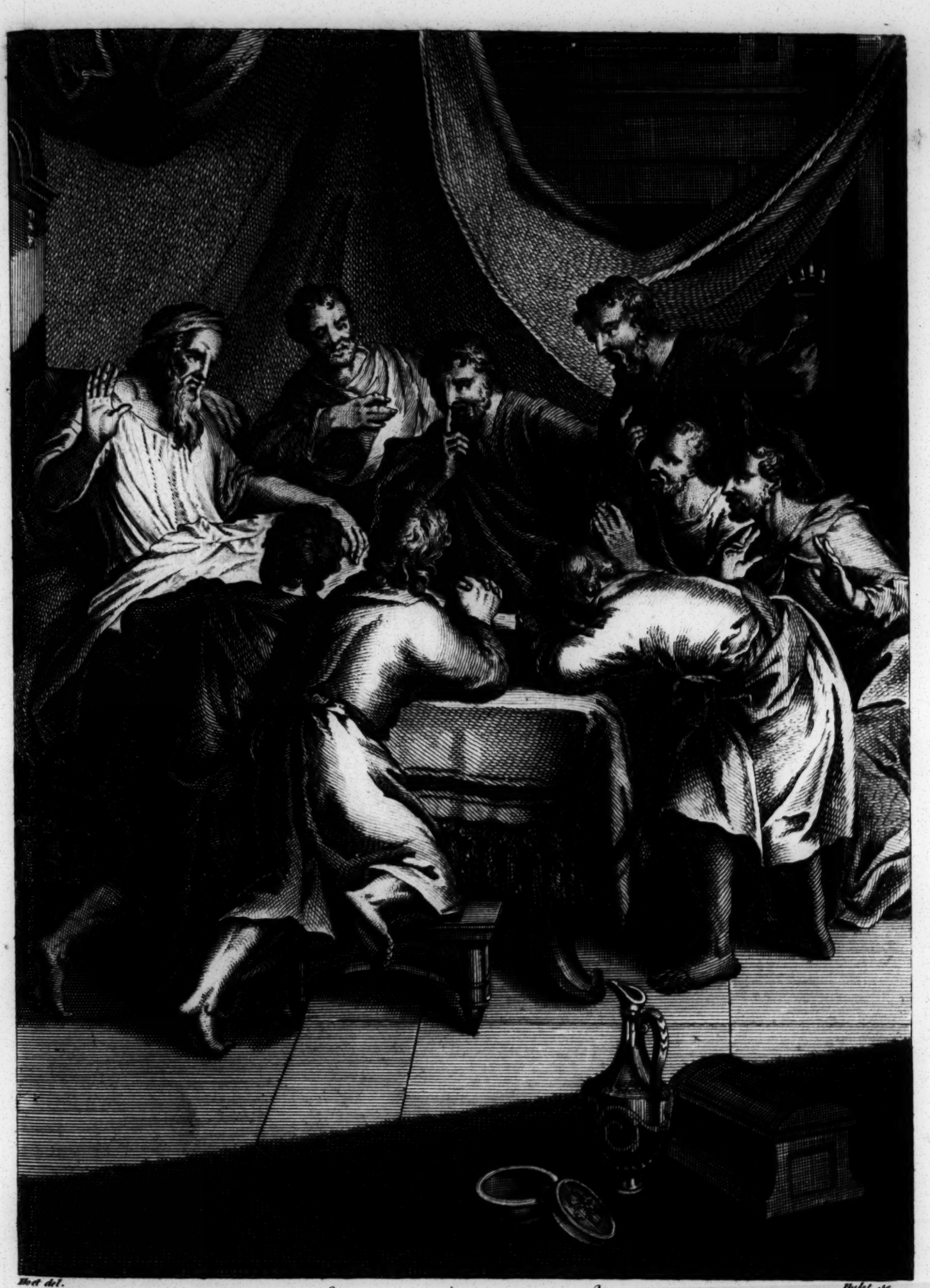
JOSEPH, at first Sight, knew his Brethren, but, being minded to terrify them a little, would not, as yet, discover himself to them; and therefore, chusing to speak by an Interpreter, with a severe Look and angry Tone, he ask'd them, whence they came, and, upon their answering, from the Land of *Canaan*, he charg'd them with being * *Spies*, who were come to discover the Weakness of the Country. To which they replying, that they came with no other Intent, than purely to buy Corn for their numerous Family, being all the † Sons of one Man, who once indeed had twelve, but that the youngest was left at home, and the next to him dead; he immediately catch'd at their Words, and put their Honesty upon this Probation: —— That, since, *as they said*, they

something belonging to him: But here the Question is, what the Meaning of the Name, which *Pharaoh* gave *Joseph*, is? In the *Hebrew* Text it is *Zaphnah paaneah*, but, in the *Egyptian* and *Greek Pentateuch*, it is *Pson-thonphanech*. The oriental Versions however, are pretty unanimous in rendering it, *a Revealer of Secrets*: but there are some Reasons, why this should not be its true Interpretation. For, the Time, when *Pharaoh* gave the Patriarch this Name, was when he advanc'd him, from the Condition of an imprison'd Slave, to that of a *Ruler throughout all the Land of Egypt*; and therefore it is reasonable to suppose, that he gave it in Commemoration of such Promotion, rather than of his expounding Dreams; because, to have call'd him an *Interpreter of Dreams* only, had been degrading him to the Level of *Magicians*. Now if *Pharaoh* gave him this Name in Memory of his Promotion, it is very likely, that this Name was strictly and properly *Egyptian*, (otherwise the common People could not have understood it) tho' *Moses*, in his recording it, might endeavour to accommodate it to the *Hebrew* Idoim; and if it was *Egyptian*, the Word in that Language signifies, what we call, a *Prime Minister*; or, strictly, the *first*, or *Prince of the Lords*. Bibliotheca Bibl. Occas. Annot. 41.

† The Reader must remember not to confound *this* Name with *Potiphar*, who bought *Joseph* of the *Ishmaelites*, because their Names in *Hebrew* are not differently written. The one, however, is call'd the *Captain of the Guards*, the other the *Prince*, or *Priest of On*; so that the former must have had his Residence in the Capital, to be always about the King; but the latter liv'd at *On*, or *Heliopolis*, about twenty Miles distant from *Memphis*, the *Metropolis* of the *Kingdom:* Nor can we suppose, that *Joseph* would ever have married his Master's Daughter, lest she should have prov'd not unlike her Mother, for whose Incontinence he had so severely smarted. Universal History, I. 1. c. 7.

* These Words, *Ye are Spies*, are not to be look'd upon as a *Lye*, because they are not spoken by Way of Affirmation, but of Probation only, in the Manner that Judges speak, when they examine suspected Persons, or enquire into a Crime, of which Men are accus'd; and have therefore the Force of an Interrogation, *Are ye not Spies?* or I must take you to be such, until you prove the contrary. This, though it was but a pretensive Charge of *Joseph*, had yet the better Colour, because *Egypt* was defenceless, and liable to Incursions only on that Side, from whence his Brethren came? for, what with the Interposition of large Deserts, and shallow Seas, it was pretty well secur'd on all other Quarters. *Le Clerc*'s, and *Patrick*'s Commentaries in Locum.

† By this they suggested the Impossibility of their being *Spies*, since no Man, in his Wits, would send so many, and all his own Sons, upon so dangerous and capital an Enterprize: Nor was it probable, that one Man could have a Design upon *Egypt*, but all the great Men in *Canaan* must have join'd in it, and then they would have sent Men of different Families, and not all of one only. *Patrick*'s Commentary.



Hoet del. Hulet sc.

And Jacob called unto his Sons and said, Gather your selves together, & hear, ye sons of Jacob; and hearken unto Israel your father. Gen. XLIX Ch. Ver. 1 2

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they had a younger Brother, ſome one of them ſhould be diſpatch'd to bring him, whilſt the reſt were kept in Cuſtody; otherwiſe he ſhould look upon them, (and there he ſpake with a ſeeming Earneſtneſs) as no other, than *Spies* and Enemies; and ſo order'd them all to Priſon, until they ſhould come to a Reſolution.

AFTER three Days Confinement however, he ſent for them again, and then, with a milder Air, told them, that as himſelf *fear'd God*, and was willing to act juſtly by them, he was loath that their Family ſhould want Proviſion, or that they themſelves ſhould ſuffer, if innocent; he therefore propounded this Expedient to them: —— "That one of them ſhould "be confin'd, as an *Hoſtage* for the reſt, "while they return'd with Corn for the "Family; and that, when they came "again, and brought their youngeſt Bro"ther with them, the *Confin'd* ſhould be "releas'd, and all of them reputed *honeſt* "*Men*."

FOR Perſons in their Circumſtances there was no expoſtulating with one, who had them at his *Mercy*; and therefore they conſented to do whatever he requir'd. But, in the *Interpreter*'s Abſence, they, ſuppoſing that no one elſe underſtood their Language, began to bewail their unrelenting Cruelty to poor *Joſeph*, and to condemn themſelves ſeverely for it; while *Reuben* (who was not ſo culpable in the Matter) put them in Mind, that all this Miſchief might have been prevented, had they liſten'd to his Counſel, and not acted ſo inhumanly to their innocent Brother, for whoſe Sake, it was no more, than what they might expect, that Vengeance, at one Time or other, would certainly overtake them. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

THEIR Diſcourſe, in ſhort, was ſo very dolorous and affecting, that *Joſeph* could no longer contain himſelf, and was therefore forc'd to withdraw a little, to give his Tears vent, and then coming in again, commanded † *Simeon* to be bound and ſent to Priſon: But, ſetting the reſt at Liberty, he order'd the Officer, who diſtributed the Corn, to ſupply them with what they wanted, and, at the ſame Time (as a freſh Matter for their Surprize) † to put each Man's Money into the Mouth of his Sack. His Orders were accordingly obey'd: And therefore, when they came to bait, and to give their Beaſts Provender†, they were not a little frighten'd to find their Money return'd; nor fail'd they to make all the diſmal Reflections hereupon, that there Fears cou'd ſuggeſt, concluding that the haughty *Viceroy* had done this, that he might have a Pretence to make them his Slaves, at their next coming down.

Their Account to their Father Jacob, *when they got home.*

AS ſoon as they were got home, they acquainted their Father with all theſe Adventures; they told him the Treatment, they

† It may be ſuppos'd perhaps, that, becauſe *Reuben* was the eldeſt, he, upon this Occaſion, had been the propereſt Hoſtage: But *Reuben*, we may obſerve, had ſhew'd himſelf averſe to thoſe Lengths of Wickedneſs and Inhumanity (in which moſt of the other Brothers were agreed) againſt *Joſeph*. *Reuben*, in ſhort, reſolv'd to ſave him; and, as *Judah* was inclin'd to favour him, had *Simeon* join'd with them, their Authority might have prevail'd for his Deliverance: But *Simeon* was the Perſon, who was moſt exaſperated againſt him. He was the eldeſt of thoſe, who had propos'd to murther him, and was therefore a *fit Proxy* for the reſt; the Man (as the *Hebrews* ſay) who put *Joſeph* in the Pit, and was now very juſtly to be ſerv'd in his Kind: Tho' they, who tell us this, have a Tradition, that, as ſoon as his Brothers were gone, *Joſeph* had him unbound, and order'd him what Proviſions, and Conveniencies he pleas'd, during his Confinement. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in Locum.

† This *Joſeph* might do, without defrauding *Pharaoh*: For, he might either ſupply them out of that Stock of Proviſions, which belong'd properly to himſelf; or, if the Proviſions were the King's, he might pay for them out of his own Purſe. Nor is there any Occaſion to conceive, that a Perſon, ſo entirely in Favour and Confidence with his Prince, as *Joſeph* was, had his Hands tied up from diſpoſing, at his own Diſcretion and Pleaſure, of ſo ſmall a Boon, as this, to his Friends, for their Relief and Comfort. *Muſculus.*

† If it ſhould be made a Queſtion, why *Joſeph*'s Brethren made Uſe of their own Stocks, and eſpecially in a Time of ſo great Scarcity, in a *publick Inn*; the Anſwer is obvious: ——— That the Inns, or Reſting-places, in thoſe Parts of the World, neither were, nor are as yet, ſuch as we meet with in *England*, and ſome other Parts of *Europe*. They afforded no Accommodation of any Kind, but barely Houſe-room. The Paſſengers, who travell'd in thoſe Countries, carry'd moſt, if not all, of their Proviſions with them; nor did they make any other Uſe of theſe *Publick-houſes*, but only to repoſe themſelves in, at the End of their Stages. *Muſculus.*

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they had receiv'd from the King's *Prime-Minister*, and how he suspected them of being *Spies*, of which they had no Way to clear themselves, but by leaving *Simeon* bound in Prison, as a *Pledge*, till they shou'd bring *Benjamin*, to shew that what they told him of their Family was true. These were sad *Tydings* indeed, and what made their poor afflicted Father break out into this melancholy Complaint; "That, "one Way or other, him they *had depri-* "*ved* of his Children; that *Joseph* was "dead, *Simeon* was left in *Egypt*, and "now they were going to take *Benjamin* "from him likewise, which were Things "too heavy for him to bear."

IN vain it was for *Reuben*, in order to prevail with his Father to comply, to offer, (as he did) that, if he did not return him safe, he might take his two Sons, and kill them, if he pleas'd: The *Death* of a Grandson was no Compensation for the *Loss* of a Child; and therefore, instead of asswaging, this did but augment his Grief, and make him absolutely resolve not to trust *Benjamin* with them; for *his Brother is dead*, says he, *and he is left alone; if any Mischief should befal him by the Way, then will ye bring my grey Hairs with Sorrow to the Grave.*

IN such Debates as these they spent the Time, till the Famine, every Day increasing, and their Stock of Provision being well nigh gone, *Necessity* put them in the Thoughts of going down again into *Egypt*. This their Father likewise reminded them of, but without taking any Notice of their Obligation to the *Vice-roy* to bring their younger Brother with them; which when *Judah* suggested to him, and set before him, withal, the utter Impossibility of their going into *Egypt*, without his complying with that *Condition*, he began to complain again, that he thought himself hardly us'd in their telling the *Viceroy* any Thing of the State of his Family, or that they had another Brother; which *Judah* endeavour'd to excuse, by assuring his Father, that, what was said upon that Head, proceeded from the Simplicity of their Hearts, and in Answer to the *Interrogatories*, which the *Viceroy* put to them, without ever dreaming that he intended to make such a cruel Handle of it; and then, perceiving his Father to waver a little in his Resolution, † he reiterates the Necessity of their going again, and presses him to consent, with this solemn Promise, that, at the Hazard of his own Life, he would take care, and return him safe: (*a*) *Of my Hands shalt thou require him*, says he; *if I bring him not unto thee, and set him before thee, then let me bear the Blame for ever.*

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

BUT it was not so much his Son's Importunity, as the Necessity of Affairs, which induc'd *Jacob* to comply, and therefore, perceiving that there was now no Remedy, he deliver'd up *Benjamin*; but, before they departed, instructed them what to do, *viz.* to take a double Quantity of Money with them, for fear that there was some Mistake made in the other, that was return'd, ‡ and some such Presents,

† In the Text, the Words, wherein *Judah* delivers himself to his Father, are these——*If thou wilt send our Brother with us, we will go down and buy thee Food, but if thou wilt not send him, we will not go down*, Gen. xliii. 4, 5. which, at first View seems to have an Air of *Undutifulness* in them, but, upon a nearer Inspection, will admit of this Apology, *viz.* That this was not the first Proposal made to *Jacob* by his Sons, to have *Benjamin* go with them into *Egypt*. *Reuben* had once before offer'd his two Sons for Pledges, and receiv'd a Repulse. Upon *Jacob*'s renewing his Orders therefore for them to go, *Judah* only had Courage to engage in this fresh Remonstrance. He reminds his Father, first of the Solemnity and Earnestness, with which *Joseph* had pretended, that, without *Benjamin*, *they shou'd not see his Face:* Then he offers to go very willingly in Obedience to his Father's Command, but desires to insist upon the Condition of *Benjamin*'s going with them, as finally, indispensibly, and absolutely necessary. For the Words, compar'd with those of *Gen.* xliv. 26. do plainly denote as much, *we will not go down*, i. e. it is impossible, impracticable, unallowable for us to go. For the *future* Tense, according to the *Hebrew* Idiom, will bear this Signification, and consequently will acquit *Judah* from all Suspicion of Rebellion, or Undutifulness towards his Father. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* on Gen. Annot. 45.

(*a*) Gen. xliii. 9.

‡ The Present, which *Jacob* order'd his Sons to carry down to *Joseph*, is thus particulariz'd in our Translation; *a little Balm, a little Honey, Spices, and Myrrh, Nuts and Almonds*, Gen. xliii. 11. But there is Reason to suspect, that

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ſents, as the Country afforded, and what, *they imagin'd*, would be moſt acceptable to the Viceroy: And ſo, having intreated Heaven for their Succeſs, he ſent them away, with an aking Heart, but a reſolv'd Acquieſcence in God's good Providence, let the Event be what it wou'd.

Joſeph's *Treatment of them, upon their ſecond Coming into* Egypt.

As ſoon as they arriv'd at *Egypt*, they went directly to the King's *Granaries*, and preſented themſelves before *Joſeph*, who, ſeeing their Brother *Benjamin* with them, gave Orders to his Steward to conduct them to his Houſe, where he deſign'd they ſhould dine that Day. Here again they began to fear, leſt this might be a Contrivance againſt them upon Account of the Money, which was return'd in their Sacks; and therefore, before they enter'd the Houſe, they acquainted the Steward with the whole Affair; and, to demonſtrate their Honeſty, told him, that, beſides the Money, which they found return'd, they had brought more along with them, to buy a freſh Quantity of Proviſion.

THE Steward, on the other Hand, being let into the Secret, and perceiving the Concern they were in, bad them diſmiſs all uneaſy Apprehenſions; told them, that what they found in their Sacks, they ought to look upon as a Treaſure, ſent them from Heaven; own'd that he himſelf had fairly receiv'd their Money, and gave them Aſſurance, that they ſhould never hear any more of it; and (that they might believe his Words to be true) he went, and brought *Simeon* unbound to them; acquainted them that they were to dine with his Lord that Day; and ſhew'd them in the mean while, all the Tokens of Civility, that were fitting for welcome Gueſts. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

JOSEPH was to return by Noon, and therefore his Brothers took Care to have their Preſent in Readineſs; and, when he was come, introduc'd it in the handſomeſt, and moſt ſubmiſſive Manner, they could. He receiv'd them all with a very friendly Countenance; enquir'd much concerning the Health and Welfare of their aged Father; and then, turning to *Benjamin*, aſk'd them, if he was the younger Brother, they had mention'd to him; and, without ſtaying for their Anſwer, ſaluted him in theſe Words, *God be gracious to thee, my Son.* But, finding his Affections begin to work, and fearing leſt he ſhou'd diſcover himſelf too ſoon, he retir'd into his Chamber, and there vented his Paſſion in a Flood of Tears; which when he had done, he waſh'd his Face, and return'd to the Company, and order'd the Dinner to be ſerv'd up.

THREE Tables were ſpread in a large *Dining-room*; one for himſelf alone, by Reaſon of his Dignity; another for his *Egyptian-Gueſts*, * who hate to eat with People of a different Nation; and a third for

ſome of theſe are not the real Things, which the original words intend. *Balm* indeed (which we may ſuppoſe was that of *Gilead)* was of great Price all the World over, and a ſmall Quantity of it was a Preſent worth Acceptance; but unleſs the *Honey* in *Canaan* was better than ordinary, there doubtleſs was no Want of it in *Egypt:* And therefore it is much more likely, that this Part of the Preſent conſiſted of *Dates*, ſince the *Hebrew* expreſſes both by the ſame Name, and, in *Judea*, eſpecially about *Jericho*, (as both *Joſephus*, and *Pliny* tell us) there was a great Plenty of them. The Word *Neketh*, which is render'd *Spices*, ſhould rather ſignify *Storax*, which is an *aromatick* Gum, put into all precious ſpicy Ointments: And the Word *Loth*, which is tranſlated *Myrrh*, would come nearer the Original, if it were call'd *Laudanum. Botnim*, which we read *Nuts*, are what we call *Piſtachioes*, which were highly eſteem'd by the Antients, as a delicious Food; and with theſe Almonds perhaps might not improperly be join'd together. Univerſal Hiſtory, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* The Reaſon, which ſome aſſign for the *Egyptians* refuſing to eat with the *Hebrews*, was their ſacrificing ſome Creatures, which the *Egyptians* worſhipp'd: But, tho', in after Ages, they certainly did worſhip ſeveral Kinds of Animals, yet there appears nothing from the Story, that they did ſo in *Joſeph*'s Days; for their Worſhip of the famous Ox, call'd *Apis*, was a much later Invention, as many learned Men have demonſtrated. It is much more likely therefore, that this great Abhorrence ſhould be reſolv'd into their different Manner, both of dreſſing, and eating their Victuals. No People, as *Herodotus* tells, [even where he treats of their Manner of Feaſting, *Euterpe* c. 28.] were more tenacious of their old Cuſtoms, than the *Egyptians*. They would not uſe thoſe of any other Nation whatever; and therefore the *Hebrews* were not the only People, they had an Averſion to. For (as the ſame Hiſtorian informs us) an *Egyptian* Man, or Woman, wou'd not kiſs the Mouth of a *Greek*; would not make uſe of a Spit, or a Pot belonging to them; nor eat any Meat, that was cut with one of their Knives. *Patrick*'s, and *Le-Clerc*'s Commentary.

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for his Brethren, who were amaz'd to find themſelves plac'd in exact Order, according to their *Seniority*, and did not a little wonder what this unexpected Civility might end in.

JOSEPH however, during the whole Entertainment, behav'd very courteouſly. From his own Table † he ſent Diſhes to every one of his Brothers, but to *Benjamin* he ſent five Diſhes for each of their one; which was another Myſtery, they could not unriddle; however, for the preſent, they were very chearful and merry.

After they had eat, and drank very plentifully, they began to think of taking their Leave, and of going about the Affair, for which they came; but *Joſeph* had one Fright more in reſerve for them, and therefore he order'd his Steward, when he fill'd their Sacks with Corn, to return their Money (as he had done before) but into *Benjamin*'s Sack, not only to put his Money, but the Silver Cup likewiſe, wherein he himſelf us'd to drink, and, after they were gone a little Way out of Town, to go, and overtake them, and charge them with *Felony*.

The Steward did as he was commanded: And, when he came up with *Joſeph*'s Brethren, upbraided them with Ingratitude, in ſo badly requiting his Lord's *Civility*, as to ſteal away his Cup. Conſcious of their own Innocence, and diſdainful of ſo vile a Charge, they put the Matter upon this ſhort Iſſue: —— That, whoever, upon Search, ſhould be found to have the Cup, ſhould be given up to ſuffer Death, and themſelves become all his Lord's Bond-Slaves. So ſaid, ſo done: The Beaſts were unloaded: The Sacks were ſearch'd: And, to their great Aſtoniſhment and Surprize, the Cup was found in *Benjamin*'s. To no Purpoſe it was for the poor Youth to ſay any thing in his own Defence: Upon ſuch a Demonſtration none would believe him: And yet, being all concern'd in the Diſgrace, they loaded their Aſſes again, and, in a mournful Manner, returned to the City. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

JOSEPH was at home, expecting their Return, and when they came before him, reprimanded them very ſharply, while they lay proſtrate at his Feet, and † acknowledg'd their Guilt; but, in the Concluſion of his Speech, he aſſur'd them, that the Perſon only, who was detected in the Theft, ſhould remain a Slave: the reſt might return home, when they pleas'd, to their Father.

JUDAH, who had taken *Benjamin* under his Care, being, by this Time, recover'd from his Surprize, drew near, and addreſs'd *Joſeph* in the moſt ſubmiſſive and pathetick Terms. He acquainted him with the whole Caſe between them, and their Father, in Relation to their bringing *Benjamin* into *Egypt*, to take away the Suſpicion of their being *Spies*. He deſcrib'd very paſſionately their Father's melancholy Condition for the Loſs of his Son *Joſeph*; the extreme Fondneſs he had for his Son *Benjamin*; the Difficulty they were under, to prevail with him to truſt him with them, ſo that he himſelf was forc'd

† The Manner of eating among the Antients, was not for all the Company to eat out of one and the ſame Diſh, but for every one to have one or more Diſhes to himſelf. The *whole* of theſe Diſhes were ſet before the *Maſter of the Feaſt*, and he diſtributed to every one his Portion. As *Joſeph* however is here ſaid to have had a Table to himſelf, we may ſuppoſe, that he had a great Variety of little Diſhes, or Plates ſet before him; and, as it was a Cuſtom for great Men to honour thoſe, who were in their Favour, by ſending ſuch Diſhes to them, as were firſt ſerv'd up to themſelves, *Joſeph* ſhew'd that Token of Reſpect to his Brethren: But, to expreſs a particular Value for *Benjamin*, he ſent him five Diſhes to their one, which Diſproportion cou'd not but be marvellous and aſtoniſhing to them, if what *Herodotus* tells us be true, l. 6. c. 27. *viz.* "that the Diſtinction in this Caſe, even to *Egyptian* Kings themſelves, in all publick Feaſts and Banquets, was no more than a *double* Meſs." *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

† *Judah*, in Behalf of himſelf, and his Brethren, might very well have pleaded in Defence, that they receiv'd their Sacks from the Officer, tied up as they were, without ever once opening them; and that the ſame Hand, which now, for this two Times, had return'd their Money, was the moſt likely to have convey'd the Cup into them: But ſince there was a manifeſt Juggle in the Thing, he was fearful of irritating the Governor, if he ſhould go about to detect it, and therefore he thought that the beſt Way, for him and his Brethren to eſcape, was to acknowledge the Crime, thought they were innocent of it, and (as if they had no Perception of the Trick, that was put upon them) to implore his Pity and Compaſſion, by Arguments taken from other Topicks. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

A MAP OF ANCIENT ÆGYPT from Celarius.

MEDITERRANEAN SEA
the Nile
Mouths of
Aenesisphyra
Salinus portus
Apis
Taricheum
Graiusgeny
Albumithus
Antiphre
Cherronesus
Pharus
Canopus
Heracleum
Bolbitinum Ostium
Sebennyticum
Pseudostomata
Pharmuthicum
Mendesium
Tanniticum Ostium
Pelusiacum
Bubastum
Ostracine
Pompeii Pelusium
PALESTINÆ PARS
Tisardum
Paræonium
Phœnicus portus
Phinthine
Alexandria
Nesamon
Xois
Mendes
Taris
Casius M.
Casiotis
Nemesium
Sophanis
Bibliaphorium
Callii
Catabathmus
Pedonia
Penigeus
Hieraa
Marea Palus
Naucratis
Schennytus
Bubastus
ARABIA
Mareotis
Heropolis
Pyramids
Babylon
Memphis
GRAND CAIRO
Heliopolis
PETRÆA
Adyrmachiae
Acanthus
Aphroditopolis
Arsinoe
Heroeopolis
Arsinoe
Mt Horeb
Mt Sinai
Al Tor
Monocaminum
Moeridis Lacus
Parvus
B A R C A
Castra Alexandri
H E P T A N O M I S
Nomos Ammoniacus
Oxyrynchus
Cynopolis
Geographical Miles.
20 40 60
Casis parva
Hermopolis
Antinoupolis
Acoris
MARMA-
Fons Solis
Phylace
Marmaridæ
Lycopolis
Hypselo
Alabastra
Panopolis
RICA
Oasitæ Nomi
Venetis Civitas
Magri Lacus
Crocodilopolis
Ptolemais
Chenaboscia
Cænæ
This
Philotera urbs
Oasis magna
Abydus
Coptos
Diospolis parva
Apollinis parva
Pampanis
Tentyra
Thebæ quæ et Diospolis
Hermonthis
Tuphium
Latopolis
Choubis
Apollinis
Elethyia
Lycomedis Lacus
Ombi
Elephantine
Syene
B E R D O A
Amtales Mount.
Cataractes minor
Philæ
Blemmyes.
E T H I O P I A OR
G A O G A
A B I S S I N I A
Metacompsa

Pl. 41

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forc'd to become Security for his ſafe Return; and that, if he ſhould go home without him, his Fathers Life was ſo wrapt up in the Child, that he would certainly die with Grief. Rather therefore than ſee this Grief of his aged Father, and his grey Hairs with Sorrow deſcending to the Grave, he offer'd himſelf an *Equivalent* for his Brother: *(b) Now therefore I beſeech thee, my Lord, let me, thy Servant, abide here a Slave, inſtead of the Lad, and let him go up with his Brethren; for how ſhall I ſee my Father without him?* This moving Speech, and generous Offer, were what *Joſeph*'s Soul could not withſtand, and therefore, being able to contain himſelf no longer, he order'd all the Company to leave the Room, that he might have a more affectionate Freedom in diſcovering himſelf to his Brethren.

His Diſcovering himſelf to them.

BUT, no ſooner had he told them, that he was *Joſeph their Brother* (which was all that his full Heart would let him utter) than, reflecting upon what they had once done to him, they were all ſtruck with ſuch a Surprize and Confuſion, that for a long Time, they could make him no Anſwer.

As ſoon however, as he had recover'd himſelf, he deſir'd them to draw near unto him; he embrac'd them all round with an unfeign'd Tenderneſs; and, to diſpel all farther Apprehenſions, told them, that their ſelling him into *Egypt* was directed by an unforeſeen Providence; that therefore they had no Reaſon to be angry with themſelves, for doing it, ſince they were no more than the *Inſtruments* in God's Hand, to bring about what his eternal Purpoſe had determin'd; that he had no Reaſon to reſent it, ſince, by that Means, he had been advanc'd to the Honour and Dignity of being Governor of all *Egypt*; nor his Father, or any of his Family, to murmur at it, ſince God had appointed this Method for the Preſervation of their Lives. For five Years more, *he told them*, there were to be of the Famine; and therefore he bid them haſten into *Canaan*, and tell his Father of all his Glory and Greatneſs, and deſire him to come down, that he might take care of him, and feed him in this Time of *Dearth*, and provide him with a Country, (even *the Land of* Goſhen) not far diſtant from him, and very commodious for ſuch as led a *paſtoral* Life. All this he own'd, would be ſtrange and ſurprizing for them to tell; but their Father would hardly doubt the Teſtimony of ſo many *Eye-witneſſes*; above all, he would not fail to believe what his Favourite *Benjamin* told him: And, with that, he threw himſelf upon *Benjamin*'s Neck, kiſs'd him, and wept over him for Joy; and having treated all the reſt in the ſame kind Manner, and as a Perſon, that was perfectly reconcil'd to them, they began to take Courage and convers'd more familiarly with him.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

A RUMOUR, in the mean Time, was ſpread thro' the Court, that *Joſeph*'s Brethren were come to buy Corn, which, when *Pharaoh* heard, he ſent for him, and told him, that ſince his Father's Family was ſo numerous, and the Famine, as yet, not half over, his beſt Way would be to ſend for them, and place them in what Part of the Country, he thought fit; for that they ſhould never want Proviſions, or any other Favour, that he could ſhew them. He put him in Mind likewiſe to ſend them a freſh Supply of Corn, and whatever elſe he thought would be neceſſary in their Journey, with Chariots and Waggons, to bring down their Wives and Children, and the beſt of their *Moveables*.

JOSEPH gladly obey'd the King's Command: And (beſides the Chariots and Proviſions) ſent to his Father ten Aſſes, laden with the choiceſt Commodities of *Egypt*; to his Brethren he gave each of them Changes of Garments, but to *Benjamin* he gave *five*, with three hundred Pieces of Silver; and ſo diſmiſs'd them with this kind Charge, that they ſhould not *fall out by the Way*. With Hearts full of Joy they proceeded in their Journey to *Canaan*, and were gladly receiv'd by their good

(b) Gen. xliv. 33, 34.

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Their Account of all this to their Father Jacob.

good old Father, eſpecially upon the Return of his two Sons, *Simeon* and *Benjamin*, whom he ſcarce expected to have ſeen any more. But when they inform'd him, that his Son *Joſeph* was likewiſe alive, and in what Pomp and Splendor he liv'd; that he was the very Man, the King's *Prime-Miniſter* and Governor of *Egypt*, who had put them in ſo many deadly Frights; being not able to bear ſo much good News at once, he *fainted* away in their Arms: But when he came to himſelf again, and they ſhewed him the Preſents, which *Joſeph* had ſent, and the Chariots and Carriages, which were come to take him, and his Goods away, his Spirits reviv'd, his Doubts and his Fears vaniſh'd, and, in an Extaſy of Joy, he cry'd out, *(c) It is enough! Joſeph my Son is yet alive; I will go and ſee him, before I die.*

To ſee ſo dear a Son, for whom he had mourn'd ſo long, in all his *Egyptian* State and Glory, was enough to make him haſten his Journey; but, as his Gratitude to God, for all his late Mercies vouchſaf'd unto him, and his farther Want of the divine Protection, to accompany him into *Egypt*, requir'd ſome freſh Act of Religion from him, he choſe to go to *Beerſheba*, and there offer ſome Sacrifices, both becauſe it was the Place, where *Abraham* and *Iſaac* had liv'd ſo long, and becauſe it was in the Way to *Egypt*, as being the utmoſt Boundary of *Canaan* towards the *South*.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

Jacob *goes down into* Egypt, *and is joyfully receiv'd by his Son* Joſeph.

Here it was that God appear'd to him again in a Viſion; bid him † not fear to go down into *Egypt*, ſince he would be with him, and protect him, and, in due Time, bring his Poſterity out of it again to enter into the Poſſeſſion of the *promis'd Land*; and that, as to his own *Particular*, he ſhould live near his beloved *Joſeph*, die in his Arms, and † have his Eyes clos'd by his Hand. So that, encourag'd by this divine *Promiſe*, *Jacob* left *Beerſheba*, and chearfully purſu'd his Journey into *Egypt*, where, when he arriv'd, † he and his Family made up, in all, juſt ‖ the Complement of ſeventy Perſons.

As

(c) Gen. xlv. 28.

† It is not unlikely, that the good old Man had promis'd himſelf the Comfort of ſpending the Remainder of his Days in the Land, which God had been pleas'd to promiſe him; and therefore, after ſo much Labour of Life, and Change of Place, when he thought himſelf at the End of his *Pilgrimage*, and perhaps depended upon the *Patriarchal* Line being put in Poſſeſſion before his Death, to be oblig'd to leave his Land, and to go into a foreign one, was not a little diſcouraging; eſpecially if he retain'd in his Mind the melancholy Prediction to his Grandfather, *Gen.* xv. 13. *Know of a Surety, that thy Seed ſhall be a Stranger in a Land, that is not theirs, four hundred Years, and ſhall ſerve them.* Bibliotheca Bibl. in Locum.

† There ſeems to be ſomething of a Reaſon in Nature, why ſuch a particular Regard ſhould be had, at Death, to the *Eyes*; and that is, becauſe they are in Life ſo eminently ſerviceable both to Body and Mind. We cloſe the Eyes of the Dead, becauſe no Part of the Body looks ſo Ghaſtly after Death, whereas nothing was ſo ſprightly and beautiful before: And the Reaſon why the neareſt in Blood or Friendſhip ſhould have this Office, is too obvious to need any Explication:

Dii precor hoc jubeant, ut euntibus ordine fatis,
Ille meos oculos comprimat, ille tuos. *Penel.* ad *Ulyſſ.* de *Telemach.*

† The whole Account of *Jacob*'s Sons and Grandſons, who went along with him into *Egypt*, ſtands thus, ——— By *Leah* 32; by *Zilphah* 16; by *Rachel* 11; by *Bilhah* 7: In all 66, excluſive of *Jacob* himſelf, and of *Joſeph*, and his two Sons, which make up the 70: And 'twas neceſſary indeed, that theſe *Genealogies* ſhould be exactly regiſter'd, not only to diſtinguiſh each *Tribe*, and thereby diſcover the *Meſſias*, when he came; but (as it is in the Caſe before us) to make it apparent, that the Increaſe of *Iſrael*, even under Oppreſſion, ſhould bear a fair Proportion to the Promiſe made to *Abraham*, viz. *That his Seed ſhould be even as the Stars of Heaven, and as the Sand upon the Sea-ſhore, for Multitude.* Univerſal Hiſtory, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

‖ There are three different Accounts in Scripture of the Number of *Jacob*'s Family, when they came down into *Egypt*. In *Gen.* xlvi. 26. it is ſaid, that *all the Souls, which came with* Jacob *into* Egypt, *were threeſcore and ſix:* In the very next Verſe, and in *Deut.* x. 22. it is ſaid, that *they were threeſcore and ten*; and yet St *Stephen*, in *Acts* vii. 14. tells us expreſsly, that they were *ſeventy five*. Now, in order to reconcile theſe ſeeming Contradictions, we muſt obſerve, that in each Place there is a different Manner of Computation. In the firſt Catalogue, *Moſes* ſpeaks of thoſe Perſons only, *who came out of* Jacob's *Loins*, i. e. his Children and Grandchildren, that went into *Egypt* with him; and theſe, excluſive of *Jacob* himſelf, and *Joſeph* and his two Sons, who were in *Egypt* before, were exactly *ſixty ſix:* Whereas, including *Jacob* himſelf, together with *Joſeph* and his Sons, *Ephraim*, and *Manaſſeh*, (who, tho' they were in *Egypt* before, yet, living there as Strangers only, and having their Original from the

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As ſoon as he came within the Borders of *Egypt*, not far from the Land of *Goſhen*, he ſent *Judah* before to acquaint his Son *Joſeph*, with his Arrival; who inſtantly took his Chariot, with a Retinue, ſuitable to his high Station, and, with infinite Satisfaction, congratulated his Arrival at a Place, where he had it in his Power to make his Life happy and confortable. What the Expreſſions of *filial* Duty, and *paternal* Affection were upon this Occaſion, Words cannot deſcribe: Tears of Joy flow'd from both Sides; and, while the Son was contemplating the Goodneſs of God, in bringing him to the Sight of his aged Father, the Father, on the other hand, thought all his Happineſs upon earth compleated in this *Interview*; and therefore, *(d) Now let me die*, ſays he to his Son, *ſince I have ſeen thy Face, becauſe thou art yet alive.*

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

As ſoon as theſe tender Greetings, and the ſolemn Rejoicings, which follow'd upon them, were over, *Joſeph* propos'd to his Father and Brethren, to go, and acquaint *Pharaoh* with their Arrival: And, as he ſuppos'd, that the King would have a Curioſity to ſee ſome of them, he gave them in Charge, that, in caſe he ſhould aſk them what Occupation they were of, their Anſwer ſhould be, that they were *Shepherds*, as their Anceſtors, for many Generations, had been before them; by which Means he might † ſecure for them the *Land of Goſhen*, which would be a ſeparate Habitation, and an happy Retreat from the Inſults of the *Egyptians*, who were known † to have an utter Deteſtation to Shepherds.

WITH this Caution he took five of his Brothers along with him; and, having inform'd *Pharaoh*, that his Father and Family

Land of *Canaan*, may be reckon'd, as if they had come into *Egypt* with *Jacob)* the Number is exactly ſeventy. The Difference between *Moſes* and St *Stephen* is a little more difficult to reconcile; and yet, if we ſuppoſe, that St *Stephen* follows the firſt Number of *Moſes*, viz. *ſixty-ſix*, out of which he excludes *Jacob*, *Joſeph* and his two Sons, and to which he adds only nine of his Sons Wives (for *Judah*'s Wife was already dead, and *Benjamin* is ſuppos'd to be ſtill unmarried, and *Joſeph*'s Wife out of the Caſe) theſe nine Wives, I ſay, which tho' not of *Jacob*'s Blood, yet belong'd to his Family, and to *Joſeph*'s *Kindred* (which is the very Expreſſion St *Stephen* makes Uſe of) added to the Number of *ſixty-ſix* other Perſons, will amount exactly to *ſeventy five*. *Patrick*'s Commentary, Univerſal and *Howell*'s Hiſtories.

(d) Gen. xlvi. 30.

† By the general Conſent of *antient Geographers*, the Land of *Goſhen* is ſituate in the *Eaſtern* Part of *Egypt*, between the *Red-Sea*, and the River *Nile*, upon the Borders of *Canaan*. It was a fruitful Spot of Ground, very fit for Paſturage, and therefore *Joſephus* tells us, that *Pharaoh*'s own Cattle were kept there, and accordingly we find him ordering *Joſeph* to make one of his Brothers the *Inſpector-General* over them. The Country was ſeparate from *Egypt:* And, for this Reaſon, the *Iſraelites*, inhabiting it, might keep themſelves in a Body, without endangering their Religion or Manners, by intermixing with the *Egyptians*, and without incurring their Envy or Odium, as they would have done, had they liv'd among them, and ſhar'd any Power or Profit in the Government. They came down into *Egypt* upon a particular Exigency, and were to return again, to take Poſſeſſion of the *promis'd Land*; and therefore a Country, that lay in a Manner contiguous to it, was the moſt convenient for their Abode, that they might be in Readineſs to remove, whenever God ſhould order them to leave it, which they would not have found ſo eaſy a Thing to do, had they been ſettled in the Heart of *Egypt*. *Pool*'s Annotations.

† The Country of *Egypt* (as *Diodorus* tells us, l. 1.) was divided into three Parts, whereof the *Prieſts* had one, the *King* a ſecond, and the *Soldiery* a third: But, under theſe, there were three other Ranks of Men, *Shepherds*, *Huſbandmen*, and *Artificers*. The *Huſbandmen* ſerv'd the King, and the other two Orders, in tilling the Ground, for very ſmall Wages, and ſo did the *Shepherds*, in their Capacities; for the *Egyptians*, we muſt remember, had Sheep and Oxen, as well as Horſes and Aſſes, which they ſold unto *Joſeph*, in the Time of the Famine. It cannot be thought therefore, that they abominated all Shepherds in general, but only ſuch *Shepherds* as were *Foreigners*, and for what Reaſon it was that they did this, is not ſo eaſy a Matter to reſolve. Some are of Opinion, that Shepherds were held in Deteſtation, becauſe they were a People, in thoſe Days, addicted to *Robbery*, which made them very odious to the *Egyptians:* But others imagine, that Theft, among the *Egyptians*, was not reputed ſo abominable a Crime; and therefore they think, that the moſt probable Reaſon of this Averſion to Shepherds, and to the *Hebrews*, as ſuch, was the great Oppreſſion, and Tyranny, under which they had lately groan'd, when the *Phœnician* Shepherds penetrated *Egypt*, waſted their Cities, burnt their Temples, murther'd the Inhabitants, and ſeated themſelves, for a conſiderable while, in the Poſſeſſion of it. But, upon whatever Account it was, that the *Egyptians* had this Averſion to Shepherds, it certainly was an Inſtance of *Joſeph*'s great Modeſty and Love of Truth, that he was not aſham'd of an Employment, ſo mean in itſelf, and ſo vile in the Eyes of the *Egyptians*. Had he been minded to make the moſt of the Matter, he might have inſtructed his Brothers to have conceal'd their Way, or Buſineſs of Life; or, if he was aware, that they would

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Family were come as far as *Goſhen*, he preſented his Brothers to the King, who, for his Sake, receiv'd them very graciouſly, and when he aſk'd them, what Profeſſion they were of, they told him that they were Shepherds, as their Family, for many Generations had been; that Want of Water for their Cattle, and of Suſtenance for themſelves, had made them leave *Canaan*; but that ſince (as they underſtood) his Majeſty had been ſo hoſpitable, as to give them Reception in his Dominions, they humbly pray'd, that they might be allow'd to ſettle in *Goſhen*, as a Country moſt convenient for their Purpoſe: Which he readily granted, and offer'd moreover to make any one of them, whom *Joſeph* ſhould appoint, his *royal* Shepherd.

Has an Interview with the King, and ſettles at Goſhen.

Not long after this, *Joſeph*, in like Manner, preſented his Father to *Pharaoh*, who, ſeeing him look very hail and hearty, and deſirous to know of what Age he might be, was inform'd by *Jacob*, that he was † an *hundred and thirty*; which when the King ſeem'd to wonder at, he told him moreover, that his Life was not as yet, near ſo long, as that of ſome of his Anceſtors, becauſe his Fate had been to have too large a Share of Troubles and Fatigues to *harraſs*, and wear him out: And ſo, wiſhing his Majeſty Abundance of Health and Proſperity, he return'd to *Goſhen*, where *Joſeph* took care to ſupply him, and all his Family, with ſuch a plentiful Proviſion of Corn, and other Neceſſaries from the King's Storehouſes, as in the Time of the greateſt Scarceneſs, made him inſenſible of any Want. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

Joſeph's wiſe Management in Egypt.

But while *Jacob* and his Family liv'd in Plenty, the *Egyptians* found the ſad Effects of the *Famine*, which increaſing daily upon them, and *Joſeph* holding up his Corn at an high Rate, in a ſhort Time brought all their Money into the King's Coffers; and, when their Money was gone, they were all (except the *Prieſts*, who were furniſh'd from the King's Stores) oblig'd to part with their Cattle, their Houſes, their Lands, and, ‖ at length their *very ſelves*, for Proviſion. All theſe *Joſeph* purchas'd of the People in the King's Name, and for the King's Uſe; and, to let them ſee, that the Purchaſe was in earneſt, and that their Liberties and Properties were now become the King's, he tranſplanted them, from their former Places of Abode, into diſtant and different Parts of the Kingdom, that they might in Time loſe the very Remembrance of their antient Poſſeſſions.

This, in another Perſon, might have been thought an immoderate *Zeal* for an *abſolute* Power in the King, and an Advantage unjuſtly taken of the Neceſſities of the Subject; but *Joſeph* ſo manag'd the Matter, as to gain the Commendation of both Prince and People. For, when the *ſeventh*, and laſt Year of Famine was come,

would follow the ſame in *Egypt*, that they had done in *Canaan*, he might nevertheleſs have put into their Mouths the high Dignity of their Deſcent, and the wonderful Hiſtory of their Family, *viz.* that *Abraham* was their *great Grandfather*, a Prince renown'd for his Defeat of four confederated Monarchs; that *Iſaac* was their Grandfather, whoſe Amity and Alliance had been courted by Kings; and that *Iſrael* was their Father, who once gain'd a Victory even over a mighty Prince of the celeſtial Hoſt; all great Men in their Generations, and dignified with the Converſation of God himſelf. This, and a great deal more, had *Joſeph* been minded to ſerve the Purpoſes of Vanity, he might have ſuggeſted to his Brethren; but, by his open Declaration, we may perceive, that his Pleaſure and Ambition was, that the wonderful Chain of the divine Meaſures and Counſels, in bringing him, from an humble Condition of Life, to ſuch a Sublimity of Power and Figure, might be as conſpicuous as poſſible. *Pool*'s Annotations, *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

† *Pharaoh*'s Queſtion to *Jacob*, and *Jacob*'s Anſwer, we may ſuppoſe, were not all the Diſcourſe, that paſs'd between them, but only what moſt deſerv'd to be mention'd, becauſe (as the learned *Pererius* obſerves) this Anſwer of *Jacob*'s is the very *Hinge* upon which the whole *Chronology* of the patriarchal Times turns. The ſame excellent Commentator remarks, that, tho' *Jacob* liv'd ſeventeen Years after this, yet, even at laſt, he did not attain *to the Days of the Years of the Life of his Fathers*; ſince his Father *Iſaac* liv'd an hundred and fourſcore Years, and his Grandfather *Abraham* to an hundred and ſeventy five. *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

‖ When the *Egyptians* were drove to this laſt Extremity, in our Tranſlation it is ſaid to be in the *ſecond Year*; but this muſt not be underſtood to be the *ſecond* Year of the ſeven Years of Famine, but the *ſecond* after that laſt mention'd, wherein they had ſold their Cattle, which was in reality the *laſt* Year of the Famine; becauſe he now gave them Corn for *Seed*, as well as for *Food*; whereas, in the firſt Years, there was neither *ſowing* nor *reaping*. Gen. xlv. 6. *Pool*'s Annotations.

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come, he acquainted them, that they might now expect a Crop againſt next Year; that the *Nile* would overflow, and the Earth bring forth her Fruits, as uſual. Hereupon he diſtributed freſh Lands, Cattle, and Corn to them, that they might return to their Tillage, as before; but upon this Condition he did it, that, from thenceforward, the *fifth* Part of all the Product of their Lands ſhould go to the King, and the reſt be theirs. To theſe Conditions the People willingly conſented, as imputing the Preſervation of their Lives intirely to *Joſeph*'s Care; and from that Time it paſs'd into a Law, that the fifth Part of the Product of the Land of *Egypt* ſhould always belong to the Crown.

His viſiting his Father before he died.

WHILST *Joſeph* was enjoying the Fruits of his great Succeſs and *Policy*, his Family at *Goſhen*, (which he fail'd not frequently to viſit) became very wealthy, and very numerous, till, at length, his Father *Jacob*, finding himſelf grow old and feeble, and perceiving that his latter End was near approaching, ſent for him, and to this Purpoſe addreſs'd himſelf to him. "Tho' "the Deſire of ſeeing a Son, ſo dear to "me as you are, rais'd to the Height of "*Egyptian* Glory, join'd to the raging "*Famine*, which then viſited our Land, "made me willingly come down into this "ſtrange Country; yet *Canaan*, being "the Inheritance, which God promis'd to "*Abraham* and his Poſterity, and where "he lies interr'd with my Father *Iſaac*, "and ſome other of our Family, in the "Ground, which he purchas'd of the "Inhabitants for that Purpoſe; my laſt, "and dying Requeſt to you is, † that "you will not ſuffer me to be buried here, "but ſwear to ſee me carried to *Machpe-*"*lah*, and there depoſited with my An-"ceſtors. Your great Power with the "King will eaſily obtain that Favour, "which is the laſt I have to aſk." *Joſeph* was not long before he gave his Father a ſatisfactory Anſwer. He promis'd and he ſwore to him, that he would fulfil his Deſire, which pleas'd the good old Man to that Degree, that ‖ he bow'd, and made his Acknowledgment for this kind Aſſurance.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

JOSEPH,

† Tho' there be ſomething of a natural Deſire in moſt Men to be buried in the Places, where their *Anceſtors* lie; yet *Jacob*'s Averſion to have his Remains depoſited in *Egypt* ſeems to be more earneſt than ordinary, or otherwiſe he would never have impos'd an Oath upon his Sons, and charg'd them all, with his dying Breath, not to ſuffer it to be done. For he very well knew, that had his Body been buried in *Egypt*, his Poſterity, upon that very Account would have been too much wedded to the Country, ever to attempt the Acquiſition of the *promis'd Land*; and therefore, to wean them from the Thoughts of continuing in *Egypt*, and fix their Minds and Affections in *Canaan*, he order'd his Body to be carried thither beforehand, in Teſtimony, that he died in full Perſuaſion of the Truth of the Promiſes, which were given to him, and his Anceſtors: Nor was it inconvenient, that future Generations, after their Return into *Canaan*, ſhould have before their Eyes the Sepulchre of their Forefathers, for a Record of their Virtues, and an Incitement to the Imitation of them. But the ſtrongeſt Motive of all for *Jacob*'s deſiring to be buried in *Canaan* (ſuppoſing that he foreknew that our Saviour *Chriſt* was to live and die, and, with ſome others, riſe again in that Country) was, that he might be one of that *bleſſed* Number; as it was indeed an antient *Tradition* in the Church, that, among thoſe *who came out of their Graves after our Lord's Reſurrection*, Matth. xxvii. 53. the Patriarch *Jacob* was one. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

‖ The Words in our Tranſlation are, *he bowed himſelf upon the Bed's Head*, Gen. xlvii. 31. where ſome Expoſitors, preſuming that his *Bowing* was a religious Action, will, by no Means, have it directed to *Joſeph*, but to God only, for the Aſſurance, which *Joſeph* had given him, that he ſhould be buried according to his Deſire. But, if the *Word* muſt be tranſlated *bowed*, there is no Neceſſity to make it an Act of Adoration, but only a common Form of Civility, wherewith a *Father* might comply, without any Diminution to his Superiority over his *Son*. What led theſe Expoſitors into this Conception, was the *Verſion* of the *Septuagint*, and the Words of the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*, where *Jacob* is ſaid (in Alluſion, as they ſuppoſe, to this Paſſage) to have *worſhipped upon the Top of his Staff*, Heb. xi. 21. But the plain Truth is, that the Apoſtle here ſpeaks of another Thing; not of what *Jacob* did now, when *Joſeph* ſwore unto him, but of what he did, when he bleſs'd his other *Children*. In the former Caſe, he ſeems to have kept his Bed; but, in the latter, to have receiv'd freſh Spirits, and ſat upon it, though leaning perhaps *upon his Staff*. So that, the Apoſtle's Words are not taken from thoſe of *Moſes*, but are a Reflection of his own, whereby he ſignifies the Strength of *Jacob*'s Faith, even when he was ſo weak, as not to be able to bow himſelf, and worſhip, without the Help of his *Staff*. This clearly removes the Difficulty, and reconciles *Moſes* and the Apoſtle very perfectly; but there ſeems to be a more compendious Way of doing this. For, ſince the Word *Schacah*, which ſignifies *to bow the Body*, may, in like Manner, be render'd to *lie*, or *fall down*, the moſt eaſy Tranſlation ſeems to be, *he laid himſelf down upon his Pillow*, as weak Men are wont to do, after they have ſet up a while, to diſpatch ſome Buſineſs. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

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JOSEPH, who could not be long abſent from Court, took his Leave of his Father, but not without giving ſtrict Charge to ſome of the Family, that, upon the very firſt Appearance of Danger, they ſhould immediately ſend for him. Accordingly, as ſoon as Word was brought him, that his Father was a-dying, he took his two Sons, *Manaſſeh*, and *Ephraim*, with him, and went to viſit him; who, when he heard that his favourite Son was come, ſummon'd all his Spirits together, and was ſo far reviv'd, as to be able to ſit up in his Bed.

Here he began with recapitulating all the glorious Promiſes, which God had formerly made him, concerning his numerous Poſterity's inhabiting the Land of *Canaan*, and concluded † with the Death of his dear *Rachel*. "How tenderly I lov'd "her, *continued he*, all my Family can "teſtify; but this farther Proof I deſign "to give you of my Affection to her. "You have two Sons, born in a foreign "Country, and who, according to the "uſual Order of Inheritance, ſhould have "only the Portion of *Grandchildren* in the "Diviſion of the *promis'd Land*; but, "from this Day forward, they ſhall be "call'd by my Name, be eſteem'd my "Sons, and as Heads of two diſtinct *Tribes* "(for they ſhall not be call'd the Tribe of "*Joſeph*, but the Tribe of *Ephraim* and "*Manaſſeh*) receive a double Portion in "that Allotment: But it muſt not be ſo "with the other Sons, which you beget "after theſe. They come in only for the "Portion of Grandchildren: And to you "in particular, I bequeath that Tract of "Ground, which, by the Force of Arms "I took from the *Amorites*, that it may "deſcend to your *Tribe* for ever." From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

All this while *Jacob*, whoſe Sight was very much decay'd, talk'd to his Son concerning his Children, as if they had been abſent; but, when he perceiv'd that they were in the Room, he rejoic'd not a little, and order'd them to be brought near him. *Joſeph* plac'd them in a Poſition, according to the Order of their Age, to receive his Father's Bleſſing; but *Jacob*, croſſing his Hands, laid his *right* (which carry'd with it the Preference) upon the *Younger*, and his *left* upon the *Elder* of them; which *Joſeph* ſuppoſing to proceed from a Miſtake, was going to rectify, but was told by his Father, that what he did was by divine Direction, and ſo made *Ephraim* not only the firſt in Nomination, but gave him a Bleſſing much more extenſive, than what he gave his Brother.

Jacob's *Benediction to all his Children.*

By this Time, *Jacob* finding himſelf grow faint, and the Hour of his Departure near approaching, call'd the reſt of his Sons together, to take his Farewel of them, and diſtribute his Bleſſing, or rather to foretel what ſhould befal them, and their Poſterity, in future Ages: And ſo, directing his Speech to them ſeverally, he began with *Reuben* the eldeſt, and told him,—— That, for the Crime of Inceſt, in polluting his Father's Bed, he, and his Tribe were degraded † from the Privileges of his Birth-right. He told *Simeon* and *Levi*, (whom he join'd together upon this Occaſion) that, for their impious Maſſacre of *Hamor*,

† Since *Jacob* had ſo ſtrictly inſiſted upon his being buried with his Father, and bound *Joſeph* with an Oath to ſee it done, it was proper for him to explain and clear himſelf, as to what might be ſecretly objected to his not interring *Rachel*, (*Joſeph*'s own, and his beſt beloved Conſort) in that *Burying-place*, where he ſo earneſtly deſir'd to lie himſelf; and for his Excuſe in this Reſpect, he had two Things to offer; 1ſt, That he was then upon his Journey, and in his Return from *Padan*; and 2dly, That he had erected a *monumental Pillar* upon her Grave, in a very publick and frequented Place: To which a *Right Reverend* Commentator has added a further Apology. —— That, as ſhe died in Child-bed, and *Jacob*, in his Travels, might not have all Things neceſſary to preſerve her Body long, he was conſtrain'd to bury her ſooner perhaps, than otherwiſe he would have done. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

† The Prerogatives of the Birth-right conſiſted chiefly, in the Honour of the Prieſthood, in the Rule and Government of the Family, and in a double Portion of the Inheritance, which, at this Time, were all taken away from *Reuben*, and divided ſeverally; ſince it appears in the Sequel of the Hiſtory, that the Tribe of *Reuben* continu'd all along in Obſcurity, while the Prieſthood was conferr'd on *Levi*, the Government on *Judah*, and the double Portion on *Joſeph*, to deſcend to their reſpective Tribes. *Howell*'s Hiſtory of the Bible.

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Hamor and his People,† their Tribes ſhou'd for ever be ſeparate and *diſpers'd* among the other; but then, turning to *Judah*, he propheſied of him, that to his Tribe ſhou'd the *Sovereignity* belong, and they be † ſituated in a very fruitful Country; that from his Name ſhou'd the whole Nation of the *Jews* derive their Appellation; and that the Form of Government, which he then inſtituted, ſhou'd endure among them, until the *Meſſiah* came. † Of *Zebulun* he foretold, that his Tribe ſhou'd be planted near the Sea-coaſts; and † of *Iſſachar*, that *his* ſhou'd prove a puſillanimous People, and be Lovers of inglorious Eaſe, more than of Liberty and Renown.

FROM *Leah*'s Sons the Patriarch paſſes to thoſe of his two *concubinary* Wives; and † of *Dan*'s Poſterity he foretels, that tho' they were deſcended from an Handmaid, yet they ſhou'd have the ſame Privileges with the other Tribes, ſhou'd become a politick People, and greatly vers'd in the Stratagems of War; of † *Gad*'s, that they ſhou'd be frequently infeſted with *Robbers*, but overcome them at laſt; of *Aſher*'s, that they ſhould be ſituated in a fruitful and exuberantly rich Soil; and ‡ of *Napthali*'s, that they ſhould ſpread their Branches like an Oak, and multiply exceedingly.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

JACOB

† *Jacob*'s Words, in this Place, may imply a double Diſperſion, *viz.* of the two Tribes from each other; and of their being interſpers'd among the reſt: And, accordingly, that of *Levi* had no *Inheritance* among his Brethren, in the *Land of Canaan*, but only a certain Number of Cities aſſign'd to them in every Tribe. And, as for that of *Simeon*, they had properly no more, than a Portion of *Judah*'s Inheritance, *Joſh.* xix. 1. if we except ſome few Places, which they got upon Mount *Seir*, and in the Wilds of the Valley of *Gedor*, 1 Chron. vi. 39, &c. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

† The Country, which the Tribe of *Judah* was to inhabit, is thus deſcribed by *Jacob: Binding his Fole unto the Vine, and his Aſs unto the choice Vine; he waſhed his Garments in Wine, and his Cloaths in the Blood of Grapes*, Gen. xlix. 11. which are Expreſſions ſomewhat *hyperbolical:* (For they imply, that Vines, in this Country, ſhou'd be as common as Thorns in other Places; and Wine as plentiful as Water) but were, in a great Meaſure, anſwer'd in that fertile Land, which fell to the Tribe of *Judah*'s Share. For here was the Valley of *Eſcol*, a Bunch of whoſe Grapes was brought by the *Spies* as a Specimen of the Fruitfulneſs of the Land, *Numb.* xiii. 23. Here was a *Brook*, or Torrent, of the ſame Name, along whoſe Banks were the moſt delicious Paſture Grounds for Cattle; and, as modern Travellers tell us, here are very large Grapes ſtill to be met with, eſpecially in the Valley of *Hebron*, which, in all Probability, is that, through which this *Torrent* runs. *Pool*'s Annotations, *Bibliotheca Bibl.* and Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

† Had *Jacob* been preſent at the Diviſion of the Land of *Canaan*, he cou'd hardly have given a more exact Deſcription of *Zebulun*'s Lot, than we find him doing, two hundred and fifty Years before it happen'd. For it extended from the *Mediterranean Sea* on the Weſt, to the Lake of *Genezareth* on the *Eaſt*, and lay therefore very commodiouſly for Trade and Navigation. The foretelling ſo preciſely and diſtinctly the Situation and Employment of this Tribe, tho', at firſt Appearance, it may ſeem a Matter of no great Moment, yet will be found to be quite otherwiſe, when it is conſider'd, that ſuch *Particularities* as theſe could not but be very convincing to the *Iſraelites*, that it was not Chance, nor Power, nor Policy, that put them in Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan*, but *God's Right-Hand, and his Arm, and the Light of his Countenance, becauſe he had a Favour unto them.*

† No leſs remarkable is the Deſcription of *Iſſachar*'s Tribe, ſince, tho' they were a very laborious People in all rural Employments, yet they had no great Inclination to War; and were therefore frequently infeſted, and ſubjected by Strangers, eſpecially in the Time of the Judges.

† The *Jews* think, that the Prophecy of *Dan*'s deſtroying his Enemies by Craft, was more particularly fulfill'd, when *Sampſon*, who was of that Tribe, pull'd down the Temple, which cruſh'd himſelf and the *Philiſtines* to death.

† *Gad*'s Lot happen'd on the other Side of *Jordan*, where they were continually expos'd to the Incurſions of the bordering *Arabs*; but, by their Watchfulneſs and Bravery, they not only prevented them, but ſeveral Times caught, and plunder'd them in their Turns, in ſo much, that in one Battle, they took from them fifty thouſand Camels, two hundred and fifty thouſand Sheep, beſides an hundred thouſand Men Priſoners, *Deut.* xxxiii. 22, &c.

‡ The Words in our Tranſlation, *Napthali is a Hind let looſe, he giveth goodly Words*, are very obſcure, and ſcarce intelligible. For tho' the former Part of the Prediction is commonly apply'd to *Barak*'s overcoming *Siſerah*, and the latter to that noble *Canticle*, which *Deborah* made upon that Occaſion; yet the Expoſition, which the learned *Bochart* gives us of this Paſſage, *He ſhall be like a Tree, which ſhooteth out pleaſant Branches*, is both more agreeable to the Original, and more anſwerable to the Event; ſince no Tribe multiply'd ſo wonderfully, as this of *Napthali*, who had but four Sons, when he came into *Egypt*, and yet could muſter upwards of fifty three thouſand Men fit to bear Arms, when he came out of it, *i. e.* in leſs than 220 Years. Eſſay towards a new Tranſlation.

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JACOB had reſerv'd the Sons of his beloved *Rachel* to the laſt; and therefore, turning to † *Joſeph*, at the ſame Time that he recollects his paſt Troubles, and ſets forth the future Greatneſs of his Tribe, he pours down upon him, and, in him, upon his Poſterity, Benedictions of all Kinds. "The Lord, even the God of "thy Fathers, *ſays he*, ſhall bleſs thee "*with the Dew of Heaven*, and with the "*Fatneſs of the Earth*, with the *Fruit of* "*the Womb*, i. e. with a numerous Poſte- "rity, and with the *Fruit of the Breaſt*, "with Plenty of all Sorts of Cattle. May "all the Bleſſings, promis'd to me and "my Forefathers, be doubl'd upon *Jo-* "*ſeph*'s Royal Head; may they out-top "and out-ſtretch the everlaſting Moun- "tains, and prove to him more fruitful, "and more laſting, than they."

WHETHER *Jacob* might foreſee no Merit or Happineſs extraordinary in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, or that its being afterwards blended with the Tribe of *Judah* might make it partake of the ſame Bleſſing; but ſo it was, that he contented himſelf with deſcribing its † fierce and warlike Diſpoſition, which, like a ravenous *Wolf, would ſhed the Blood of its Enemies, and in the Evening divide their Spoil.* From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

THUS the good old Patriarch having giving his † Bleſſing to his Children, according to the divine Direction, and not according to his own Inclination, reminded them all, (but *Joſeph* more eſpecially) to bury him among his Anceſtors, in the Cave of *Machpelah*; and ſo laying himſelf down in his Bed again, in a ſhort Time expir'd, after he had liv'd 147 Years in all, and ſeventeen of theſe in *Egypt*. *Death and pompous Funeral.*

THE Loſs of ſo good a Father, was doubtleſs lamented by all his Family, but by none with more ſincere Expreſſions of filial Sorrow, than by *Joſeph*. At length, remembring his dying Charge, he order'd his Phyſicians (according to the Cuſtom of the Country) to * embalm his Father's Body, and all Preparations for his Funeral to

† In the Benediction, which *Jacob* gives his Favourite *Joſeph*, there are two remarkable Titles, which he confers upon him. 1ſt, *That he was the Shepherd, and the Stone of* Iſrael, which ſeems to be a thankful Recognition of *Joſeph*'s Kindneſs to his Father and Family, in keeping, and feeding them, even as a *Shepherd* does his Sheep; by which Means he became the *Foundation*, or *Baſis*, as it were, of the Houſe of *Jacob*, by preſerving them from periſhing by Famine, and continuing them ſettl'd in the beſt Part of the *Egyptian* Kingdom, for a conſiderable Time: Tho' ſome refer it rather to his virtuous reſiſting the Temptations of his Miſtreſs, and patiently enduring the Maſter's Severity, to both of which he remain'd as immoveable, as a Stone. 2d, The other Title is, that he was *ſeparate from his Brethren:* Where, tho' the Word *Nazir* ſignifies to *ſeparate* (as *Joſeph* was certainly ſeparated from his Brethren, when he was ſold into *Egypt*) yet, as it is hardly ſuppoſable, that *Jacob* would couch ſo cruel an Action in ſo ſoft a Term, 'tis rather to be thought, that he us'd the Word *Nazir*, which ſignifies *crown'd*, in Alluſion to the Superintendants of the King's Houſhold, in all the *Eaſtern* Countries, who were call'd *Nazirs*, and wore probably ſome Kind of *Diadem* about their Heads, by Way of Diſtinction and Grandeur. And, as for the Fruitfulneſs promis'd to *Joſeph*, this was exemplify'd in the large Extent of his two-fold Tribe, *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, which at their *firſt* numbering yielded ſeventy-two thouſand ſeven hundred, *Numb.* i. and at their *ſecond*, eighty-five thouſand, and two hundred Men, all able to go out to War, *Numb.* xxvi.

† How brave and warlike a Body of Men, and how very expert in Feats of Arms, this Tribe became, we may conceive from what we are told of them, *viz.* that *there were ſeven hundred choſen Men among them, left-handed, every one of whom could ſling Stones at an Hair's Breadth, and not miſs*, Judges xx. 16. And how pertinacious they were in their Undertakings of this Kind, is manifeſt, both from the fierce Battles, which they fought againſt all the other Tribes, (tho' in a very bad Cauſe, *Judges* xix.) wherein they twice came off Conquerors; and from the long Oppoſition, which the Houſe of *Saul*, deſcended from this Tribe, made againſt the Acceſſion of *David* to the Throne, and which cou'd not be ſuppreſs'd, until *Abner*, the General of their Forces, had forſook them, *Judges*, and 1 *Sam.* paſſim.

† Beſides theſe Prophecies of *Jacob*, which were ſufficiently verified by their Events, the *Jews* aſcribe ſome other Works to him, *viz.* a Treatiſe, entitled, *The Ladder to Heaven*, and another call'd, *Jacob*'s *Teſtament*, which Pope *Gelaſius* reckons among the *Apocrypha*; together with ſome *Forms* of Praye , which the *Jews* uſe every Night, and pretend that they were compos'd by him. As to the Commendations, which they ſo plentifully beſtow upon this Patriarch, theſe, in a great Meaſure, are juſtify'd by the *Character*, which the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* gives him, Chap. xliv. 23. And, as the *Mahometans* allow him not only to be a Prophet, but the Father likewiſe of all the Prophets, except *Job*, *Jethro*, and *Mahomet*; ſo they believe, that the Royal Dignity did not depart from his Poſterity, until the Times of *John the Baptiſt*, and *Jeſus Chriſt*; and that from him the Twelve Tribes of the *Jews* did ſpring, even as their own Twelve did from *Iſhmael*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Jacob*.

* The Manner of embalming among the *Egyptians*, according to *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and others, was as follows. When a Man died, his Body was carry'd to the Artificers, who Buſineſs it was to make Coffins. The upper Part of

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to be made. For the Space of *ſeventy* Days they continu'd their Mourning for him; † in which Time it being improper for *Joſeph* to appear at Court, he deſir'd ſome of the Officers about the King to acquaint his Majeſty, that his Father, before his Death, had obliged him, upon Oath, to bury him in a Sepulchre belonging to their Family, in the Land of *Canaan*; and that therefore he begg'd Leave to go, and fulfil his laſt Commands, and wou'd, without Delay, return again. The King readily conſented to his Requeſt, and order'd moreover the chief Officers of his Houſhold, and ſome of the principal Nobility of the Kingdom, to attend the Funeral, who, join'd with his own, and his Father's whole Family, ſome in Chariots, and ſome on Horſeback, made * a very large and pompous Proceſſion. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

As ſoon as they were enter'd into the Land of *Canaan*, they made an Halt at † the *Threſhing-Floor of Atad*, and there continu'd mourning, and lamenting the Death of their Friend and Father, ſeven Days; which made the *Canaanites*, perceiving that the Company came from *Egypt*, call the Place, *Abel-mizraim*, or the

of the Coffin repreſented the Perſon, who was to be put in it, whether Man or Woman; and (if a Perſon of Diſtinction) was generally adorn'd with ſuch Paintings and Embelliſhments, as were ſuitable to its Quality. When the Body was brought home again, they agreed with the Embalmers; but, according to the Quality of the Perſon, the Prices were different. The higheſt was a Talent, *i. e.* about three hundred Pounds Sterling; twenty *Minæ* was a moderate one; and the loweſt a very ſmall Matter. As the Body lay extended, one of them, whom they call'd the *Deſigner*, mark'd out the Place, on the left Side, where it was to be open'd, and then a *Diſſector*, with a very ſharp *Egyptian* Stone, made the Inciſion, through which they drew all the Inteſtines, except the Heart and Kidneys, and then waſh'd them with Palm-Wine, and other ſtrong and binding Drugs. The Brains they drew threw the Noſtrils, with an hook'd Piece of Iron, made particularly for that Purpoſe, and fill'd the *Skull* with aſtringent Drugs. The whole Body they anointed with Oil of *Cedar*, with Myrrh, Cinnamon, and other Drugs, for about thirty Days, by which Means it was preſerv'd *intire*, without ſo much as loſing its Hair, and *ſweet*, without any Signs of Putrefaction. After this, it was put into Salt, about forty Days; and therefore when *Moſes* ſays, that *forty Days* were employ'd in embalming *Jacob*, Gen. l. 3. he muſt mean the forty Days of his continuing in the Salt of Nitre, without including the *thirty Days* that were ſpent in the other Operations above-mention'd; ſo that, in the whole, they mourn'd ſeventy Days in *Egypt*, as *Moſes* likewiſe obſerves. Laſt of all, the Body was taken out of this Salt, waſh'd, and wrapp'd up in Linnen Swaddling-bands dipp'd in Myrrh, and rubb'd with a certain Gum, which the *Egyptians* us'd inſtead of Glue, and ſo return'd to the Relations, who put it into the *Coffin*, and kept it in ſome Repoſitory in their Houſes, or in *Tombs*, made particularly for that Purpoſe. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Embalm*, and *Warburton*'s Divine Legation, Vol. II. l. 3.

† It was againſt Rule, for any Perſon, how great ſoever, in Mourning Apparel, to appear in Publick, and eſpecially in the Royal Preſence, becauſe, in that State, they were look'd upon as *defil'd*; and therefore *Joſeph* does not go himſelf, but deſires ſome of the Courtiers to carry his Requeſt to the King: And this Requeſt he was the rather bound to make, becauſe the Retinue and Guard, which the Pomp of the Funeral, and the Danger of Moleſtation from Enemies, made neceſſary, cou'd not be obtain'd without the King's Leave. *Muſculus.*

* The Splendor and Magnificence of our Patriarch's Funeral ſeems to be without a Parallel in Hiſtory. What hitherto has moſt affected me in the Compariſon, were indeed the noble *Obſequies* of *Marcellus*, as *Virgil* has deſcrib'd them; but how do even theſe (with all their *Parade* of Poetry about them fall ſhort of the plain and ſimple Narrative before us? For what are the *ſix hundred Beds*, for which the *Roman* Solemnities, on this Occaſion, were ſo famous, in Compariſon of that *national itinerant* Multitude, *which ſwell'd like a Flood*, and *mov'd like a River*; to all *Pharaoh*'s *Servants*, to *the Elders of his Houſe*, and all the *Elders of the Land of* Egypt, *i. e.* to the Officers of his Houſhold, and Deputies of his Provinces, with all *the Houſe of* Joſeph, and his *Brethren*, and his *Father*'s *Houſe*, conducting their ſolemn Sorrow for near three hundred Miles into a diſtant Country? *Billiotheca Bill.* Occaſ. Annot. 46.

† The Words in the Text are,——— *And they came to the Threſhing-Floor of* Atad, *which is beyond* Jordan, *Gen.* l. 10. Where this Place was, we cannot determine from any Account in Scripture; but it is very probable, that it lay not far from the Place, where *Jacob* was buried, and ſo not far from *Hebron*. For ſince it is abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the Corps of *Jacob* was carried to the Cave of *Machpelah*, ſuch a round-about Way, as the *Iſraelites* went afterwards into the Land of *Canaan*, viz. through *Arabia Petræa*, quite on the Eaſtern Side of *Jordan*, it remains to ſuppoſe, that theſe Places are ſaid to be beyond *Jordan*, not in reſpect of *Egypt*, from whence *Jacob*'s Corps was brought, but in reſpect of the Place, where *Moſes* was, when he wrote the Hiſtory, *i. e.* in a Country in the *Eaſt* of *Jordan*; and conſequently the Places *beyond Jordan*, muſt be ſuch, as lay on the Weſt of *Jordan*: But why they made the Threſhing-Floor of *Atad*, rather than the Place of Interment, the Scene of their Lamentations, is not ſo eaſy to reſolve. Perhaps it was a Place more convenient to ſtay in for *ſeven* Days, than the Field of *Machpelah*; or perhaps it might be the Cuſtom, at the very Entrance of the Country, where they carry'd the Corps to be bury'd, to fall into Lamentations, which they might repeat at the Grave again, though no mention be made of it here. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I. and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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the Mourning of the *Egyptians*, ever after. They thence continu'd their March, till they came to the Field of *Machpelah*, where * they depoſited *Jacob* in the Cave with his Anceſtors, and ſo return'd to *Egypt* again.

Joſeph's *Promiſes to his Brothers.*

As ſoon as their Father was bury'd, *Joſeph*'s Brethren began to reflect on the Wrongs they had formerly done him, and were not a little apprehenſive, that, as he certainly had it in his Power, he might now have it in his Intention, to avenge himſelf of them: And therefore they conſulted together, and fram'd this Meſſage, ——That it was his Father's earneſt Requeſt, that he ſhould forget all paſt Injuries, and continue them under his Protection, as formerly. This when *Joſeph* heard, ſuch was his compaſſionate Temper, that he could not refrain from weeping; and therefore (to remove their Fears) he ſent immediately for them, and, receiving them with the ſame kind Affection, as when their Father was alive, excus'd the Actions, committed againſt him, in ſuch an obliging Manner, and gave them ſuch freſh Aſſurances of his future Love, and Adherence to them upon all Occaſions, as made them return to their Families full of Joy and Satisfaction. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

And his Death.

* The *ſacred Hiſtory* gives us no further Account of any Particulars in *Joſeph*'s Life, though he liv'd fifty-four Years after his Father's Death. It informs us, that he liv'd to ſee himſelf the happy Parent of a numerous Offspring, in his two Sons *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, even to the third Generation; and all this while, we may preſume, that he continu'd in high Favour with his Prince, and in weighty Employments under him. But, when he grew old, and found his Death approaching, he ſent for his Brethren, and, with the like *prophetick Spirit*, that his Father *Jacob* had done, told them, that God, according to his Promiſe, would not fail to bring their Poſterity out of *Egypt*, into the Land of *Canaan*; and therefore he made them ſwear to him (as he had done to his Father) that, when it ſhould pleaſe God thus to *viſit* them, they would not forget to † carry his Body along with them: And to this

* The *Jewiſh* Doctors have a Tradition of a bloody Fight, which *Joſeph* had, at his Father's Funeral, with one *Tzepho*, the Son of *Eliphaz*, who wou'd have oppos'd his burying him in the Cave of *Machpelah*, as diſputing his Title to the Ground; but that *Joſeph*, and his Men, having overcome him, carry'd him away with them into *Egypt*, and kept him there Priſoner, as long as *Joſeph* liv'd; however, as ſoon as he was dead, *Tzepho* found Means to eſcape into *Italy*. Univerſal Hiſtory in the Notes, l. 1. c. 7.

* The Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* has given us an Encomium of the Patriarch *Joſeph* in theſe Words: *Of* Jacob *was this Man of Mercy born, who found Favour in the Eyes of all Fleſh. He was born to be the Prince of his Brethren, and the Support of his Family; to be the Head of his Kinſmen, and the firm Support of his People. His Bones were viſited, and propheſied after his Death*, Chap. xlix. 15. His Meaning is, that his Bones were remov'd out of *Egypt*, and that this fell out as a Conſequence of his *Prophecy*, that God would viſit the *Hebrews*, and bring them into the promis'd Land. The *Jewiſh* Rabbins have taken a great Latitude in aſcribing ſeveral Particulars to this great Man, which have not the leaſt Foundation in Scripture. They make him the Inventor of all the Arts and Sciences, for which the *Egyptians* afterwards became ſo famous; and attribute to him the Compoſition of ſeveral Books, ſuch as *Joſeph*'s *Prayer*, *Joſeph*'s *Mirrour*, &c. which do not ſo much redound to his Credit. *Mahomet*, in his *Alcoran* [Surat 12] relates his Hiſtory at length, but blends it with many fabulous Circumſtances, which have been much improv'd by the Eaſtern People; for they make him, in a manner, greater than the *Jewiſh* Doctors do. They tell us equally, that he taught the *Egyptians* the moſt ſublime Sciences, and particularly *Geometry*, which was highly, neceſſary in their Diviſion of the Land. They ſuppoſe, that all the Wells, and Baths, and Graineries, which go under his Name, nay, that all the antient *Pyramids* and *Obeliſks*, tho' they do not, were of his Erection; and they believe, that he had all along upon his Shoulder a Point of Light, like a Star, which was an indelible Mark of the Gift of Prophecy; with many more Fictions of the like Nature. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Joſeph*.

† There are ſeveral Reaſons, which might induce *Joſeph* not to have his dead Body immediately carry'd into *Canaan*, and bury'd, as his Father's was. 1ſt, Becauſe his Brethren, after his Deceaſe, might not have Intereſt enough at Court to provide themſelves with ſuch Things, as were neceſſary to ſet off the Pomp and Solemnity of a Funeral befitting ſo great a Perſonage. 2dly, Becauſe he might foreſee, that the *Egyptians*, in all Probability, as long as their Veneration for his Memory was warm, wou'd hardly have ſuffer'd his Remains to have been carry'd into another Country. 3dly, Becauſe the Continuance of his Remains among them might be a Means to preſerve the Remembrance of the Services, he had done them, and thereby an Inducement to them to treat the Relations, he had left behind him, with more Kindneſs. 4thly, And chiefly, becauſe the Preſence of his Body with the *Iſraelites* might be a Pledge to aſſure them, and a Means to ſtrengthen and confirm their Faith and Hope in God's Promiſes to their

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this Purpoſe, as ſoon as he was dead, (which was in the hundred and tenth Year of his Age) they had his Body embalm'd, and * kept in a *Coffin*, until the Time of their *Deliverance* ſhould come-

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

The OBJECTION.

" THE Hiſtory of *Joſeph* is as little " liable to Exceptions, as almoſt " any Portion of Scripture; and yet there- " in we meet with ſome Facts, that are " not ſo agreeable to our Apprehenſions, " nor conſonant to the Character of that " holy Patriarch. For, to paſs by *Jacob*'s " *Farewel*, which ſeems rather to *curſe*, " than *bleſs* his Children, beſides the " many *odd* Compariſons, that attend it; " what ſhall we ſay to *Joſeph*'s marrying " into an *idolatrous* Family, and ſwear- " ing ſo frequently *by the Life of* Pha- " raoh; to his practiſing (as his Steward " inſinuates) *Arts of Divination*, and " adviſing the King to take the Advantage " of a Famine, (at the Hazard of a " Mutiny) in order to impoveriſh all " his Subjects, except the *Prieſts*; and " what is more than all, to his cruel " Uſage of his Brethren, and putting his " aged Father into ſo many Frights? " His Care and concern for the Sup- " port of his Father, while he liv'd, and " for his honourable Interment, when he " came to die, was highly commendable " without doubt: But we cannot but think, " that the *Sacred Hiſtorian* was minded to " aggrandize his Port and Manner of Liv- " ing, when he repreſents him, as (*e*) " *commanding his Servants the Phyſicians* " *to embalm his Father*. For, beſides " the extravagant Piece of State of having " ſuch a Body of *Domeſticks* about him; " (*f*) there is Reaſon to preſume, that " the Science of *Phyſick*, properly ſo cal- " led, was not at this Time, ſo much as " profeſs'd in *Egypt*, as it certainly was " not in *Greece*, until *Hippocrates* brought " it into Requeſt: And, conſequently " that the *Phyſicians*, which *Moſes* here " mentions, in order to diſplay poor *Joſeph*'s " Magnificence, were no better, than a " Company of *Diſſectors* and *Embalmers*, " which *Egypt* was known to abound " with.

" HOWEVER this be, it is hardly ſup- " poſable, that *Joſeph* ſhould, in ſo ſhort " a Time, as *Moſes* allows him, acquire a " Knowledge of the *Egyptian* Language, " ſufficient to qualify him for the Office of " *Potiphar*'s Steward; nor can we con- " ceive the Reaſon, why his Maſter, if " he believ'd his Wife, and ſuppos'd him " guilty of invading his Bed, did not im- " mediately put him to Death. But, the " greateſt Wonder of all is, how this " ſame *Potiphar* could be call'd an *Eu-* " *nuch*, when it is ſo notorious that he " had a Wife: How *Jacob* can ſay of " himſelf, that he *got* a Tract of Ground " *with his Sword and his Bow*, when it is " ſo well known, that he was a peaceable " Man, and was never engag'd in War; " or how the famous Prophecy of *the* " *Sceptre's not departing from* Judah can " be ſaid to have been fulfill'd in its ap- " pointed Time, when the *Jews* (it muſt " be

their Progenitors, that he would infallibly put their Poſterity in Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan:* And accordingly, when *Moſes* deliver'd them out of *Egypt*, he carry'd *Joſeph*'s Body along with him [*Exod.* xiii. 19.] and committed it to the Care of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, who buried it near *Shechem*, [Joſh. xxiv. 32.] in the Field which *Jacob*, a little before his Death, gave to *Joſeph*, as his peculiar Property. *Pererius* and *Patrick*'s Commentaries. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Calmet*'s Dictionary under the Word.

* The *Jewiſh* Rabbins have a Story, that the *Egytian Magicians* came and told *Pharaoh*, that if he had a mind to keep the *Hebrews* in his Dominions, he muſt hide *Joſeph*'s Body in ſome certain Place, were they ſhou'd never find it, becauſe it wou'd be impoſſible for them to go out of *Egypt* without it; that thereupon his Body was put into a Cheſt of 6000 lb. Weight, which was ſunk in the Mud of one of the Branches of the River *Nile*; and that *Moſes* was forc'd to work a Miracle to get it out, and carry it away. *Calmet*, ibid.

(*e*) Gen. l. 2. (*f*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 9.

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Anſwer'd, by ſhewing that the Prophecy, concerning Judah's *Sceptre was fulfil'd in due Time.*

" be own'd) had loſt all Government of " their own, and were ſubject to other " Nations, long before the *Meſſias* came."

The moſt material Objection we have plac'd at laſt; and, becauſe it relates to a Paſſage in Scripture, which is known to have its Difficulties, it may not be improper, in order to give it a clear Solution, firſt to cite the Paſſage itſelf, and then to explain the Terms, contain'd in it: *(g) The Sceptre ſhall not depart from* Judah, *nor a Law-giver from between his Feet, until* Shiloh *come, and unto him ſhall the Gathering of the People be.*

1. Now the Word *Shevet*, which we render *Sceptre*, has both a *literal*, and a *figurative Signification*. In its *literal*, it denotes a *Rod*, a *Wand*, a *Sceptre*, a *Shepherd*'s *Crook*, &c. and in its *figurative*, it either implies the Correction and Puniſhment, whereof the *Rod*, or the Authority and Power, whereof the *Sceptre*, is the Enſign. It cannot be doubted, I think, but that the Word is to be taken in a *figurative* Senſe here; and yet it cannot be ſuppos'd to ſignify *Puniſhment*, becauſe the Tribe of *Judah* was ſo far from being in a State of Affliction, that it always flouriſh'd exceedingly, and, even in the Time of its *Captivity*, enjoy'd its own Form of *Government*. The Word muſt therefore, in this Place, be put for that *Power* and Dominion, whereof the *Sceptre*, in antient Times, was thought a fitter Repreſentation, than either the *Crown* or *Diadem*.

2. The Word *Mechokek*, which we tranſlate *Law-giver*, is not *ſynonimous* with the former, but has two diſtinct Significations. It ſometimes ſignifies, not a Perſon who has Power to make Laws himſelf, but only to *teach* and *inſtruct* others in thoſe Laws, that are already made: And, in this Senſe, it differs very little from the *Scribes*, and *Doctors*, and Teachers of the Law, whereof there is ſo much mention made in our *Saviour*'s Days. At other Times, it denotes a Perſon, inveſted with Power and Authority even to make Laws, but then this Authority of his is inferior to that of a King; ſo that properly he may be call'd an inferior *Magiſtrate*, or Governor, ſet over a People, by the Licence of ſome *Monarch*, and, by his Commiſſion, appointed to rule: And in this Senſe the Word ſhould rather be taken here, becauſe there were ſuch *Governors* and Deputies ſet over the *Jews*, after their Return from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

3. The Phraſe, which we render *between his Feet*, (according to the Modeſty of the Scripture Expreſſion) means nothing elſe, but *of his Seed* or Poſterity; and ſo the Intendment of this Part of the Prediction muſt be, that *the Tribe of* Judah *ſhould have Law-givers of their own to the very laſt Times.*

4. From whatever *Radix* it is, that the Word *Shiloh* is deriv'd, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* are agreed in this, that, by the Perſon, to whom this Title is apply'd, the *Patriarch* intended the great Saviour of the World, who is call'd the *Meſſias*, or Chriſt.

5. By *Judah* here, there is not an abſolute Neceſſity to underſtand the People of that *Tribe* only, but all thoſe likewiſe, who were afterwards call'd *Jews*. And, 6. Whether we refer the *Gathering* of the People to the *Tribe of* Judah (as they did in the Times of the *Captivity)* or to *Shiloh, when he ſhould come*, as to the Main of the Prophecy, there is not a great deal of Difference; ſince the Main of the Prophecy is, —— *That the Meſſias ſhould come, before the* Jewiſh *Government would totally ceaſe.* And therefore the Queſtion is, whether there was any Form of Government, ſubſiſting among the *Jews*, and particularly in the Tribe of *Judah*, at the Time when *Chriſt* was born.

The Form of Government which *Jacob*, upon his Death-bed, inſtituted, was that of dividing his Family into *Tribes*, and making his own, and the two Sons of *Joſeph*, Heads over their reſpective Houſes. This Government was properly *Ariſtocratial:*

(g) Gen. xlix. 10.

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Ariſtocratical: But, in Times of ſome extraordinary Exigence, all Authority was devolv'd into the Hands of a *Judge*, who, when the End, for which he was appointed, was effected, (in the ſame Manner as the *Roman Dictator* did) reſign'd up his Power, and became no more than *one of the Princes of the Tribes of his Fathers*.

THE Abuſe of this *judicial* Power however, in the Hands of *Samuel*'s Sons, made the People deſirous of a *regal* Government; and in that *Form* it continu'd, from the Time it came into *David*'s Hand, (who was of the Tribe of *Judah*) for the Space of four hundred and ſeventy Years. The Diviſion of the Kingdom made a great Alteration in the Fortunes of the *People*, for the *Aſſyrian* Captivity was the Ruin of the ten Tribes. They loſt their Government, and from that Time never recover'd it; but it was not ſo with the Kingdom of *Judah*, in the *Babyloniſh*: *(h)* For, if we conſider, that the *Jews* were carried to *Babylon*, not to be Slaves, but were tranſplanted as a *Colony*, to people that large City; that they were commanded therefore, *(i)* by the Prophet, to *build Houſes*, and *plant Gardens*, and to ſeek the *Peace of the City*, in which they were Captives; and that, upon the Expiration of their ſeventy Years Captivity, many of them were ſo well ſettled in Eaſe and Plenty, that they refus'd to return to their own Country again. If we conſider farther, that the *Jews* liv'd at *Babylon* as a diſtinct People, and were govern'd, in their own Affairs, by their own Elders; that they appointed Feaſts and Faſts, and order'd all other Matters relating to their Civil and Eccleſiaſtical State among themſelves; and that, upon their Return from *Babylon*, they were thought a People conſiderable enough to be complain'd of to *Artaxerxes:* We cannot but conclude that they made all along a Figure, far from comporting with the Condition of mere *Slaves*, ſubjected entirely to a foreign Yoke, without any Law, or Government of their own.

From Gen. xxxvii to the End.

AFTER the Time of this Captivity indeed, the *Jews* were never ſo free a People, as they had been before. They liv'd under the Subjection of the *Perſian* Monarch, and under the Empire of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, to their laſt Deſtruction; but ſtill they liv'd as a diſtinct People, govern'd by their own Laws; and the Authority of the *Perſian*, and other Kings, over them, deſtroy'd not that *Rule*, which, in all the Viciſſitudes that befel them, they ſtill poſſeſs'd.

HOW the Caſe ſtood, in the Time of the *Aſmonæan* Princes, may be collected from ſeveral Paſſages in the *Maccabees:* And that the like Government ſubſiſted, to the very Death of Chriſt, may, in like Manner, be evinc'd from many Inſtances in the *Goſpel*; but one or two of theſe will be enough to illuſtrate the Thing.

WHEN our Saviour tells the *Jews*, *(k) The Truth ſhall make you free*, and they reply, *We are* Abraham's *Children, and were never in Bondage to any Man*, ſurely they had not forgot their Captivity in *Babylon*, much leſs could they be ignorant of the Power of the *Romans* over them at that Time; and yet they accounted themſelves *free*, and ſo they were, becauſe they liv'd by their own Laws, and executed Judgment among themſelves. When our Saviour foretels his Diſciples, that they *(l) ſhould be deliver'd up to Councils, and ſcourg'd in Synagogues*, he ſhews, at the ſame Time, what Power and Authority were exercis'd in the Councils, and Synagogues of the *Jews:* And (to mention but one Inſtance more) when *Pilate*, willing to deliver *Jeſus*, ſays to the *Jews*, *(m) Take ye him, and crucify him*; and again, *(n) Take ye him, and judge him according to your own Laws*; he likewiſe ſhews, that the *Jews* liv'd under their own Law, and had the Exerciſe of *judicial* Authority among themſelves.

BY

(h) Biſhop *Sherlock*'s third Diſſertation, annex'd to his Uſe and Intent of Prophecy. *(i)* Jer. xxix. 5, 7.
(k) John viii. 32, 33. *(l)* Matth. x. 71. *(m)* John xix. 6. *(n)* Chap. xviii. 31.

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By this Deduction it appears evidently, that the *Sceptre*, plac'd in the Hand of *Judah*, by his Father *Jacob*, juſt before his Death, continu'd in his Poſterity, till the very Death of Chriſt. From that Time all Things began to work towards the Deſtruction of the *Jewiſh* Polity, and within a few Years, their City, Temple, and Government were utterly ruin'd, and the *Jews* not carry'd into a gentle Captivity, to enjoy their Laws, and live as a diſtinct People, in a foreign Country; but were ſold, like Beaſts in a Market, became Slaves in the ſtricteſt Senſe, and, from that Day to this, have neither Prince, nor Law-giver among them: So that, upon the Whole, *(o)* the Senſe of *Jacob*'s Prophecy, with relation to *Judah*, as it is now fulfill'd, may not improperly be ſumm'd up in this Paraphraſe.

"The Power and Authority, which "ſhall be eſtabliſh'd in the Poſterity of "*Judah*, ſhall not be taken from them, "or, at leaſt, they ſhall not be deſtitute "of Rulers and Governors; (no, not when "they are in their *declining* Condition) "until the Coming of the *Meſſiah*. But, "when he is come, there ſhall be no Dif-"ference between the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, "who ſhall be all obedient to the *Meſſiah:* "And, after *that*, the Poſterity of *Judah* "ſhall have neither *King*, nor Ruler of "their own, but their whole Common-"wealth ſhall quite loſe all Form, and "never recover it again."

How Jacob *may be ſaid to have taken a Tract of Land by* Force of Arms.

The *Bequeſt*, which *Jacob* makes to his Son *Joſeph*, runs into this Form: ——*(p) Moreover, I have given to thee one Portion above thy Brethren, which I took out of the Hand of the* Amorite, *with my Sword, and with my Bow.* But when did we ever read of *Jacob*'s being a military Man? His Sons indeed invaded *Shechem*, and took, not from the *Amorites*, but the *Hivites*, the adjacent Country, as we may ſuppoſe; but ſo far is he from approving of what they did, that, to his very dying Hour, we find him ſeverely remonſtrating againſt it; and muſt therefore be ſuppos'd too conſcientious, either to retain himſelf, or to conſign to his beloved Son, a Portion of Land, acquir'd by ſuch wicked and *ſanguinary* Means. From Gen. xxxv i. to the End.

The Tract of Ground therefore, which he mentions, muſt certainly be that, *(q)* which he purchas'd of *Hamor*, the Father of *Shechem*; which he gave *Joſeph* for a Burying-place, and where *Joſeph*, in Conſequence of that Donation, *(r)* was afterwards bury'd, and not in the Field of *Machpelah*, the common *Repoſitory* of moſt of his Anceſtors. And, to reſolve the Difficulty of his Saying, that he *took it from the* Amorite *by Force of Arms*, when it is manifeſt, that he *bought it of* Hamor *the* Hivite, *for an hundred Pieces of Silver*; we may obſerve, that the Perſons, who are call'd *Hivites* in one Place, may, without any Impropriety, be call'd *Amorites* in another, for as much as the *Amorites*, being the Chief of all the ſeven Nations in *Canaan*, might give Denomination to all the reſt, in like Manner, as all the People of the *United Provinces* are, from the Preeminence of *that one*, commonly call'd *Hollanders:* And then, if we can but ſuppoſe, that, after *Jacob*'s Departure from *Shechem*, for fear of the neighbouring Nations, ſome ſtraggling *Amorites* came, and ſeiz'd on the Lands, which he had purchas'd, and that he was forc'd to have recourſe to Arms, to expel the Invaders, and maintain his Right, all the Difficulty, or ſeeming Repugnance, of the Paſſage, vaniſhes.

(s) JACOB, we allow, was a Man of Peace, but his Sons were Warriors; and to them he might the rather give Permiſſion, to recover the Poſſeſſion of what he had bought, becauſe he look'd upon it, as an Earneſt of his Poſterity's future Poſſeſſion of the whole Land. *(t)* And tho' we read nothing, in the foregoing Hiſtory, either of the *Amorites* invading *Jacob*'s Property, or of his expelling them thence;

(o) Patrick's Commentary, in Loc. *(p)* Gen. xlviii. 22. *(q)* Chap. xxxiii. 19. compar'd with Joſh. xxiv. 32. *(r)* Joſh. xxiv. 32. *(s) Pool*'s Annotations. *(t) Patrick*'s Commentary.

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yet this is far from being the only Inſtance of Things being ſaid to be done in Scripture, (*u*) whoſe Circumſtances of Time, Place, and Perſons, we find no where recorded; and a much eaſier Suppoſition it is, than to make (as ſome have done) the *Sword and the Bow*, here mention'd, to ſignify the *Money*, wherewith he purchas'd this ſmall Territory.

Jacob's Prophecies, *or* Bleſſings *to his Sons vindicated.*

JACOB is the firſt, that we read of, who particularly declar'd the future State of every one of his Sons, when he left the World; but it has been an antient Opinion, that the Souls of excellent Men, the nearer they approach to their Departure hence, the more *divine* they grew, had a clearer Proſpect of Things to come, and (as (*x*) *Xenophon* makes *Cyrus* ſpeak) *at the Point of Death, became prophetick.* Though therefore the laſt Words, which we find our Patriarch uttering to his Sons, may be rather accounted *Prophecies*, than *Benedictions*; yet ſince the Text aſſures us, that (*y*) *he bleſſed every one with a ſeparate Bleſſing*, we may fairly infer, that the three *eldeſt* though he found reaſon to rebuke very ſharply, yet, if his Rebukes, and the Puniſhment pronounc'd againſt them, had the good Effect to bring them to a due Senſe of their Tranſgreſſions, it was a Bleſſing to them, tho' not a *temporal one*; though, even in this laſt Senſe, it cannot be ſaid, but that he bleſſed *them* likewiſe, ſince he aſſign'd each of them a Lot, in the Inheritance of the promis'd Land, which it was in his Power to have depriv'd them of.

HOWEVER this be, (*z*) 'tis certain that all impartial Criticks have obſerv'd, that the Stile of theſe Bleſſings, or Prophecies (call them which we will) is much more *lofty*, than what we meet with in the other Parts of this Book; and therefore ſome have imagin'd, that *Jacob* did not deliver theſe very Words, but that *Moſes* put the Senſe of what he ſaid into ſuch *poetical* Expreſſions. But to me it ſeems more reaſonable to think, that, the Spirit of Prophecy, now coming upon the good old Patriarch, rais'd his Diction, as well as Sentiments; even as *Moſes* himſelf is found to have deliver'd (*a*) his *Benedictions* in a Strain more ſublime, than what occurs in his other Writings. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

'TIS true, indeed, that, in the *Predictions* of the Patriarch, as well as in the *Benedictions* of *Moſes*, ſeveral *Compariſons* do occur, which are taken from brute Animals. Thus *Judah* is compar'd to a *Lion*, *Iſſachar* to an *Aſs*, *Dan* to a *Serpent*, *Benjamin* to a *Wolf*, and *Napthali* to an *Hind let looſe:* But this is ſo far from being a Diſparagement to the *prophetick* Spirit, that it is a Commendation of it; ſince, if the *Lion* be a proper Emblem of *Power* and *Strength*; if the *Aſs* be an Image of *Labour* and *Patience*; if the *Serpent*, an Hyeroglyphick of *Guile* and *Subtilty*; if the *Wolf*, a Symbol of *Violence* and *Outrage*; and if an *Hind let looſe* be no bad Repreſentation of a People loving Liberty and Freedom; then were theſe *Qualities*, which nothing but a divine Spirit cou'd foreſee, abundantly ſpecify'd (as their reſpective Hiſtories ſhew) in the Poſterity of the ſeveral Heads of Tribes, to which they are applied.

AND, as theſe Compariſons are a Kind of Teſtimony of the divine Inſpiration of the holy Patriarch upon this Occaſion, ſo are they far from being any Diminution of the Dignity of the Subject, he was then treating of; ſince a Man muſt be a Stranger to all Compoſitions of this Kind, who is not perſuaded, that *Compariſons*, taken from the *Animal-World*, are, as it were, the *Sinews* and Support of what we call the *Sublime*; and who finds not himſelf leſs inclin'd to cavil at *Jacob*'s Manner of Expreſſion, when he perceives the lofty *Homer* comparing his Heroes ſo frequently to a Lion, a Wolf, an Aſs, a Torrent, or a Tree, according to the Circumſtances he places them in, or the different Point of Light, wherein he thinks proper to take them. And I mention it as an Argument

(*u*) To this Purpoſe, ſee Gen. xlviii. 22. Deut. ii. 9, 10, 11. Joſ. xxiv. 11. (*x*) Lib. 8. (*y*) Gen. xlix. 28. (*z*) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*a*) Deut. xxxiii.

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of the Truth and Excellency of the *Moſaick* Hiſtory, that we find its Author adhering to the *original Simplicity*, and purſuing that very Method of Writing, which was certainly in Vogue, when the moſt antient Books, that we know any Thing of, were compos'd.

Why Joſeph *might be made* Potiphar's *Steward very ſoon.*

MOSES's Method of Writing (as we have had Occaſion, more than once, to take notice) is very *ſuccinct*; and therefore when he tells us, that, upon *Joſeph*'s coming into *Egypt*, and being ſold to *Potiphar*, *Captain of the Guard*, he commenc'd Steward of his Houſhold, we muſt not ſuppoſe, that there did not a ſufficient Space of Time intervene to qualify him for that Office. What therefore ſome of the *Jewiſh* Doctors tell us, ſeems not improbable, *viz.* that his Maſter, as ſoon as he bought him, ſent him to *School*, and had him inſtructed, not in the Language only, but in all the Learning of the *Egyptians*. However this be, 'tis certain, that there is no ſmall Affinity between the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* Tongue; ſo that a Perſon of good natural Parts, and of an Age the fitteſt that cou'd be for learning any Thing, might, with a little Diligence and Application, make himſelf Maſter of it, in a very ſhort Time.

JOSEPH indeed, as we may obſerve, talk'd to his Brethren by an *Interpreter*; and that he might do, tho' the Difference between the two Tongues was not very great. (*b*) A *Frenchman*, we ſee, is not underſtood at firſt by an *Italian*, or *Spaniard*, tho' all the three Languages are deriv'd from the ſame Original; but, when once he is let into the Knowledge of this, and comes to perceive their different *Formations* and *Conſtructions*, what was *foreign* to him before, ſoon becomes *familiar*. And, in like Manner, *Joſeph*, with a ſmall Matter of Inſtruction, and ſome Obſervation of his own, might be let into the Secret of the *Egyptian* Language, the Nature of their *Accounts* and the Cuſtoms of the Country, and ſo become every Way qualify'd to give the Content, we find he did, in the Place to which he was advanc'd. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

In what Senſe Potiphar, *tho' a married Man is call'd an* Eunuch.

(*c*) THE Notion, that we have of an *Eunuch*, is a Perſon, who has loſt his *Virility*; and therefore to aſſign him a Wife (as we find *Potiphar* had a very naughty one) may ſeem a manifeſt Incongruity; but for this there is an eaſy Solution to be given. The Word *Saris* indeed denotes equally an *Eunuch*, and any *Court Miniſter*; and the Reaſon of this Ambiguity is,——That, as *Eaſtern Kings*, for their greater Security, were wont to have Slaves, who were *caſtrated*, to attend the Chambers of their Wives and Concubines, and, upon Proof of their Fidelity, did frequently advance them to the other *Court-Employments*, ſuch as being *Privy-Councellors*, *High-Chamberlains*, *Captains* of their Guards, &c. it hence came to paſs, that the Title of *Eunuch* was conferr'd on any, who were promoted to thoſe Poſts of Honour and Truſt, even though they were not *emaſculated*. And indeed, when we read, in the Book of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, ſo frequent Mention made of *Eunuchs* about the Perſons of *David*, and other *Jewiſh* Princes, we muſt be far from ſuppoſing, that theſe were all *Eunuchs* in Reality, ſince it was unlawful, (*d*) according to their *Hiſtorian*, in that Nation, to *caſtrate* even a domeſtick Animal; and according to the Inſtitution of their Law, and expreſs Prohibition it was, that (*e*) *he, who had his privy Members cut off ſhould not enter into the Congregation of the Lord.*

BOTH the *Arabick* Verſion, and the Targum of *Onkelos*, are therefore very right, in rendering the Word, a *Prince*, or *Miniſter* of *Pharaoh*: For, if we compare the ſeveral Parts of his Hiſtory, we ſhall find, (*f*) that *Potiphar* had the chief Command of the Forces, that guarded the Perſon and Palace-Royal; that, as ſuch, he preſided in all Courts, and Cauſes, that had a more immediate Relation to theſe; that he had Power, under the King, of

(*b*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, in Gen. xliii. 23. (*c*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 20. (*d*) *Joſeph.* Antiq. l. 4. c. 8. (*e*) Deut. xxiii. 1. (*f*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* on Gen. Vol. II. Occaſ. Annot. 39.

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of judging and deciding all Caſes within thoſe Walls, of impriſoning and releaſing, of Life and Death, and of haſtening or ſuſpending the Execution of capital Puniſhments.

Why he did not immediately kill Joſeph.

AND, if *Potiphar* was a Perſon inveſted with all this Authority, it may ſeem a little ſtrange, why he did not immediately put *Joſeph* to Death; ſince, had his Wife's Accuſation been true, his Crime deſerv'd no leſs a Puniſhment: But whether it was, that *Joſeph* had found Means to vindicate himſelf, by the Mediation of the *Keeper of the Priſon*, who was *Potiphar*'s Deputy, tho' there is no Account of it in Scripture; or God in Behalf of the *Righteous*, might interpoſe to mollify the Heart of this great Man, and reſtrain his Hand from doing Violence; the Iſſue of the Matter ſhews, that he was, in a ſhort Time, convinc'd of his Innocence, or otherwiſe, it cannot be believ'd, that he wou'd have ſuffer'd him to be made ſo eaſy, and to be inveſted with ſo much Power, in the Priſon; tho', at the ſame Time, he might not think proper to releaſe him, for fear that ſo publick an Acquitment might bring Diſreputation both to his Wife and himſelf.

Why Joſeph *might accept of* Honours *from* Pharaoh.

JOSEPH cou'd not but foreſee, that to live in the Palaces of Kings, and to accept of high Poſts and Honours wou'd be very hazardous to his Virtue: (*g*) But, when he perceiv'd the Hand of Providence ſo viſible in raiſing him, by Ways and Means ſo very extraordinary, to Eminence, and an Office wherein he wou'd have it in his Power to be beneficial to ſo very many, he could not refuſe the Offers, which the King made him, without being rebellious to the Will and Deſtination of God. To him therefore, who had ſecur'd him hitherto, he might, in this Caſe, commit the Cuſtody of his Innocence, and accept of the uſual Enſigns of Honour, without incurring the Cenſure of Vanity or Oſtentation.

And marry *an* Egyptian *Woman.*

AND, tho' in After-Ages, all Marriages with Infidels were certainly prohibited; yet there ſeems to be, at this Time, a certain *Diſpenſation* current, for as much as *Judah*, to be ſure, if not more of *Joſeph*'s Brethren, had done the ſame: Beſides that, in *Joſeph*'s Caſe, there was ſomething peculiar. (*h*) For, as he was in a ſtrange Country, he had not an Opportunity of making his Addreſſes to any of the Daughters of the Seed of *Abraham*; as the Match was of the King's making, he was not at Liberty to decline it, without forfeiting his Pretenſions to the Royal Favour, and conſequently to the Means of doing ſo much Good; and, as it is not improbable, that he might be advis'd to it by a particular Revelation, ſo is it highly reaſonable to believe, that he *converted* his Wife, at leaſt, to the Worſhip of the true God, before he eſpous'd her: Even tho' there ſhou'd be nothing in that Opinion of the *Rabbins*, that he made a *Proſelyte* likewiſe of her Father, the *Prieſt of* On, (who could not but be deſirous to purchaſe, at any Rate, ſo advantageous an Alliance) and took this Occaſion to eſtabliſh the Rite of *Circumciſion*, if not in all *Egypt*, at leaſt among Perſons of the *ſacred* Order, who, (according to the Account of thoſe, who wrote the Hiſtory of that Country) in very early Days, certainly were not without it.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

That he was not accuſtom'd to ſwear.

SOME may imagine, that, the better to perſonate an *Egyptian* Lord, and thereby conceal himſelf from his Brethren, or rather to comply with the Language of the *Court* in this Particular, *Joſeph ſwore by the Life of* Pharaoh, in the ſame Manner, as the *Romans*, in Adulation to their Emperor, were wont to ſwear by his *Genius*. It muſt be acknowledg'd indeed, that, as every Oath is a ſolemn Appeal to God, to ſwear by any *Creature* whatever muſt needs be an impious and idolatrous Act; and therefore the proper Solution of this Matter is,——not that Oaths of this Kind were allowable before the Inſtitution of *Chriſtianity*, but that *Joſeph*, in making uſe of theſe Words, did not ſwear at all. (*i*) For, ſince every Oath implies in it either an *Invocation* of ſome Witneſs,

(*g*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriarch. Vol. II. Exer. 20. (*i*) *Heidegger*, ibid. *Sanderſon*'s Prælect. 5. § 7.

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Witneſs, or a *Poſtulation* of ſome *Revenge*, (as our great *Sanderſon* terms it) to ſay that *Joſeph* appeal'd to the *Life of* Pharaoh, as a Witneſs, is ridiculous; and, without a very forc'd Conſtruction indeed, the Words can never be ſuppos'd to include in them a *Curſe*; and therefore their moſt eaſy Signification muſt be, what we call *indicative: By the Life of* Pharaoh, *i. e.* as ſure and certain as *Pharaoh* liveth, *ye are Spies*; juſt as we ſay, *By the Sun, that ſhines, I ſpeak Truth*, i. e. as ſure as the *Sun* ſhines; neither of which can, with any Propriety be call'd *Oaths*, but only vehement Aſſeverations.

That he did not practiſe Divination, tho' he ſeems to pretend to it.

The Words which *Joſeph*'s Steward, ſent to apprehend his Brethren, makes uſe of, are, (*k*) *Is not this the Cup, in which my Lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth*; and the Words, wherein *Joſeph* accoſts them, when they are brought before him, are, *(l) What Deed is this that ye have done? Wot ye not that ſuch a Man, as I, can certainly divine?* And from hence (*m*) ſome have imagin'd, that *Joſeph* was a Perſon addicted to *magical* Arts, and, by Virtue of this ſingle Cup, could diſcover ſtrange and wonderful Things. But, in Anſwer to this, others have obſerv'd, (*n*) that the Word *Naſhah*, which we render to *divine*, was formerly of an indefinite Senſe, and meant in general to *diſcover* or *make a Trial of*; and, accordingly, they have devis'd a double Acceptation of the Steward's Words, as if he ſhould ſay,——*By this Cup* (viz. left in a careleſs and negligent Manner) *my Maſter was minded to make an Experiment, whether you were Thieves, or honeſt Men*; or ſay,——*By this Cup, wherein he drinketh, my Maſter diſcovers and finds out the Temper and Diſpoſitions of Men, when they are in Liquor.* But both of theſe Senſes ſeem a little too much forc'd, and are far from agreeing with the other Words of *Joſeph*. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

It muſt be acknowledg'd therefore, that, as *magical* Arts of divers Kinds were in uſe among the *Egyptians*, many Years before *Joſeph*'s Time of coming thither; and that, as *Joſeph*, by his wonderful Skill of interpreting Dreams, had gain'd a great Reputation for Knowledge, and, perhaps, among the Populace, might paſs for a *Diviner*; he took an Occaſion from hence, in order to carry on his Deſign, to aſſume a *Character*, that did not belong to him. There is no Reaſon however to infer from the Words, that * the Art of *divining by the Cup*, (as it came afterwards to be practis'd) was then in uſe in *Egypt*; (*o*) becauſe the Words before us (according to the Senſe of the beſt Interpreters) do not relate to this Cup, as the *Inſtrument*, but as the *Subject* of Divination; not as the Thing, *with which*, but as the Thing, *concerning which* this magical Enquiry was to be made. And ſo the Senſe of the Steward's Words will be, "How could you think, but "that my Lord, who is ſo great a Man "at *Divination*, would uſe the beſt of "his Skill to find out the Perſons, who "had robb'd him of the Cup, which he "ſo

(*k*) Gen. xliv. 5. (*l*) Ver. 15. (*m*) Vid. *Saurin*'s Diſſertation 38. (*n*) *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* What may ſeem to give ſome ſmall Sanction to this Senſe, is that known Paſſage in *Horace*.

Reges dicuntur multis urgere cuculis,
Et tentare mero, quem perſpexiſſe laborant,
An ſit amicitiâ dignus. De Arte Poet.

* *Julius Serenus* tells us, that the Method of *divining by the Cup*, among the *Aſſyrians*, *Chaldees*, and *Egyptians*, was, to fill it firſt with Water, then to throw it into thin Plates of Gold and Silver, together with ſome precious Stones, whereon were engraven certain Characters; and, after that, the Perſons, who came to conſult the *Oracle*, us'd certain Forms of *Incantation*, and ſo calling upon the *Devil*, were wont to receive their Anſwers ſeveral Ways. Sometimes by *articulate Sounds*; ſometimes by the *Characters* which were in the Cup, riſing upon the Surface of the Water, and, by their Arrangement, forming the Anſwer; and, many Times, by the viſible Appearing of the Perſons themſelves, about whom the Oracle was conſulted. *Cornelius Agrippa* [de occult. Philoſ. l. 1. c. 57.] tells us likewiſe, that the Manner of ſome was, to pour melted Wax into the Cup, wherein was Water, which Wax would range itſelf in Order, and ſo form Anſwers, according to the Queſtions propos'd. *Saurin*'s Diſſertation 38. and *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Exercit. 20,

(*o*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 20.

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" ſo much prizes?" And this tallies exactly with the ſubſequent Words of *Joſeph*, *Wot ye not that ſuch a Man, as I,* " I, who have rais'd myſelf to this Eminence by my Interpretation of Dreams, " and may therefore well be accounted an " *Adept* in all other Sciences, ſhould be " long at a Loſs to know, who the Perſons were, that had taken away my " Cup?" This ſeems to be the natural Senſe of the Words; the only one indeed, that they will fairly bear: *(p)* And tho' they do not imply, that *Joſeph* was actually a *Magician*, yet they ſeem to juſtify the Notions of thoſe Men, who think, that he carry'd his *Diſſimulation* to his Brethren ſo far, as to make them believe that he really had ſome Knowledge that Way.

Was not unkind to his Father, or Brethren.

THE *Royal Pſalmiſt*, in his Deſcription of the Sufferings of *Joſeph*, *(q)* tells us, that he was not only ſold to be a *Bond-ſervant*, but that *his Feet were hurt in the Stocks, and Iron entered into his Soul*, which ſignifies, at leaſt, that he endur'd very hard Uſage, before *the Time came that his Cauſe was known*, and his Innocence diſcover'd; and of all this his Brethren, when they ſold him into Slavery, were properly the Occaſions. So that, could we conceive, that any angry Reſentments could harbour in a Breaſt, ſo fully ſatisfy'd of a divine Providence in all this Diſpenſation, we might have imagin'd, that *Joſeph* took this Opportunity to *retaliate* the Injuries, which were formerly done to him; but this he did not. He deſir'd indeed to be inform'd in the Circumſtances of their Family, without aſking any *direct* Queſtion; and therefore he mentions his Suſpicion of their being *Spies*, merely to *fiſh out* of them (as we call it) whether his *aged* Father, and his *younger* Brother were yet alive. For, upon their Return, we may perceive (eſpecially conſidering that it is the *firſt Miniſter* of a mighty State, that ſpeaks to a Company of poor indigent Shepherds) a wonderful Tenderneſs in his Expreſſions: *(r)* Is *your Father well*; *the old Man, of whom ye ſpake, is he ſtill alive?* beſides the Inſtructions, which he plainly gave his Steward to bid them be *of good Cheer*. When he underſtood that his Father and Brother were both alive, and, as yet, had not Matters prepar'd for the Removal of his Father and Family, the Eagerneſs of his Affections may perhaps be thought to have carry'd him a little too far, in demanding his Brother to be brought to him; but we are not to doubt but that *Joſeph*, by the divine Spirit, wherewith he was endow'd, did certainly foreſee what would happen, *(s)* and that his Father's grieving a little Time for *Benjamin* wou'd be ſo far from endangering his Health, that it would only increaſe his Joy, when he ſaw him again, and diſpoſe him the better for the Reception of the welcome News of his own Advancement in *Egypt*; which, had it come all upon him at once, and on a ſudden, might have been enough to have bereav'd him of his Senſes, if not of his Life itſelf, by a *Surfeit* of Joy.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

UPON their ſecond Diſmiſſion, after a very Kind Entertainment, it may be thought perhaps a Piece of Cruelty in *Joſeph*, to have his Cup convey'd (of all others) into *Benjamin*'s Sack, and thereupon to threaten to make him a *Bond-ſlave*, for a pretended *Felony*: But herein was *Joſeph*'s great Policy, and Nicety of Judgment. He himſelf had been ſeverely treated by the reſt, when he was young, and therefore was minded to make an Experiment, in what Manner they would now behave towards his Brother; whether they would forſake him in his Diſtreſs, and give him up to be a *Bond-ſlave*, as they had ſolld him for one; or whether they would ſtand by him in all Events, make Interceſſion for his Releaſe, or adventure to ſhare his Fate.

THIS, perhaps, may be thought his carrying the Matter a little too far: But, without this Conduct, *Joſeph* cou'd not have known, whether his Brethren rightly

(p) *Saurin*'s Diſſertations. *(q)* Pſal. cv. 17, 18. *(r)* Gen. xliii. 7. *(s)* Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

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deſerv'd the Favour and Protection, which he might then deſign, and afterwards granted them. Without this Conduct, we had not had perhaps the moſt lively Images, that are to be met with in Scripture, of *injur'd Innocence*, of Meekneſs and Forbearance, and the *Triumphs* of a good Conſcience, in him; and of the Fears and Terrors, the Convictions and *Self-condemnations* of *long conceal'd Guilt* in them. Without this Conduct, we had not had this lovely Portraiture of paternal Tenderneſs, as well as Brotherly Affection; we had never had thoſe ſolemn, ſad, and melting Words of *Jacob (t) If I am bereav'd of my Children, I am bereav'd*, enough to pierce a tender Parent's Heart; or thoſe others, *(u) Joſeph is alive, I will ſee him before I die*, enough to raiſe it into Joy and Exultation again. In a Word, without this Conduct, we had never had that *courteous*, that *moving*, that *pleaſingly mournful* Speech, wherein *Moſes* makes *Judah addreſs* Joſeph, in Behalf of his poor Brother *Benjamin*, which exceeds all the Compoſitions of human Invention, and * flows indeed from ſuch *natural* Paſſions, as Art can never imitate. So that, upon a Review of his whole Conduct, *Joſeph* is ſo far from deſerving Blame, that all this ſeeming Rigour and Imperiouſneſs of his, did *eventually* produce a great deal of Good; and was, in realty, no more, than the heightening the Diſtreſs, or thickening the *Plot* (as we call it in a Play) to make the *Diſcovery*, or future Felicity, he intended his Family, more conſpicuous and agreeable.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

That there was Plenty of Phyſicians in Egypt *in the Time of* Joſeph.

It muſt be acknowledg'd indeed, that *Moſes* has done Juſtice to the Hiſtory of *Joſeph*, and employ'd moſt of the *tender* Paſſions of human Nature to give it a better Grace; but we muſt not therefore infer, either that he hath tranſcended Truth, or committed an Error, in recording the Quality of the Perſons, employ'd to embalm his Father. What has led ſome into a great Miſtake concerning the Origin of *Phyſick*, and that it was of no Vogue in the World until the Days of *Hippocrates*, was the great Superiority of Skill and Genius, which he demonſtrated, both in his Practice and Writings. The Truth is, the *Divine old Man* (as *(x)* one expreſſes it) did ſo totally eclipſe all, who went before him, that, as Poſterity eſteem'd his Works the *Canon*, ſo did it look upon him as the great *Father* of Medicine. But if we will credit the Teſtimony of *(y) Galen*, (who tho' a late Writer, was a very competent Judge) we ſhall find, that he was far from being the firſt of his Profeſſion, even among the *Greeks*.

HOMER indeed, in his Poem of the *Trojan* War, ſeems to have cut out more Work for *Surgeons*, than *Phyſicians*; and therefore we find the chief of the *Faculty* only employ'd * in healing Wounds, extracting Arrows, preparing Anodynes, and other ſuch like external Operations; but, if we look into his other Work, which is of a more *pacifick* Strain, we ſhall ſoon diſcern

(t) Gen. xliii. 14. *(u)* Chap. xlv. 28.

* The Obſervation of a learned Author upon the *Dialogue* between *Jacob* and his Sons, as well as the Speech of *Jacob*, is well worth our Notice, and ſerious Conſideration. "Since ſuch Paſſages are related by Men, who affect "no Art, and who liv'd long after the Parties, who firſt utter'd them, we cannot conceive, how all Particulars cou'd "be ſo naturally and fully recorded, unleſs they had been ſuggeſted by his Spirit, who *gives Mouth* and Speech to "Man; who, being alike preſent to all Succeſſions, is able to communicate the ſecret Thoughts of Forefathers to "their Children, and put the very Words of the Deceas'd (never regiſter'd before) into the Mouths, or Pens of their "Succeſſors, for many Generations after, and that, as exactly and diſtinctly, as if they had been caught, in Charac-"ters of Steel or Braſs, as they iſſu'd out of their Mouths: For it is plain, every Circumſtance is here related, "with ſuch natural *Specifications*, (as he terms it) as if *Moſes* had heard them talk; and therefore cou'd not have been "thus repreſented to us, unleſs they had been written by his divine Direction, who knows all Things, as well forepaſt, "as preſent, or to come." Dr. *Jackſon* on the Creed, l. 1. c. 4.

(x) Warburton's Divine Legation of *Moſes*, Vol. II. lib. 4. *(y)* Meth. Medic. lib. 1.

* Ἰητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀνιάξιος ἄλλων
Ἰὸς τ' ἐκλάμπειν ἐπί τ' ὄπια φάρμακα πάσσειν. Iliad. XI.

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diſcern the Uſe of internal Applications, when we find * *Helen* brought in, as giving *Telemachus* a Preparation of Opium, which (as the Poet informs us) ſhe had from *Polydamna*, the Wife of *Thon*, an *Egyptian* Phyſician of great Note. And well might the Phyſicians of *Egypt* be held in great Eſteem, "when (as *Herodotus* "relates the Matter) every diſtinct Diſ-"temper had its proper Phyſician, who "confin'd himſelf to the Study and Cure "of that only; ſo that, one Sort having "the Cure of the Eyes, another of the "Head, another of the Teeth, another of "the Belly, and another of occult Diſ-"eaſes, we need not wonder, that all "Places were crowded with Men of this "Profeſſion, or that the Phyſicians of "*Joſeph*'s Houſhold ſhou'd be repreſented "as a large Number." True it is indeed, that theſe Phyſicians (and the very beſt of them) were employed in embalming the Dead; but then there was a wiſe Deſignation in this, *viz.* (z) not only to improve them in the Knowledge of *Anatomy*, but to enable them likewiſe to diſcover the Cauſes of ſuch Diſorders, as were a Baffle to their Art. And therefore, it was the Cuſtom of the Kings of *Egypt*, (as *Pliny* informs us) to cauſe dead Bodies to be diſſected, on purpoſe to find out the Origin and Nature of all Diſeaſes. Thus it appears from the concurring Teſtimony of other Hiſtorians, that the Practice of Phyſick was a common Thing in *Egypt*, as early as the Days of *Joſeph*; that the Multitude of its Profeſſors makes it no ſtrange Thing, his having a Number of them in his Family; and that the Nature of the Thing, as well as the Order of the State, oblig'd the very beſt of them to become *Diſſecters*, and *Embalmers*.

Joſeph's publick Management.

THIS may ſerve for a Vindication of what the Sacred *Hiſtorian* has related of our *Patriarch* in his *private* Life, and we come now to conſider him in his *publick* Capacity. As ſoon as he had foretold the King the long Famine, that was to befal *Egypt*, he gave him Advice to have the *fifth* Part of the Product of the Country laid up in Store againſt the enſuing Want. The *tenth* Part, (according to the Conſtitution of the Nation) belong'd to the King already, and to adviſe him to purchaſe as much more, for ſeven ſucceeding Years, was to conſider him as the *publick Father* of his People, for whoſe Support and Welfare he was concern'd to provide. When himſelf was appointed to the Office of gathering in the Corn, he took care, no doubt, to have his *Granaries* in fortify'd Places, and, as the Scarceneſs increas'd, to have them ſecur'd by a Guard of the King's Forces, to prevent Inſurrections and Depredations. When he came to open his *Storehouſes*, he ſold to the Poor and to the Rich; and was it not highly reaſonable that he, who bought the Corn, ſhou'd likewiſe ſell it; or that the Money, which, by the King's Commiſſion and Order, had been laid out for ſuch a Stock of Proviſions againſt the approaching Neceſſities of his Subjects, ſhou'd return to the King's Coffers again, to anſwer his Occaſions? When their Money was gone, they brought him their Cattle; but this they did of their own Accord, without any Compulſion or Circumvention; and might he not as legally exchange Corn for Cattle, as he did it for Money before? His Corn he kept up perhaps at an high Rate; but had he ſold it *cheap*, or given it *gratis*, the People, very likely, would have been profuſe, and wanton in the Conſumption of it; whereas his great Care and Concern was, to make it hold out the whole Time of the *Famine*. He oblig'd the Inhabitants of one City and Diſtrict to remove, or make Room for thoſe

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

* Τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μειλιόεντα
Ἑσθλὰ, τά οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρε Θῶνος παράκοιτις
Αἰγυπτίη, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
Φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά
Ἰητρὸς δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων
Ἀνθρώπων ——— Odyſſ. Lib. iv.

(z) *Warburton* ibid.

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thoſe of another; but this he might do, not ſo much to ſhew their Subjection to *Pharaoh*, as to ſecure the publick Peace, by diſabling them, in this Way, from entering into any ſeditious Meaſures and Combinations.

It cannot be imagin'd indeed, but that in a Time of ſuch general Want and Calamity, Men's Minds would be ripe for Rapine, Violence, and Mutiny; and yet we meet with no one Commotion, during the whole Period of his *critical* Miniſtry, which beſpeaks the Skill of the *Mariner*, when he is found able to *ſteer* ſteady in the Midſt of ſo tumultuous a Sea. In fine, after he had a long while executed his high Truſt, and the Years of Famine were come to a Concluſion, he gave the People back their Liberties and Eſtates, reſerving to the King no more, than a double *Tenth* out of the Produce of their Lands, as a *Tribute* of their Vaſſalage; which, conſidering the Richneſs of the Soil, and the little Pains requir'd in cultivating it, was an Impoſition, far from being burthenſome to the Subject, or vaſtly diſproportionate to the Benefit they had receiv'd.

And favouring the Prieſts, vindicated.

There is but one Thing more, that I find objected to *Joſeph* in this publick Station, *(a)* and that is, his Favour and Indulgence to the *Prieſts*, (and Prieſts that were *Idolaters)* in ſparing their Lands, and laying no Tax upon them.

The *Jewiſh* Doctors have a Tradition that, when *Joſeph* was in Priſon, and his Maſter had bad Deſigns againſt him, it was by the Intereſt of the Prieſts, that he was ſet free, and that, conſequently, in Gratitude, he could not do leſs, than indulge them with ſome particular Marks of his Favour, when he came into ſuch a Compaſs of Power. But there is no Occaſion for any ſuch Fiction as this. *(b)* The Prieſts of *Egypt* were taken out of the chief Families of the Nation: They were Perſons of the firſt Quality; were conſulted upon all publick Affairs of Conſequence; and, upon a Vacancy, generally ſome one of them ſucceeded to the Crown. It was not likely therefore, that Perſons of their hihg Rank and Station wanted *Joſeph*'s Aſſiſtance, to ſtrengthen their Intereſt, for the obtaining of any *Immunities*; nor is it apparent that they had it. On the contrary, it ſeems evident from the *Text*, that whatever peculiar Favours they were vouchſaf'd, proceeded all, not from *Joſeph*'s Good-will, but from the King's immediate Direction and Appointment: For *the Land of the Prieſts bought he not*, ſays *Moſes (Ci chok le cohanim meeth* Pharaoh) becauſe *Pharaoh* had made a Decree expreſsly againſt it, or, (in Analogy to our *Tranſlation) becauſe there was an Appointment for the Prieſts, even from* Pharaoh; *and the Portion, which he gave them, they did eat, and therefore ſold not their Lands.* From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

Why *Pharaoh*, when he thought fit to leſſen the Property of his *common* Subjects, did not, at the ſame Time, attempt to reduce the exorbitant Riches of the Prieſts, we may, in ſome Meaſure account for, if we conſider, that, according to the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, the *Egyptian Prieſts* were oblig'd to provide all Sacrifices, and to bear all the Charges of the *national* Religion, which, in thoſe Days, was not a little expenſive; ſo very *expenſive*, that we find, in Countries where the Soil was not fruitful, and conſequently the People poor, Men did not well know how to bear the Burden of Religion; and therefore *Lycurgus*, when he reform'd the *Lacedemonian* State, inſtituted Sacrifices, the meaneſt and cheapeſt that he could think of. But *Egypt*, we know, was a rich and fertile Country, and therefore, in all Probability, the King and People being deſirous that Religion ſhould appear with a ſuitable Splendor, made Settlements upon the Prieſts from † the very firſt Inſtitution of Government among

(a) Lord *Shafteſbury*'s Characteriſticks, Vol. III. Miſcel. 3. *(b) Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 7.

† It is the Opinion of ſome, that *Mizraim*, the Founder of the *Egyptian* Monarchy, might, in Memory of ſome *Noachial* Tradition, ſet apart, at the very firſt, a Maintenance for the *Prieſthood*, however degenerate and corrupt.

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among them, anſwerable to the Charges of their Function. Add to this, that the Prieſts of *Egypt* were the whole Body of the Nobility of the Land; that they were the King's Counſellors and Aſſiſtants, in all the Affairs which concern'd the Publick; (*c*) were *joint Agents* with him in ſome Things, and, in others, his *Directors* and *Inſtructors*. Add again, that they were the Profeſſors and Cultivators of *Aſtronomy*, *Geometry*, and other uſeful Sciences; that they were the Keepers of the publick Regiſters, Memoirs, and Chronicles of the Kingdom; and, in a Word, that, under the King, they were the ſupreme Magiſtrates, and fill'd all prime Offices of Honour and Truſt: And, conſidering them under theſe Views, we may poſſibly allow, that *Pharaoh* might think that they had not too much to ſupport the Station they were to act in, and, for that Reaſon, order'd that no *Tax* ſhou'd be rais'd upon them.

The Teſtimony of Heathen *Writers, concerning theſe Things.*

THUS we have endeavour'd to clear the *ſacred* Hiſtory from all Imputations of Improbability or Abſurdity, as well as *Joſeph*'s Conduct, both *private* and *publick*, from all unjuſt Cenſure, during this Period of Time; and may now produce the Teſtimony of ſeveral *Heathen* Writers, in Confirmation of ſundry Particulars related herein.

THAT the Memory of *Joſeph*, and of the wonderful Benefits he did, during the Time of his Adminiſtration, was preſerv'd among the *Egyptians*, under the Worſhip of *Apis*, *Serapis*, and *Oſiris*; that the *Egyptian* Manner of interpreting Dreams was taken from what occurs in his Hiſtory; and that the *Chariſtia* (mention'd by (*d*) *Valerius* and (*e*) *Ovid*) *viz.* Feſtival Entertainments, either for confirming *Friendſhip*, or renewing it, when *broken*, were Tranſcripts of the *Feaſt*, which *Joſeph* made for his Brethren, is the general Opinion of ſuch learned Men, as have made the deepeſt Enquiry into theſe Matters.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

THAT the Patriarch *Jacob* went down with his whole Family into *Egypt*, where he found his Son *Joſeph* in great Power and Proſperity, is reported by ſeveral Pagan *Writers*, who are cited (*f*) by *Euſebius*. That the *Egyptians*, (according to what *Moſes* tells of them) had an unaccountable *Antipathy* to *Shepherds*, eſpecially *Foreigners*, is related (*g*) by *Herodotus*. That the Prieſts in that Country enjoy'd ſeveral high Privileges, and were exempted from paying all *Taxes* and publick Impoſts, is every where apparent (*h*) from *Diodorus*: And, that *Joſeph* was juſt ſuch a Perſon, as *Moſes* has repreſented him, the Teſtimony (*i*) of *Juſtin* (with which we conclude the *Patriarch*'s Story) is enough to convince us. *Joſeph, the youngeſt of his Brethren*, ſays he, *had a Superiority of* Genius, *which made them fear him, and ſell him to foreign Merchants, who carry'd him into* Egypt, *where he practis'd the Magick Art with ſuch Succeſs, as render'd him very dear to the King. He had a great Sagacity in the Explanation of* Prodigies, *and* Dreams; *nor was there any Thing ſo abſtruſe, either in divine or human Knowledge, that he did not readily attain. He foretold a great* Dearth, *ſeveral Years before it happen'd, and prevented a Famine's falling upon* Egypt, *by adviſing the King to publiſh a Decree, requiring the People to make Proviſion for divers Years. His Knowledge, in ſhort, was ſo great, that the* Egyptians *liſten'd to the Prophecies coming from his Mouth, as if they had proceeded, not from Man, but from God himſelf.*

Be this as it will, 'tis certain, that, in Proceſs of Time, their Allotment increas'd to ſuch a Degree, that they became Poſſeſſors of one third Part of the whole Land, according to *Diodorus*, l. 1.

(*c*) *Diodorus Siculus*, l. 1. (*d*) Lib. ii. c. 1. (*e*) De Faſt. l. 2. (*f*) Prepar. Evang. l. 9. (*g*) Lib. ii. c. 47. (*h*) Lib. i. (*i*) Lib. xxxvi. c. 2.

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DISSERTATION IV.

Of the Perſon and Book of Job.

The Perſon and Book of Job real.

THAT *Job* was a *real* Perſon, and not a *fictitious* Character, and his *Story* Matter of Fact, and not a *parabolical* Repreſentation, * is manifeſt from all thoſe Places, in Scripture, where mention is made of him: And therefore, when, in the *Old* Teſtament, we find *Job* put in Company with *Noah*, and *Daniel*, and equally diſtinguiſh'd for his *Righteouſneſs*, as, in the *New*, he is commended for his *Patience*; we cannot well ſuppoſe, that the Spirit of God, in both theſe Places, intended to delude us with a *Phantom*, inſtead of preſenting us with a *real* Man.

WHETHER we allow that the Book of *Job* is of *divine Revelation*, or not, we cannot but perceive, that it has in it all the *Lineaments* of a *real Hiſtory*; ſince the Name, the Quality, the Country of the Man, the Number of his Children, the Bulk of his Subſtance, and the Pedigree of his Friends, together with the *Names* and *Situations* of ſeveral Regions, can give us the Idea of nothing elſe: Tho' it muſt not be diſſembled, that, in the *Introduction* more eſpecially, there is an *allegorical* Turn given to ſome Matters, which (as they relate to *ſpiritual* Beings) would not otherwiſe ſo eaſily affect the Imagination of the Vulgar.

His Family.

(*k*) *JOB*, according to the faireſt Probability, was, in a direct Line, * deſcended from *Abraham* by his Wife *Keturah*: For, by *Keturah* the Patriarch had ſeveral Sons, whom he, being reſolv'd to reſerve the chief Patrimony entire for *Iſaac*, *portion'd out* (as we call it) and ſent them into the *Eaſt* to ſeek their Fortunes, ſo that moſt of them ſettled in *Arabia*; and for this Reaſon perhaps it is, that the Author of his Hiſtory records of *Job*, that, before his Calamities came upon him, (*l*) *he was the greateſt of all the Men of the Eaſt.*

THE Character, which God himſelf gives of *Abraham* is this. ——(*m*) *I know him, that he will command his Children, and his Houſhold after him, and that they ſhall keep the Way of the Lord, to do Juſtice*

* Nay, upon the Suppoſition that the whole Book were a Dramatic Compoſition, this wou'd not invalidate the Proofs, which we have from Scripture of the real Exiſtence of this holy *Patriarch*, or the Truth of his *exemplary* Story. On the contrary, it much confirms them; ſeeing it was the general Practice of *Dramatic* Writers, of the ſerious Kind, to chuſe any illuſtrious Character, and well known Story, in order to give the Piece its due Dignity and Efficacy: And yet, (what is very ſurprizing) the Writers on both Sides, as well thoſe, who hold the Book of *Job* to be *Dramatical*, as thoſe, who hold it to be Hiſtorical, have fallen into this *Paralegiſm*, that, if *Dramatical*, *then the Perſon, and Hiſtory of* Job, *is fictitious:* Which nothing, but their Inattention to the Nature of a *Dramatic* Work, and to the Practice of *Dramatic* Writers, cou'd have occaſion'd. *Warburton*'s Divine Legation, Vol. III. Lib. vi.

(*k*) *Spanheim*'s Hiſtory of *Job*, c. 5.

* At the End of the *Greek*, the *Arabick*, and *Vulgate* Verſions of *Job*, we have this Account of his *Genealogy*, which is ſaid to have been taken from the antient *Syriack*. Job *dwelt in* Auſitis, *upon the Confines of* Idumæa, *and* Arabia. *His Name at firſt was* Jabab. *He marry'd an* Arabian *Woman, by whom he had a Son, call'd* Ennon. *For his Part, he was the Son of* Zerah, *of the Poſterity of* Eſau, *and a Native of* Bozrah; *ſo that he was the fifth from* Abraham. *He reign'd in* Edom, *and the Kings before him reign'd in this Order:* ——— Balak, *the Son of* Beor, *in the City of* Dinhabah; *and, after him,* Job, *otherwiſe call'd* Jobab. Job *was ſucceeded by* Huſham, *Prince of* Teman; *after him reign'd* Hadad, *the Son of* Bedad, *who defeated the* Medianites *in the Fields of* Moab. Job's *Friends, who came to viſit him, were* Eliphaz, *of the Poſterity of* Eſau, *King of* Teman; Bildad, *King of the* Shuhites; *and* Zophar, *King of the* Naamathites. According to this Account, *Job* muſt be contemporary with *Moſes*, and the three Friends, who came to ſee him, muſt be *Kings*. But the learned *Spanheim*, who has examin'd this Matter to the Bottom, finds Reaſon to think, that *Job* was a diſtinct Perſon from *Jobab*; was ſprung from *Abraham* by his Wife *Keturah*; and liv'd ſeveral Years before the Time of *Moſes*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, on the Word *Job*, and *Spanheim*'s Life of him.

(*l*) Job i. 3. (*m*) Gen. xviii. 19.

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ſtice and Judgment; which may well afford another Argument for *Job*'s being deſcended from the Houſe of *Abraham*, ſince we find diſperſed, every where in his Speeches, (*n*) ſuch noble Sentiments of Creation and Providence, of the Nature of Angels, and the Fall of Man, of Puniſhments for Sin, and Juſtification by Grace, of a Redemption, Reſurrection, and final Judgment; Notions which he could never have ſtruck out from the *Light of Nature*, but muſt have had them originally from the Inſtitution of his Parents, as they ſucceſſively deriv'd them from the firſt *Father of the Faithful*, who had them *immediately* from God. But (what is an undoubted Matter of Fact) by his Wife *Keturah*, (*o*) *Abraham* had a Son, whoſe Name was *Shuah*, and therefore when we read of (*p*) *Bildad the Shuhite*, we may well ſuppoſe, that he was a Deſcendant from that Family; who, living in the Neighbourhood perhaps, might think himſelf oblig'd, by the Ties of *Conſanguinity*, to go, and viſit his Kinſman, in ſuch ſad Circumſtances of Diſtreſs.

His Country. IN what Part of the World the Land of *Uz* lay, various Opinions have been ſtarted, according to the ſeveral Families, from whence *Job* is made to deſcend: But, upon Suppoſition, that he ſprung from one of *Keturah*'s Sons, his Habitation is moſt properly plac'd in that Part of *Arabia Deſerta*, which has to the *North*, *Meſopotamia*, and the River *Euphrates*; to the *Weſt*, *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, and *Idumæa*; and, to the *South*, the Mountains of the *Happy Arabia*. And this Deſcription receives ſome farther Confirmation from the Mention, which the Hiſtory makes of the *Chaldeans*, and *Sabæans* plundering his Eſtate, who were certainly Inhabitants in theſe Parts.

When he liv'd. IN what Age of the World this great Exemplar of Suffering liv'd, the Difference of Opinions is not ſmall, even tho' there be ſome *Criterions* to direct our Judgment in this Matter. (*q*) That *Job* liv'd in the World much *earlier*, than has been imagin'd, is, in ſome Meaſure evident from his mentioning, with Abhorrence, that antient Kind of *Idolatry*, the Adoration of the Sun and Moon, and yet paſſing by in Silence the *Egyptian* Bondage, which, upon one Occaſion or other, could have hardly eſcap'd the Notice, either of him, or his Friends, had it not been ſubſequent to their Times. That he liv'd in the Days of the *Patriarchs* therefore is very probable, from the long Duration of his Life, which, continuing an hundred and forty Years after his Reſtoration, could hardly be leſs in all than two hundred; a longer Period than either *Abraham* or *Iſaac* reach'd. That he liv'd before the *Law* may be gather'd from his making not ſo much as one Alluſion to it, through the whole Courſe of his Life, and from his *offering* (even with God's Order and Acceptance) ſuch Sacrifices in his own Country, as were not allowable, after the Promulgation of the *Law*, to be offer'd in any other Place, but that, (*r*) *which the Lord had choſe in one of the Tribes of* Iſrael; and that he liv'd after *Jacob* may be inferr'd from the Character given him by God, *viz.* that for *Uprightneſs*, and the Fear of God, there was none *like unto him upon the Earth*, which large Commendation could not be allow'd to any, whilſt *Jacob*, God's favourite Servant, was alive; nor can we ſuppoſe it proper to be given to any, even while *Joſeph* liv'd, who, in *moral* Virtues, and other Excellencies, made as bright a Figure, as any in his Time. Thus may the Computation be reduc'd to a very narrow Compaſs; and tho' it be extremely difficult to point out the *preciſe* Time, yet the general Opinion is, that he liv'd in the Time of the Children of *Iſrael*'s Bondage, and therefore his Birth is plac'd in the very ſame Year, wherein *Jacob* went down into *Egypt*, and the Beginning of his *Trial* in the Year, when *Joſeph* died; (*s*) tho' it might probably be leſs liable

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

(*n*) *Spanheim*'s Hiſtory of *Job*, c. 10. (*o*) Gen. xxv. 2. (*p*) Job ii. 11. (*q*) *Spanheim*, c. 3.
(*r*) Deut. xii. 13, 14. (*s*) *Howel*'s Hiſtory of the Bible.

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liable to Exception, if his Birth were set a little lower, much about the Time of *Jacob*'s Death; and then *Joseph*, who surviv'd his Father about four and fifty Years, will be dead about sixteen Years, at which Time *Job* might justly deserve the extraordinary Character, which God gave him, and have no Man then alive, in Virtue and Integrity, able to compare with him.

His former *Greatness, and* subsequent *Sufferings.*

How considerable a Figure *Job* made in the World, both in *temporal* and *spiritual* Blessings, the Vastness of his Stock (which was the Wealth of that Age) consisting of seven thousand Sheep, three thousand Camels, five hundred Yokes of Oxen, and five hundred She-Asses; the Largeness of his Family, consisting of seven Sons, and three Daughters; and the Excellency of the Character, which God was pleas'd to give him, together with the Greatness of his Sentiments, and the Firmness and Constancy of his Mind in all he suffer'd, are a sufficient Demonstration: And yet we see, that, as soon as God submitted him to the Assaults of his *spiritual* Enemy, what a sad *Catastrophe* did befal him. The *Sabæans* ran away with his Asses; the *Chaldeans* plunder'd him of his *Camels*; a Fire from Heaven consum'd his *Sheep* and *Servants*; a Wind overwhelm'd all his Children; and, while the Sense of these Losses lay heavy upon his Spirits, his Body was smitten with a sore Disease, in so much that he, who, but a few Hours before, was the greatest Man in the Country, in whose *Presence the young Men were afraid to appear, and before whom the Aged stood up*, to whom Princes paid the most awful Reverence, and whom Nobles, in humble Silence, admir'd; divested of all Honour, sits mourning on a Bed of Ashes, and, instead of *royal* Apparel, has *(t) his Flesh cloathed* (as himself expresses it) *with Worms and Clods of Earth*, and is all over-spread with *Sores* and *Ulcers*.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

What his Distemper was.

According to the Symptoms, which *Job* gives us of himself, his Distemper seems to have been a *Leprosy*, but a Leprosy of a more malignant Kind, (as it always is in *hot* Countries) than our Climate (blessed be God) is acquainted with; and those, who would have it to be a Malady of a more *opprobrious Name*, lose all the Sting of the *Sarcasm*, when they are told, that this Distemper, be it what it will, was not of *Job*'s Contraction, but of *Satan*'s *Infliction*, not the Effect or Consequence of his Vice, but the Means appointed for the Trial of his Virtue.

Their Opinion however seems to be well founded, who make this Distemper of *Job* not one simple Malady, but a Complication of many. For since the great Enemy of Mankind, saving his Life, had a full Licence to try his Patience to the uttermost, it is not to be question'd, but that he play'd all his *Batteries* upon him: And, accordingly, we may observe, that, *(u)* besides the *Blanes* pustulated to afflict his Body, the Devil not only instigated his Wife † to grieve his Mind, but disturb'd his Imagination likewise to terrify his Conscience. For, when the holy Man complains, *(x) Thou scarest me with Dreams, and terrifiest me with Visions*, the Analogy of the History will not suffer us to interpret, that God himself did inject these affrighting Dreams, but that the Devil (to whose Temptations he had submitted him) did raise gloomy Thoughts, and frame horrid and ghastly Objects in his Imagination, thereby to urge him to Melancholy and Despair.

How

(*t*) Job vii. 5. (*u*) *Young*'s Sermons, Vol. II.

† Some of the *Jewish* Doctors imagine, that *Dinah*, the Daughter of *Leah*, was this Wife of *Job*'s, but this seems to be a mere Fiction. The Moroseness, and Impiety of the Woman, as well as the Place of her Habitation, do no Ways suit with *Jacob*'s Daughter; and therefore the more probable Opinion is, that his Wife was an *Arabian* by Birth, and that, tho' the Words which we render, *curse* God and *die*, may equally bear a quite contrary Signification, yet are they not here to be taken in the most favourable Sense, because they drew from her meek and patient Husband so severe an Imprecation, *Thou speakest as one of the foolish Women speaketh. What? shall we receive Good at the Hand of God, and shall we not receive Evil?* Job ii. 10. *Spanheim*'s History of *Job*, c. 6.

(*x*) Job vii. 14.

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How long it continu'd.

How long this Load of various Calamity lay upon him, is no where mention'd in Scripture; and therefore ſince it is ſubmitted to Conjecture, they, who, (to magnify the Sufferings) prolong the Duration of them to a Year, and (as ſome do) to *ſeven (y)* ſeem to be regardleſs of the *tender Mercies* of the Lord; eſpecially when there are ſome Circumſtances in the Story, which certainly do countenance a much ſhorter Time. The News of the Misfortunes, which attended his *Goods* and *Family*, came cloſe upon the Heels of one another, and we cannot ſuppoſe a long Space before he was afflicted in his Body. † His three Friends ſeem to have been his near Neighbours; and they came to viſit him, as ſoon as they heard of the ill *News*, which uſually flies apace. When they ſaw his Miſery, ſeven Days they ſat with him in Silence: After this, they enter'd into a Diſcourſe with him, and at the End of this Diſcourſe (which could not well laſt above another Week) God heal'd his Sores, before his Friends (who, being Men of Eminence in their Country, may be ſuppos'd to have Buſineſs at home, as ſoon as this melancholy Occaſion was over) were parted from him. Now ſince all this may be included in the Space of a Month, and a Month may be thought Time enough for God to have made Trial of his faithful Servant; when once ſuch Trial was made, we have reaſon to believe, that he would withdraw his heavy Hand, becauſe his Character in Scripture is, that *(z) he doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the Children of Men.*

Of the Contents of the Book of Job.

THE unaccountable Greatneſs of *Job*'s Calamities had led his Friends into a Miſconception of him, and made them ſurmiſe, that it muſt be the vindictive Hand of God, either for ſome deep *Hypocriſy*, or ſome ſecret *Enormity*, that fell ſo heavy upon him: And therefore *Eliphaz*, in three Orations, *Bildad* in as many, and *Zophar*, in two, argue, from common Topicks, that ſuch Afflictions, as his, could come from no Hand, but God's, and that it was inconſiſtent with his infinite Juſtice, to afflict without a Cauſe, or puniſh without Guilt; and thereupon charging *Job*, with being either a grievous Sinner, or a great Hypocrite, they endeavour, by all Means, to extort a Confeſſion from him. But *Job*, conſcious of his Sincerity to God, and Innocence to Man, confidently maintains his Integrity; and in Speeches return'd to every one of theirs, refutes their wicked Suggeſtions, and reproves their Injuſtice and Want of Charity; but always obſerves a ſubmiſſive Stile and Reverence, when he comes to ſpeak of God, of whoſe ſecret End, in permitting this Trial to come upon him, being ignorant, he often begs a Releaſe from Life, leſt the Continuance of his Afflictions ſhould drive him into *Impatience.*

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

DURING theſe Arguments between *Job* and his Friends, there was preſent a young Man, nam'd *Elihu*, who, having heard the Debates on both Sides, and diſliking both their Cenſoriouſneſs, and *Job*'s Juſtification of himſelf, undertakes to convince them both, by Arguments drawn from God's unlimited *Sovereignty*, and unſearchable *Wiſdom*, that it was not inconſiſtent with his Juſtice, to lay his Afflictions upon the beſt and moſt righteous of the Sons of Men; and that therefore, when any ſuch Thing came upon them, their Duty was to bear it without murmuring, and to acknowledge the divine Goodneſs in every Diſpenſation.

WHEN every one had ſpoken what he thought proper, and there was now a general

(y) *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, l. 3. c. 4.

† *Eliphaz*, the *Temanite*, was the Grandſon of *Eſau*, and Son of *Teman*, who dwelt in a City of the ſame Name in *Idumæa*, not far from the Confines of *Arabia Deſerta*. *Bildad*, the *Shuhite*, was deſcended from *Shuah*, the Son of *Abraham* and *Keturah*. 'Tis almoſt impoſſible to find out who *Zophar* the *Naamathite* was, tho' ſome will have him deſcended from *Eſau*; but as for *Elihu*, who comes in afterwards, he was the Grandſon of *Buz*, the Son of *Nahor*; liv'd in the *Southern* Parts of *Meſopotamia*; and, upon the Suppoſition of *Job*'s being ſprung from *Abraham*, was his diſtant Relation. *Spanheim*'s Life of *Job*, c. 11.

(z) Lam. iii. 33.

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neral Silence in the Company, the Lord himſelf took up the Matter, and, out of a *Whirlwind*, directed his Speech to *Job*; wherein, with the higheſt Amplifications, deſcribing his Omnipotence in the Formation and diſpoſition of the Works of the *Creation*, he ſo effectually convinc'd him of his *Inability* to underſtand the *Ways* and Deſigns of God, that, with the profoundeſt Humility, he breaks out into this Confeſſion and Acknowledgment: Behold, *(a) I am vile, what ſhall I anſwer thee? I will lay my Hand upon my Mouth. Once have I ſpoken, but I will not anſwer; yea twice, but I will proceed no farther.* This Acknowledgment pleas'd God ſo well, that he declar'd himſelf in Favour of *Job* againſt his injurious Friends, and hereupon putting an End to his Sufferings, * cur'd him of all his Grievances, and rewarded his Faith and Piety with a Portion of *earthly* Felicity, double to what he had before, and with the Prolongation of his Life, beyond the common Extent of thoſe Times.

Its Character. THIS is a brief *Analyſis* of the Book of *Job*: And, whoever looks into it with a little more Attention, will ſoon perceive, that the Author of it (whoever he was) *(b)* has put in Practice all the Beauties of his Art, to make the four *Perſons*, whom he brings upon the *Stage*, keep up each his proper Character, and maintain the Opinions which they were engag'd to defend; will ſoon perceive, that for its Loftineſs of *Stile*, and Sublimeneſs of *Thoughts*, for its Livelineſs and Energy of *Expreſſion*, for the Variety of its *Characters*, the Fineneſs of its *Deſcriptions*, and the Grandeur of its *Imagery*, there is hardly ſuch another *Compoſition* to be found in all the Records of *Antiquity*, which has rais'd the Curioſity of all Ages to find out the Perſon, who might poſſibly be the *Author* of it. From Gen xxxvii. to the End.

When, and by whom written. SOME have imagin'd, that, as it has been no uncommon Thing, in all Ages, for Perſons of Diſtinction to write their own *Memoirs*, *Job* himſelf, or ſome of his Friends at leaſt, who bore a Part in the *Series* of this Hiſtory, might ſet about the inditing it, if not for any other Reaſon, at laſt in Compliance to his Requeſt, *(c) O, that my Words were now written, that they were printed in a Book!* But tho' ſome *Family Records* may poſſibly be kept of Events ſo remarkable as thoſe, that occur in *Job*'s Life, † yet the *poetical* Turn, which is given to the *latter Part* of the Book more eſpecially, ſeems to favour of a more *modern* Compoſition, than ſuits with the *Æra*, wherein we ſuppoſe *Job* to have liv'd.

OTHERS therefore ſuppoſe, that the Story of *Job* was at firſt a plain *Narrative*, written in the *Arabian* Tongue, but that *Solomon*, or ſome other *poetical Genius* like him, gave it a *dramatic* Caſt, and,

(a) Job xl. 4, 5.

* The *Eaſtern* People have a Tradition, that, upon God's propoſing to make no farther Trial of *Job*, the Angel *Gabriel* deſcended from Heaven, took him by the Hand, rais'd him from the Place where he was, ſtruck the Ground with his Foot, and caus'd a Fountain of the pureſt Water to ſpring out of it, wherein *Job* having waſh'd his Body, and drank a Cup or two of it, found himſelf perfectly cur'd and reſtor'd to Health again. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Job*.

(b) Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7. *(c)* Job xix. 23.

† St *Jerom*, in his *Preface* to the Book of *Job*, informs us, that the Verſe, (in which it is chiefly compos'd) is *heroick*. From the Beginning of the Book, to the third Chapter, *he ſays*, it is *Proſe*; but from *Job*'s Words, *Let the Day periſh, wherein I was born*, &c. Chap. iii. 3. unto theſe Words, *Wherefore I abhor myſelf, and repent in Duſt and Aſhes*, Chap. xlii. 6. the Verſes are *Hexameter*, conſiſting of *Dactyls* and *Spondees*, like the *Greek* Verſes of *Homer*, and the *Latin* of *Virgil*. *Marianus Victorious*, in his Note upon this Paſſage of St *Jerom*, ſays, that he has examin'd the Book of *Job*, and finds St *Jerom*'s Obſervation to be true. Only we muſt obſerve, that the ſeveral Sentences, directing us to the ſeveral Speakers, (ſuch as theſe *Moreover the Lord anſwer'd* Job, *and ſaid*, Chap. xl. 1. Elihu *alſo proceeded, and ſaid*, Chap. xxxvi. 1. Elihu *ſpake moreover and ſaid*, Chap. xxxv. 1, *&c.)* are in *Proſe*, and not in *Verſe*. St *Jerom* makes this farther Remark, that the Verſes in the Book of *Job* do not always conſiſt of *Dactyls* and *Spondees*, but that other Feet do frequently occur inſtead of them; that we often meet in them a Word of four Syllables, inſtead of a *Dactyl* and *Spondee*; and that the Meaſure of the Verſes frequently differs in the Number of the Syllables of the ſeveral Feet; but allowing two ſhort Syllables to be equal to one long one, the Sums of the Meaſure of the Verſes are always the ſame. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 9.

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and in order to make the Subject more moving, introduc'd a Set of *Perſons* ſpeaking *alternately*, and always in *Character*. But tho' this was certainly the Mode of Writing then in Vogue, yet how there came ſo much of the *Arabian* and *Syrian Dialect* to creep into a Book, that was compos'd at a Time, when the *Hebrew* Tongue was in its very Height of Perfection, we cannot conceive; nor can we be perſuaded, but that, in reading the whole, we taſte an Antiquity ſuperior to that of *David* or *Solomon*'s Time. And yet, this notwithſtanding, *(d)* ſome have endeavour'd to bring down the Author of the Book of *Job* to the Times of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, and ſuppoſe the Book to have been written for the Conſolation of the Captives in Diſtreſs. But, if we ſuppoſe it written for the Sake of the *Jews*, is it not ſtrange, that, in a Diſcourſe of ſuch a Kind, there ſhou'd not be one ſingle Word of the Law of *Moſes*, nor ſo much as one diſtant Alluſion to any Rite or Ceremony of it, or to any of the Form of Idolatry, for which the *Jews* ſuffer'd in the Time of their Captivity? The *Jews*, I ſay, certainly ſuffer'd for their Iniquity; but the Example of *Job* is the Example of an innocent Man, ſuffering for no Demerit of his own. Now apply this to the *Jews* in their Captivity, and the Book contradicts all the Prophets before, and at the Time of their Captivity, and ſeems to be calculated, as it were, to harden the *Jews* in their Sufferings, and to reproach the Providence of God for bringing them upon them. Without troubling ourſelves therefore to examine, whether the Conjectures of thoſe, *(e)* who carry the Date of this Book even lower than the Captivity, and impute it *(f)* to *Ezra*, that *ready Scribe in the Law of* Moſes, as he is ſtil'd, have any good Foundation to ſupport them, we may ſit down contented with what is the common, and as far as I can ſee, as probable an Opinion as any, *viz.* That *(g) Moſes* (as ſoon as God put it in his Heart to *viſit his People)* either while he continu'd in *Egypt*, or while he liv'd in Exile in *Midian*, either tranſlated this Book from *Arabick* (in which ſome ſuppoſe it was originally) or wrote it entirely by a divine Inſpiration, for the Support and Conſolation of his Country-men, the *Jews*, groaning under the Preſſure of the *Egyptian* Bondage; that, by a proper Example, he might repreſent the Deſign of Providence in afflicting them, and, at the ſame Time, give them Aſſurance of a Releaſe and Reſtoration in due Time.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

THIS is what moſt of the *Jews*, and ſeveral *Chriſtian* Writers have affirm'd, and believ'd, concerning the Book of *Job*: But the Author from whom I have compil'd a great Part of this *Diſſertation*, has, by ſeveral Arguments, hardly ſurmountable, gone a great Way to deſtroy the receiv'd Opinion, and left nothing to depend on but this, —— That the Writer of this Book was a *Jew*, and aſſiſted therein by the Spirit of God; that it has always been eſteem'd of *canonical* Authority; is fraught with excellent Inſtructions; and, above all, is ſingularly adapted to adminiſter Comfort in the Day of Adverſity. Not to quit therefore this Subject, without an Exhortation to this Purpoſe, *(h) Ye have heard of the Patience of* Job ſays the Apoſtle, *and have ſeen the End of the Lord:* And therefore, *(i)* when we find our Spirits begin to flag under the Senſe of any Affliction, or bodily Pain; when our Patience begins to be tir'd with Sufferings, which are greater than we can bear, and our Truſt in God to be ſhaken, becauſe he pours down his Judgments upon us; let us enliven our fainting Courage, by ſetting before us ſuch noble Patterns as this; and let us be aſham'd to ſink under our Burthens, in their Weight far diſproportionate to thoſe, which a Man, made of the

A practical Inference from Job's *Example.*

(d) Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy, Diſſertation II. *(e) Warburton*'s Divine Legation, Vol. III. lib. vi. & Sentimens de quelques Theol. de Hol. p. 183, *&c.* *(f)* Ezra vii. 6. *(g) Spanheim*'s Life of *Job*, c. 13. *(h)* James v. 11. *(i)* Biſhop *Smalridge*'s Sermon of Truſt in God.

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the ſame Fleſh and Blood, as we are, and ſupported by no other Helps, than are afforded us, without murmuring againſt God, without leſſening his Confidence in him, without impeaching his Juſtice, and without deſponding of his Goodneſs, both patiently endur'd, and triumphantly overcame.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

CHAP. V.

The Sufferings of the Iſraelites, *and the Means of their Deliverance out of* Egypt.

The History.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1571, &c.

A Revolution in Egypt *occaſions the Oppreſſion of the* Iſraelites.

NOT long after the Death of *Joſeph*, there happen'd a *Revolution* in *Egypt*, and a *new King*, who had no Knowledge of the great Services, which *Joſeph* had done the Crown, perceiving the vaſt Increaſe of the *Iſraelites*, began to fear, that, in caſe of an Invaſion, they poſſibly might ſide with the Enemy, and depoſe him; and therefore he call'd a Council, wherein it was reſolv'd, not only to * impoſe heavy Taxes upon the People, but to confine them likewiſe to the hard Labour of bearing Burthens, and digging Clay, and making Bricks, and † building ſtrong Cities for the King; thereby to impoveriſh their Spirits, as well as wear out, and infeeble their Bodies.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

This

* The original Words, *Sare Maſſim*, which we tranſlate *Taſk-maſters*, do properly ſignify *Tax gatherers*, and the *Burthens* are afterwards mention'd, as diſtinct Things, under another Name: So that the Reſolution in *Council* was, both to lay heavy Tributes upon them, to impoveriſh, and heavy Burthens, to weaken them. *Philo*, in his Life of *Moſes*, tells us, that they were made to carry Burthens above their Strength, and to work Night and Day; that they were forc'd, at the ſame Time, to be Workers and Servers both; that they were employ'd in Brick-making, Digging, and Building; and that if any of them dropp'd down dead under their Burthens, they were not ſuffer'd to be buried. *Joſephus*, in his *Jewiſh Antiquities*, [l. 2. c. 9.] tells us, in like Manner, that they were compell'd to learn ſeveral laborious Trades, to build Walls round Cities, to dig Trenches and Ditches, to drain Rivers into Channels, and caſt up Dikes and Banks to prevent Inundations. And not only ſo, but that they were likewiſe put upon the Erection of fantaſtical *Pyramids*, which were vaſt Piles of Building, rais'd by the Kings of *Egypt*, in Teſtimony of their Splendor and Magnificence, and to be the Repoſitories of their Bodies, when dead. Thus, by three ſeveral Ways the *Egyptians* endeavour'd to bring the *Iſraelites* under: By exacting a Tribute of them, to leſſen their Wealth; by laying heavy Burthens upon them, to weaken their Bodies; and by preventing, by this Means, as they imagin'd, their generating and increaſing.

† The two Cities here mention'd, *viz. Pithon* and *Raamſes*, are ſaid, in our Tranſlation, to be *Treaſure-Cities*, but not Places, where the King repoſited his Riches, but rather his Grain or Corn; for ſuch Repoſitories ſeem to have been much in uſe among the *Egyptians*, ever ſince the firſt Introduction of them by *Joſeph*. Conſidering however the Name and Situation of theſe two Cities, that *Pithon*, according to Sir *John Marſham*, was the ſame with *Peluſium*, the moſt antient fortify'd Place in *Egypt*, call'd by *Ezekiel*, Chap. xxx. 15. *the Strength of* Egypt, and by *Suidas*, long after him, Κλεὶς τῆ Αιγύπτε *the Key of* Egypt, as being the Inlet from *Syria*; and that *Raamſes*, in all Probability, was a Frontier-town, which lay in the Entrance of *Egypt* from *Arabia*, or ſome of the neighbouring Countries; it ſeems hardly conſiſtent with good Policy to have Granaries, or Store-Cities in any other, than the *inland* Parts of a Country: And therefore, as theſe were ſituated in the *Out-Parts* of *Egypt*, 'tis much more likely, that they were *fortify'd Places*, ſurrounded with Walls, and Towers, and deep Ditches, which wou'd coſt the *Hebrews* an infinite deal of Labour in building, than that they were *Repoſitories*, either for Corn, or Treaſure. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II.

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THIS Reſolution of Council was ſoon put in Execution, and Taſk-maſters accordingly ſet over the People, who ſhould keep them to Drudgery, and uſe them with Cruelty, and do all they could, in ſhort, to make their Lives miſerable, but ſuch was the Goodneſs of God to them, that the more they were oppreſs'd, the † more they multiplied; inſomuch, that the King, finding that this Expedient would not do, ſent for two of the moſt eminent of their Midwives, whoſe Names were *Shiphrah* and *Puah*, and gave them ſtrict Charge, that, whenever they were call'd to do their Office to any *Hebrew* Woman, they ſhou'd privately ſtrangle the Child, * if it was a *Male*, and leave only the † *Females* alive. But they, abhorring ſuch a cruel and impious Practice, had no Regard to the King's Command, but ſav'd Male and Female alike; and when the King ſent for them, and reprimanded them for their Diſobedience, they had this Anſwer in Readineſs; —— † That the *Hebrew* Women, being of a much ſtronger Conſtitution than the *Egyptian*, were generally deliver'd before they came. From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

THIS was a Piece of Service not unacceptable to God, but to *Pharaoh* it ſeem'd no more than a mere Evaſion; and therefore, reſolving upon a more effectual Method to extirpate the *Hebrews*, he publiſh'd an *Edict*, wherein he commanded all their *Male* Children to be thrown into the

† Commentators obſerve, that, in this Paſſage of Scripture, where *Moſes* deſcribes the vaſt Increaſe of the *Iſraelites*, he employs a great Variety of Words, in expreſſing it; and, becauſe the Words, he makes uſe of, are *ſix* in all, ſome of the *Hebrew* Expoſitors have thence concluded, that the Women brought forth ſix Children at a Birth. *Ariſtotle* indeed, in his *Hiſtory of Animals*, (l. 7. c. 4.) tells us, that the Country of *Egypt*, where the *Hebrew* Women bred ſo plentifully, was ſo ſtrangely *prolifick*, that ſome of their Women, at four Times, brought *twenty* Children: But, without having recourſe to ſuch prodigious Births, as happen'd but ſeldom, we need but ſuppoſe, that the *Iſraelites*, both Men and Women, were very fruitful; that they began ſoon, and continu'd long in begetting; and then there will be no Impoſſibility for 70 Males, in the Compaſs of 215 Years, to have multiply'd to the Number ſpecify'd, even at the Rate of one Child every Year. For, according to *Simler*'s Computation, 70 Perſons, if they beget a Child every Year, will, in 30 Years Time, have above 2000 Children; of which, admit that one third Part only did come to *procreate*, in 30 Years more, they will amount to 9000. The third Part of them will, in 30 Years more, be multiply'd to 45,000; and, according to this Calculation, in 210 Years, the whole Amount will be at leaſt, 2,760,000. So that, if there was any Thing miraculous, or extraordinary in all this, it was, that they ſhou'd be able to multiply at that Rate, notwithſtanding their hard Labour, and cruel Bondage. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

* *Joſephus* tells us, that there was a certain *Scribe* (as they call'd him) a Man of great Credit for his Predictions, who told the King, that there was a *Hebrew* Child to be born about that Time, who would be a Scourge to the *Egyptians*, and advance the Glory of his own Nation, and, if he liv'd to grow up, wou'd be a Man eminent for Virtue and Courage, and make his Name famous to Poſterity; and that, by the Counſel and Inſtigation of this *Scribe* it was, that *Pharaoh* gave the Midwives Orders to put all the *Hebrew* Male Children to Death. *Jewiſh* Antiquities, l. 2. c. 9.

† For this Diſtinction in his Barbarity the King might have ſeveral Reaſons. As, 1. To have deſtroy'd the Females with the Males had been an unneceſſary Provocation and Cruelty, becauſe there was no Fear of the *Women's joining to the King's Enemies, and fighting againſt him.* 2. The Daughters of *Iſrael* exceeded very much their own Women in Beauty, and all Advantages of Perſon; and therefore their Project might be, to have them preſerv'd for the Gratification of their Luſt. *Philo* tells us, that they were preſerv'd to be marry'd to the Slaves of the *Egyptian* Lords and Gentry, that the Children deſcended from them might be Slaves even by Birth. But ſuppoſe they were marry'd to Freemen, they cou'd have no Children, but ſuch as wou'd be half *Egyptians*, and in Time be wholly ingrafted into that Nation. But 3. Admitting they marry'd not at all, yet as the Female Sex, among the *Hebrews*, made a very conſiderable Figure in *Egypt* for their Senſe and Knowledge, the Care of their Families, and Application to Buſineſs, and for their Skill and Dexterity in many Accompliſhments, that were much to be valu'd for the Uſe and Ornament of Life, ſuch as the Diſtaff and the Loom, Dying, Painting, Embroidering, &c. ſuch Women as theſe wou'd make excellent Servants and Domeſticks for the *Egyptian* Ladies, who had no Reliſh of ſpending their Time any other Way, than in Idleneſs and Pleaſure. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum.*

† It is generally ſuppos'd that the Midwives, upon this Occaſion, told a Lye; but there is no Reaſon for ſuch a Suppoſition, tho' poſſibly they might conceal ſome Part of the Truth, which is not unlawful, but highly commendable, when it is to preſerve the Innocent; for many of the *Hebrew* Women might be ſuch, as are here deſcrib'd, tho' not every one of them. The Anſwer of the Midwives therefore is ſo far from being a ſneaking Lye, to ſave their Lives, that it is a bold Confeſſion of their Faith and Piety, to the Hazard of them, *viz.* that they ſaw ſo plain an Evidence of the wonderful Hand of God, in that extraordinary Vigour in the Travail of the Women, that, do what *Pharaoh* wou'd, they durſt not, wou'd not ſtrive againſt it, becauſe they wou'd *not ſtrive againſt God.* *Lightfoot*'s Sermon, on 2 *Sam.* xix. 29.

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the *River*; and that they might be more ſubject to the Inſpection of his *Searchers*, * he *built them Houſes*, and oblig'd them to live in ſettled Habitations.

The Birth of Moſes and his Education.

Some Years before this Edict, *Amram*, who was of the Houſe of *Levi*, had marry'd a Woman, nam'd † *Jochebed*, of the ſame Tribe, and by her had a Daughter, whoſe Name was *Miriam*, and, four Years after that, a Son, whom they call'd *Aaron*; and, in the Time of this cruel *Perſecution*, his Wife was again deliver'd of a fine, lovely Boy, whom ſhe was very deſirous to preſerve. For three Months therefore ſhe * kept him conceal'd; but fearing at length a Diſcovery, ſhe reſolv'd to commit him to the Providence of God: And, accordingly having made a little Baſket, or Boat of *Ruſhes*, ſhe plaiſter'd it within and without with Bitumen or Pitch, to make it keep out the Water. Into *this* ſhe put the poor Infant; and, leaving it among the Flags, by the Bank of the River, ſhe plac'd his Siſter, at a proper Diſtance, to obſerve the *Event*.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

As good Luck wou'd have it, *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, attended with her Maids of Honour, in a ſhort Time after, came to the

* The *making the Midwives Houſes*, is, by moſt Interpreters, aſcrib'd to God, and the Thing is ſuppos'd to have been done in a *metaphorical* Senſe, *i. e.* God gave them a numerous Offspring or Family, and a very laſting Succeſſion or Poſterity. For there are five Things, *ſay they*, which go to compleat the Greatneſs or Eminence of a Family, as ſuch; its Largeneſs, its Wealth, its Honours, its Power, and its Duration. And therefore, ſince the Midwives hazarded their own Lives to ſave thoſe of the *Hebrew* Children, and to preſerve the *Iſraelites* a numerous Progeny and Poſterity, the God of *Iſrael*, in Return, not only made their own Lives long and proſperous, but gave them very numerous Families, and an enduring Poſterity, in whom they might be ſaid to live after Death, even from Generation to Generation. But all this is a very forc'd Conſtruction, and what the original Words will by no Means bear. We ſhou'd therefore rather think, that theſe Houſes were built not for the *Midwives*, but the *Iſraelites*, and that it was not *God*, but *Pharaoh*, who built them. The Caſe ſeems to be this: —— *Pharaoh* had charg'd the Midwives to kill the Male Children, that were born of the *Hebrew* Women; the Midwives fear'd God, and omitted to do what the King had commanded them, pretending, in Excuſe for their Omiſſion, that the *Hebrew* Women were generally deliver'd before they cou'd get to them. *Pharaoh* hereupon, reſolving to prevent their Increaſe, gave Charge to his People to have all the Male Children of the *Hebrews* thrown into the River; but his Command cou'd not be ſtrictly executed, whilſt the *Iſraelites* liv'd up and down in the Fields in Tents, which was their antient and cuſtomary Way of living; for they wou'd ſhift here and there, and lodge the Women in Child-bed out of the Way, to ſave their Children. *Pharaoh* therefore *built them Houſes*, and oblig'd them to a more ſettled Habitation; that the People, whom he had ſet over them, might know where to find every Family, and to take an Account of all the Children, that ſhou'd be born. So that this was a very cunning Contrivance of *Pharaoh*, in order to have his Charge more ſtrictly and effectually executed, than it cou'd otherwiſe have been done; and was a *Particular* too remarkable not to be inſerted in *Moſes*'s Account of this Affair. The only ſeeming Difficulty is, to reconcile the Words in the Text to what has been here advanc'd; but this will be none at all, if the Words be rightly tranſlated, and the Verſes rightly diſtinguiſh'd, in this Manner. Exod. i. 20. *And God dealt well with the Midwives, and the People multiplied, and waxed very mighty, and this happened* (or was ſo, or came to paſs) *becauſe the Midwives feared God.* Ver. 21, 22. *And* Pharaoh *built them* (i. e. the *Iſraelites*) *Houſes, and charged all his People, ſaying, every Son, that is born, ye ſhall caſt into the River, and every Daughter ye ſhall ſave alive.* *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 7.

† *Jochebed* was not only of the ſame Tribe, but own *Aunt* likewiſe to *Amram*. For tho' the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and (after them) many learned Expoſitors, both *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*, have thought that ſhe was no more than his Uncle *Kohath*'s Daughter, and conſequently his *Couſin-german*, becauſe the Marriage of an Aunt was afterwards forbidden in the *Levitical* Law; yet the plain Matter of Fact is repugnant to all this. In *Exod.* vi. 18. it is ſaid expreſsly, that *Kohath*, the Father of *Amram*, was the Son of *Levi*. In Numb. xxvi. 59. it is ſaid, that *Jochebed* was *Levi*'s Daughter, and born in *Egypt*; and here again in *Exod.* vi. 20. it is ſaid, that *Amram took him* Jochebed, *his Father's Siſter, to Wife:* And therefore, without ſubverting the natural Senſe of theſe Texts, we cannot but conclude, that the *Nephew* marry'd his *Aunt*. For the Prohibitions, made upon the Degrees of Conſanguinity, do not flow from the *Law of Nature*, but only oblige by Virtue of the Command of God; and therefore, before this Command took Place, Relations of a nearer Affinity were allow'd to be join'd together. Nor can the ſuppos'd Difference of their Age be any Argument to the contrary, ſince *Levi* might have her, when he was an hundred Years old, and ſhe conſequently be very little, if any at all, older than her *Nephew*. *Saurin*'s Diſſertation 43.

* *Joſephus* tells us this Story —— That *Amram*, finding his Wife with Child, and being ſollicitous about the King's Edict, pray'd earneſtly to God to put an End to that dreadful Perſecution; and that God appear'd to him, and told him, that he wou'd in due Time free his People from it, and that the Son, who ſhortly wou'd be born unto him, ſhou'd prove the happy Inſtrument of their glorious Deliverance, and eternize his own Name thereby. —— That this made him conceal him as long as he cou'd, but fearing a Diſcovery, he reſolved to truſt him to the Care of Providence, arguing in this Manner: —— That if the Child cou'd be conceal'd (as it was very difficult to do it, and hazardous to attempt it) they muſt be in Danger every Moment, but, as to the Power and Veracity of God, he did not doubt of it, but was aſſur'd, that whatever he had promis'd he wou'd certainly make good; and with this Truſt and Perſuaſion he was reſolv'd to expoſe him. *Jewiſh* Antiquities, l. 2. c. 9.

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the River, to bathe herſelf; and ſpying the Baſket at ſome Diſtance, ſhe order'd one of the Company to go, and fetch it out; which when ſhe had uncover'd, the ſurprizing Beauty of the Infant, weeping, and making its *little Moan*, ſo mov'd her Heart with Compaſſion, that ſhe immediately declar'd her Intention to have it brought up, notwithſtanding ſhe perceiv'd it was certainly one of thoſe Children, whom her Father, in his *Edict*, had order'd to be drown'd.

BY this Time *Miriam*, the Child's Siſter, had convey'd herſelf into the Company; and † hearing the Princeſs enquire for a Nurſe, offer'd her Service to go and fetch one out of the Neighbourhood; which when ſhe was order'd to do, ſhe haſten'd to her Mother, who came with all Speed, and took the Child from the *Princeſs*, who promis'd to ſee her well paid for her Care in nurſing it.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

WHEN the Child was of an Age fit to be wean'd, his Mother carried him to Court, to ſhew him to the *Princeſs*; who * ſoon grew ſo fond of him, that ſhe adopted him for her *own*, and, in Remembrance of his being *taken out of the River*, gave him the † *Egyptian* Name of *Moſes*. But his Father and Mother, † who brought him up in his Infancy, had taken Care to inſtruct him in ſuch Things, as related to the Religion and Hiſtory of his Anceſtors; and therefore, when he arriv'd to Maturity, he

† The Princeſs is call'd, by *Joſephus Thermuthis*; by *Artaphanes*, as he is cited by *Euſebius*, [Præp. l. 9. c. 4.] *Mercis*; and, in the *Alexandrian* Chronicle, *Myrrina*. But *Joſephus* adds farther, that *Thermuthis* having ſent for ſeveral *wet* Nurſes, one after another, the Child turn'd its Head ſcornfully from their Breaſts, and wou'd not ſuck: Whereupon *Miriam* told the Princeſs, that, if the Nurſe and the Child were of different Nations, her Milk wou'd never agree with it, but that if an *Hebrew* Woman was fetch'd, he wou'd probably take the Breaſt from her; and that upon this, ſhe was bid to go for one, and immediately brought her own, and the Child's Mother, whom he fell a ſucking very greedily, to the Admiration of all the By-ſtanders, lib. ii. cap. 9.

* And well might the *Princeſs* be fond of the Child, who (according to *Joſephus*) had Charms enough to engage any one's Affections. "For, as he grew up, he ſhew'd a Pregnancy of Underſtanding much above thoſe of his "Years, and did every Thing with ſuch a Grace, as gave the World to underſtand, what they might in Time ex-"pect from him. After three Years of Age, he was ſuch a Miracle of a Child for Beauty and Comelineſs of Stature, "that People wou'd ſtop, and ſtand gazing on him, with Delight and Admiration, wherever they ſaw him, and "his Carriage and Behaviour was ſo very obliging, that he won upon the moſt moroſe and unſociable Sort of Men. "*Thermuthis* herſelf (*continues our Author*) being as much delighted with him as any, wanting Iſſue of her own, and "having reſolv'd to adopt him for her Son, brought him one Day to her Father, and in Merriment, told him, "that ſhe came to preſent him with a Succeſſor, in Caſe he wanted one. The King receiv'd him with an affectionate "Tenderneſs, and to gratify his Daughter, took off his Crown, and plac'd it upon the Child's Head; but ſo far "was he from being pleas'd with it, that he threw it upon the Ground, and trampled upon it with his Feet. "This Action was look'd upon as an ill Omen to the King and his Government, inſomuch that the *Scribe*, we "mention'd before, being then in the Company, cry'd out to have the Child kill'd: *For, this is the Child*, ſays he "to the King, *which I foretold your Majeſty would be the Deſtruction of* Egypt, *and he hath now confirm'd the Prophecy, "by the Affront, he hath put upon your Government, in treading the Crown under his Feet. In ſhort, this is he, by whoſe "Death alone you may promiſe yourſelf to be ſecure. For, take him but out of the Way, the* Hebrews *ſhall have nothing "more to hope for, and the* Egyptians *nothing more to fear.* This Speech gave ſome Uneaſineſs to *Thermuthis*, and "therefore ſhe immediately took the Child away, without any Oppoſition from the King, whoſe Heart God had "diſpos'd not to take any Notice of what the *Scribe* had ſaid." Lib. ii. ibid.

† Both *Philo*, *Joſephus*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, will have the Word *Moſes* to be deriv'd from the *Egyptian Mo*, which, according to them, ſignifies *Water*, and *Iſes*, or *Yſes*, which means *preſerv'd*, as much as to ſay, *ſav'd from the Waters*, or *preſerv'd from drowning*. 'Tis very likely indeed, that the Princeſs ſhould give the Child a Name from no other Language, than her own; but then it is to be conſider'd, that the *Hebrew* Word *Maſhah* (from whence the Name naturally flows, and to which the Princeſs herſelf owns that ſhe alludes) might have the ſame Signification in her Tongue, that it has in the *Hebrew*, where it always ſignifies a *drawing out of the Water*, 2 Sam. xxii. 17. Pſal. xviii. 16. and Iſa. xliii. 2. It cannot be doubted indeed, but that *Moſes* had another Name given him by his own Parents at the Time of his *Circumciſion*, but what that Name was, we have no Certainty, nor can we tell, from what Authority it is, that *Clemens* informs us, that it was *Joachim*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Beſides the Education which his own Parents gave him, *Philo* acquaints us, that, from his *Egyptian* Maſters, he was taught *Arithmetick*, *Geometry*, *Phyſick*, *Muſick*, and *Hieroglyphicks*, otherwiſe call'd *enigmatical* Philoſophy; that from the *Chaldeans* he learnt Aſtronomy; from the *Aſſyrians* their Character, or Manner of Writing; and from the *Grecians* all their liberal Arts and Sciences. But that was not a Time for the *Egyptians*, who excell'd the reſt of the World in all Sorts of Learning, to ſend for Maſters from *Greece*, which rather ſtood in need of *Egyptian* Teachers; for, to *be learned in all the Wiſdom of the* Egyptians (as St. *Stephen* aſſerts of *Moſes*, Acts vii. 22.) was to have the beſt and moſt liberal Education, that the whole World cou'd at that Time afford.

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he left the Court, and, coming to live among his Brethren, was himſelf an *Eye-witneſs*, at what a mercileſs Rate the *Egyptian* Taſk-maſters treated them.

The Occaſion of his leaving Egypt.

This rais'd his Reſentment and Indignation to ſuch a Degree, that, ſeeing, one Day, an *Egyptian* abuſe an *Hebrew* in a very groſs Manner, he ſtepp'd in to his Aſſiſtance, and, perceiving Nobody near, ſlew the *Egyptian*, and bury'd his Body in the Sand.

The next Day, as he walk'd out again, he found two *Hebrews* in Conteſt with one another; whereupon he admoniſh'd them to conſider that they were Brethren, and wou'd have decided the Quarrel between them: But he, who was the Aggreſſor, rejected his Arbitration with Contempt, and upbraided him with the Murther of the *Egyptian* the Day before. This gave *Moſes* ſome uneaſy Apprehenſions, that, as the Thing was now blown, it might not be long, before it reach'd *Pharaoh*'s Ear, and endanger his Life; ſo that he thought it the † beſt Way to leave *Egypt*, and to ſecure himſelf by flying into the Country of *Midian*, beyond the *Red-Sea*.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

His Retreat to Midian, *and living with* Jethro.

In the Plains of *Midian*, there is a *Well* common to all the Natives of the Place: Here it was, that *Moſes* had ſtopp'd to refreſh himſelf, when ſeven of the Daughters of *Jethro*, † the chief Man of the Country,

† *Joſephus*, who has given us ſeveral Particulars of *Moſes*'s Life, which, in Modeſty perhaps, he might not think proper to record of himſelf, has aſſign'd a farther Reaſon for his leaving *Egypt*, of which it may not be improper, in this Place, to give the Reader this ſhort *Abſtract*. "When *Moſes* was grown to Man's Eſtate, he had an Opportunity "offer'd him of ſhewing his Courage and Conduct. The *Ethiopians*, who inhabited the upper Land on the South "Side of *Egypt*, had made many dreadful Incurſions, plunder'd and ravag'd all the neighbouring Parts of the Country, "beat the *Egyptian* Army in a ſet Battle, and were become ſo elated with their Succeſs, that they began to march "towards the *Capital* of *Egypt*. In this Diſtreſs, the *Egyptians* had recourſe to the Oracle, which anſwer'd, that "they ſhou'd make choice of an *Hebrew* for their General. As none was more promiſing than *Moſes*, the King "deſir'd his Daughter to conſent, that he ſhou'd go, and head his Army; but ſhe, after having firſt expoſtulated "with her Father, how mean a Thing it was for the *Egyptians* to implore the Aſſiſtance of a Man, whoſe Death they "had been complotting, wou'd not agree to it, until ſhe had obtain'd a ſolemn Promiſe upon Oath, that no Practices "or Attempts ſhou'd be made upon his Life. When *Moſes*, by the Princeſs's Perſuaſion, had at laſt accepted the "*Commiſſion*, he made it his firſt Care to come up with the Enemy, before they were aware of him; and, to this "Purpoſe, inſtead of marching up the *Nile*, as the Cuſtom was before, he choſe to croſs the Country, tho' the "Paſſage was very dangerous, by reaſon of the poiſonous *flying* Serpents, which infeſted thoſe Parts; but for this he "had a new Expedient. The Bird *Ibis*, tho' very friendly to every other Creature, is a mortal Enemy to all Ser-"pents; and therefore having got a ſufficient Number of theſe, he carry'd them along with him in Cages, and, as "ſoon as he came into any dangerous Places, he let them looſe upon the Serpents, and, by their Means and Protec-"tion, proceeding without any Harm or Moleſtation, he enter'd the Enemies Country, took ſeveral of their Cities, "and oblig'd them at laſt to retreat into *Saba*, the *Metropolis* of *Ethiopia*. *Moſes* ſat down before it: But, as it was "ſituate in an *Iſland*, with ſtrong Fortifications about it, in all Probability it wou'd have coſt him a longer Time to "carry it, had not *Tharbis*, the King of *Ethiopia*'s Daughter, who had the Fortune once to ſee him from the Walls "behaving himſelf with the utmoſt Gallantry, fallen in Love with him. Whereupon ſhe ſent privately to let him "know, that the City ſhou'd be ſurrender'd to him, upon Condition, that he wou'd marry her immediately after. "*Moſes* agreed to the Propoſal; and, having taken Poſſeſſion of the Place, and of the Princeſs, return'd with his "victorious Army to *Egypt*. Here, inſtead of reaping the Fruits of his great Atchievements, the *Egyptians* accus'd "him of Murder to the King, who, having already taken ſome *Umbrage* at his Valour and great Reputation, was "reſolv'd to rid himſelf of him: But *Moſes*, having ſome Suſpicion of it, made his Eſcape, and, not daring to go "by the common Roads, for fear of being ſtopp'd by the King's Guards, was forc'd to paſs through a great Deſart "to reach the Land of *Midian*."

† The Word *Cohen* ſignifies indifferently either *Prieſt* or *Prince*, and accordingly, in theſe early Ages, both theſe Offices were frequently united in one and the ſame Perſon. It ſeems however, that *Jethro* was ſcarce a Prince in that Country, for then, one wou'd think, that the Shepherds wou'd not have dar'd to have been ſo inſolent to his Daughters; and yet, if he was a *Prieſt*, it is made a Matter of ſome Conteſt between two famous *Rabbins* whether he was an *Idolator*, or a Worſhipper of the true God. *Aben Ezra* is of Opinion, that as he was deſcended from *Midian*, the Son of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, in all Probability, he profeſs'd the true Religion; nor can he ſuppoſe that *Moſes* wou'd have marry'd his Daughter, had he been bred up in a falſe one: Whereas *Moſes*, 'tis plain, not only owns his Alliance with his Family, but, upon his Arrival in the Camp of *Iſrael*, invites him to offer Sacrifices to the Lord, (Exod. xviii. 11, 12) as one, who ador'd the ſame God with the *Iſraelites*. *Kimhi* however, on the other Hand, affirms, that, at firſt, he was an adolatrous Prieſt, but afterwards, when he came to *Moſes* in the Wil-derneſs, and was particularly inform'd of all thoſe great and wonderful Things, which God had wrought, in *Egypt*, for the Deliverance of the *Hebrews*, he became a Convert to the Worſhip of the true God; and, for this he produces a Paſſage in the ſame Chapter, Ver. 11. *Now I know that the Lord is greater than all Gods; for, in the Thing wherein*



A Benoist sculp. *le Brun Inv.*

And the angel of the Lord appeared unto Moses in a flame of fire, out of the midst of a bush: & he looked, & behold, the bush burned with fire, & the bush was not consumed. Exod.ⁱ III. Ch. V. 2

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Country, came to draw Water for their Flocks; but when they had fill'd their Troughs, a Parcel of rude Shepherds, being minded to ſerve their own Turn firſt, ſeiz'd on their Water, and frighten'd the Damſels away: Which *Moſes* perceiving, went to their Aſſiſtance, and, forcing the Shepherds to retire, drew the young Virgins more Water, and gave it to their Flocks.

HEREUPON taking their Leaves they made haſte home; and, while their Father was wondering at their ſpeedy Return, they inform'd him how civil a certain Stranger had been, both in watering their Flocks, and protecting them from the Inſults of the *Ruſticks*; which made *Jethro* ſend, and invite him to his Houſe, and treat him in a Manner ſuitable to the Civility he had ſhewn to his Daughters; inſomuch that *Moſes*, after he had tarry'd there ſome Time, was ſo pleas'd with his courteous Reception, that he expreſs'd a Willingneſs to take up his Abode with him, † and become his *Shepherd*. This Propoſal *Jethro* very readily embrac'd; and, to attach him the more to his Intereſt, gave him his † Daughter *Zipporah* in Marriage, by whom he had two Sons, whereof the elder he nam'd *Gerſhom*, which ſignifies a *Stranger*, alluding to his own Condition in that Country; and the younger *Eliezer*, importing *God my Help*, in grateful Acknowledgment of God's having deliver'd him from the Hands of *Pharaoh*, who ſought his Life.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

WHILE *Moſes* liv'd in the Family of *Jethro*, the King, who was upon the *Egyptian* Throne, when he left the Country, died; but his Succeſſor, who was no leſs a Tyrant, and Oppreſſor of the *Iſraelites*, laid ſuch heavy Burthens upon them, as made their Lives extremely miſerable, till at length, their Complaints reach'd Heaven; and, as the Time of their Deliverance grew near, God, remembring the Covenant, which he had made with their Forefathers, began to look upon them with an Eye of Pity and Compaſſion.

God's appearing to him in the burning Buſh.

MOSES was to be his Inſtrument in bringing about their Deliverance: And therefore, while he was feeding his Father-in-law's Flock, and, as they wander'd in their feeding, follow'd them as far into the *Deſert* as † Mount *Horeb*, he ſaw a Buſh

they dealt proudly, he was above them. But, beſides this, there is a farther Difficulty in relation to this *Jethro*. In Exod. iii. 1. he is expreſsly call'd the *Father-in-law* of *Moſes*, and yet the Father of the young Women, whom *Moſes* defended at the Well, and whereof he certainly marry'd one, is ſaid to be *Reuel*, Chap. ii. 18. and not *Jethro*: Either therefore this *Reuel* muſt be their Grandfather, who, being Head of the Family, might, in a larger Senſe, be call'd *Father*, as we find Inſtances of the like Nature, in Gen. xxxi. 43. 2 Kings xiii. 14, &c. or (as others will have it) this *Reuel*, or *Jethro*, was one and the ſame Perſon under different Denominations. Upon Suppoſition therefore, that he was deſcended from the Family of *Cuſh*, it is imagin'd, that, while he continued in *Idumæa*, his Name might be *Reuel*, but, upon his Removal into *Midian*, to avoid the Wars and Tumults in his own Country, he came to be call'd *Jethro*, as being the only *Remainder* (for ſo the Word ſignifies) of the *Caſhites* in that Country. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* and *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, l. 3. c. 4.

† It can hardly be ſuppos'd but that a Perſon of *Moſes*'s Education, wou'd, in the Space of 40 Years, which he abode in *Midian*, find ſome other Employment for himſelf, than keeping Sheep; and therefore ſome have imagin'd, that, in this Time, he wrote the Book of *Job*, (as we mention'd before) to comfort the *Iſraelites*, by the Example of his admirable Patience, under their heavy Oppreſſion in *Egypt*, and the Book of *Geneſis* likewiſe, that they might the better underſtand what Promiſes had been made to their Anceſtors, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, and that the Time for their Accompliſhment was approaching. Nor can we ſuppoſe, but that the ſeveral Arts and Sciences, which he had been taught in his Youth, he took Care, in this Place of happy Retirement, to cultivate and improve. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† It may be made a ſtanding Obſervation, that *divine* Authors do not relate all the Paſſages of a Story, (as other Authors delight to do) but ſuch only, as are moſt *material*. We may therefore ſuppoſe, that a great many Things interven'd between *Moſes*'s Entrance into *Jethro*'s Family, and his Marriage to his Daughter; eſpecially conſidering, that his Children were ſo young, at the Time of his Return into *Egypt*. The Obſervation of *Philo*, however, is not altogether to be neglected, *viz. That Men of a great Genius quickly ſhew themſelves, and are not made known by length of Time:* And therefore he thinks, "That *Jethro*, being firſt ſtruck with Admiration of his goodly Aſpect, and then of "his wiſe Diſcourſe, immediately gave him the moſt beautiful of all his Daughters to be his Wife, not ſtaying to "enquire of any Body, who he was, becauſe his own moſt excellent Qualities ſufficiently recommended him to his Affection." De Vitâ *Moſis*, l. 1.

† *Horeb* is a Mountain in *Arabia Petræa*, at ſo ſmall a Diſtance from Mount *Sinai*, that they ſeem to be no more than two *Tops* belonging to the ſame Mountain. *Sinai* lies to the *Eaſt*, and *Horeb* to the *Weſt*; but we find them frequently

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a Buſh on Fire, and, as he thought, flaming for a conſiderable while, but (what occaſion'd his Aſtoniſhment) not in the leaſt damag'd or conſum'd. This rais'd his Curioſity to go a little nearer, and ſee, if he could diſcover the Cauſe of it; but, as he was approaching, † he heard a Voice out of the Buſh, calling unto him, and ordering him to * pull of his Shoes, becauſe the *Ground*, whereon he ſtood, *was holy*. *Moſes* obey'd; and while the Voice went on to declare itſelf the God, who had, all along, been kind to his Anceſtors, and had now, with Compaſſion, ſeen the Afflictions of his Brethren, and was come down to deliver them from their Oppreſſors, he fell down upon the Ground, and cover'd his Face with his Garment, as being unable to ſuſtain the Refulgency of the *divine Preſence*.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

MOSES, by this Time, had entirely laid aſide all Thoughts of reſcuing his Brethren, the *Iſraelites*, from their Thraldom; nor had he any Opinion of his own Abilities, if he ſhould make the Attempt, to ſucceed in ſo difficult an Undertaking: And therefore, when God propos'd the Thing to him, and open'd the whole Manner and Method, in which he wou'd have it executed, he began to excuſe himſelf, by urging

And encouraging him, tho' very reluctant to take the Office upon him.

frequently in Scripture us'd promiſcuouſly. For, whereas the Author to the *Hebrews* ſeveral Times aſſerts, that God gave his Law to the *Iſraelites* at *Horeb*, tho' other Places expreſsly ſay, that it was at *Sinai*, this is eaſily agreed, by obſerving, that they both made but, as it were, one Mountain with two Tops, whereof that of *Sinai*, is much the higher, tho' that of *Horeb* exceeds it in Fruitfulneſs and Pleaſure. It is not for that Reaſon however, no nor yet for its vaſt Height, that it obtain'd the Title of the *Mount of God*. *Joſephus* indeed tells us (l. 2. c. 12.) that the People of the Country had a Tradition, that God, in a more particular Manner, *dwelt there*, and that therefore, in Reverence to the Place, they always declin'd feeding their Flocks upon it: But the true Reaſon of its being ſo call'd is, that, in After Ages, it became famous for ſundry Events, and, at this Time, receiv'd its Name by way of *Anticipation*. For here it was, 1. That God appear'd to *Moſes* in the Buſh; 2. That he manifeſted his Glory at the Delivery of the Law; 3. That *Moſes*, with his Rod, brought Water out of the Rock; 4. That, by lifting up his Hands, he made *Joſhua* prevail againſt the *Amalekites*; 5. That here he faſted twice forty Days and forty Nights; 6. That from hence, he brought the two Tables of the Law; and 7. that here *Elijah* was vouchſaf'd a noble Viſion; with ſome others of the like Nature. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7. and *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II.

† In the Text it is ſaid, that *the Angel of the Lord appear'd unto him in a Flame of Fire out of the midſt of the Buſh*, Exod. iii. 2. But whether it was a created Angel, ſpeaking in the *Perſon* of God, or *God* himſelf, or (as the moſt receiv'd Opinion is) *Chriſt*, the Son of God, has been Matter of ſome Controverſy among the Learned. Thoſe, who ſuppoſe it no more than an Angel, ſeem to imply, that it would be a Diminution of the Majeſty of God to appear upon every Occaſion, eſpecially when he has ſuch a Number of *celeſtial Miniſters*, who may do the Buſineſs as well. But conſidering, that God is preſent every where, the *Notification* of his Preſence, by ſome outward Sign, in one determinate Place (which is all we mean by his *Appearance)* is, in our Conception, leſs laborious (if any Thing laborious cou'd be conceiv'd of God) than a Delegation of Angels, upon every turn, from Heaven, and ſeems, in the main, to *illuſtrate*, rather than *debaſe*, the Glory of his Nature and Exiſtence. But however this be, 'tis plain, that the Angel, here ſpoken of, was no created Being, from the whole Context, and eſpecially from his ſaying, *I am the Lord God, the Jehovah*, &c. ſince this is not the Language of *Angels*, who are always known to expreſs themſelves in ſuch humble Terms, as theſe, *I am ſent from God*, *I am thy Fellow-Servant*, &c. 'Tis a vain Pretence to ſay, that an Angel, as God's *Ambaſſador*, may ſpeak in God's Name and Perſon; for what Ambaſſador of any Prince, ever yet ſaid, *I am the King?* Since therefore no Angel, without the Guilt of Blaſphemy, cou'd aſſume theſe Titles; and ſince neither *God the Father*, nor the Holy Ghoſt, are ever call'd by the Name of an *Angel*, i. e. a *Meſſenger*, or Perſon ſent, whereas God the Son is call'd by the Prophet *Malachi*, Chap. iii. 1. *the Angel of the Covenant*, it hence ſeems to follow, that this *Angel of the Lord* was God the Son, who might very properly be call'd an *Angel*, becauſe, *in the Fulneſs of Time*, he was ſent into the World, in our Fleſh, as a Meſſenger from God, and might therefore make theſe his *temporary Apparitions*, Preſages, and Forerunners, as it were, of his more ſolemn *Miſſion*. *Pool*'s Annotations.

* *Juſtin Martyr* (in his ſecond Apology) is of Opinion, that the Cuſtom of *putting off the Shoes*, both among the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, before they began to officiate in holy Things, took its Riſe from this Precept given to *Moſes*; but our learned Mr *Mede* ſeems to be of a different Opinion, *viz.* that *Moſes* did not give the firſt Occaſion to this *Rite*, but that it was deriv'd from the Patriarchs before him, and tranſmitted to future Ages from that antient general Tradition. It is certain that *Pythagoras*, who took his *Inſtitutes* chiefly from the *Egyptians*, delivers it as a Rule in his *Rubrick*; Θύειν χρὴ ἀνυπόδητον, μὴ πρὸς ἱερὰ προσιέναι, i. e. *he, who ſacrifices, ſhould put off his Shoes, and ſo approach to the holy Ordinance*; and therefore God, in compliance to an antient Cuſtom, then in Practice among the *Egyptians*, might ſpeak to *Moſes*, who was a Perſon well acquainted with their *Ceremonies*, to *decalceate*, as very well knowing, that it wou'd be a Means to create in him a greater Reverence to the divine Preſence, and a more awful Attention to what he was going to ſay. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.



M. Scheits del. C. Dallgo sc.

P. 45 • *And the Lord said, draw not nigh hither; put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. — Exodus 3. Chap. 5 vers.*

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urging his Meanneſs and Inſufficiency to take upon him the Character of a divine *Ambaſſador*. This Difficulty God endeavour'd to remove, by aſſuring him, that he wou'd be with him, and aſſiſt him in every Step he took; that he wou'd enable him to accompliſh the Thing, tho' never ſo perplex'd and arduous; and, for a Token of his Veracity herein, that, within a ſmall Compaſs of Time, he ſhou'd ſee that very People, who now were in Slavery, ſet free, and worſhipping him on that very Mountain.

MOSES, ſtill unwilling to undertake the Thing, deſir'd to know what he was to ſay to the People, and by what Name he was to call the Perſon, who ſent him upon this Meſſage: To which Requeſt, God was pleas'd to reply, —— That he, who ſent him, was an *eternal, independent, ſelf-exiſtent* Being, † the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, by which Name he glory'd to be call'd; and therefore he requir'd him, firſt to aſſemble the *Elders* of *Iſrael* together, and acquaint them with his *Deſign*, and then to go directly to the King, and demand of him a Diſmiſſion of the *Iſraelites*, at leaſt for three Days Journey into the Wilderneſs, in order to ſacrifice to their God; which, though at the firſt he knew he wou'd be far from granting, yet, in the End, wou'd be glad to conſent to, when he ſhou'd ſee the divine Power exerted upon ſundry Occaſions, and ſo many Miracles wrought before his Eyes, as wou'd compel him to let them go. From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

SUCH a ſolemn Aſſurance as this, from the Mouth of God himſelf, was enough, one wou'd think, to have gain'd a ready Compliance; but *Moſes* ſtill demurs to the Thing, and makes it an Objection, that the People, when he came to them, might poſſibly queſtion his *Credentials*: And therefore, to obviate this, God promiſes to enable him to work Miracles for their Conviction. And, for a Specimen of this, when he bad him throw the Rod, that was in his Hand, upon the Ground, it inſtantly became a Serpent terrible to behold, but, when he order'd him to take it up, it reſum'd its former Shape; when he put his Hand into his Boſom, * upon pulling it out, it was all over *leprous*, but, upon putting it in, and pulling it out again it became as *clean* as before; and, (as if this

† God, no doubt, was the God of *Noah*, and of all the holy Patriarchs, who liv'd before *theſe three* were born; but for a peculiar Reaſon he is call'd their God, becauſe of his Covenant, and the Promiſe made to each of them, that the *bleſſed Seed* ſhou'd ſpring from their Loins, in Oppoſition to the Pretenſions of other neighbouring People, who (as the learned Dr *Alix* obſerves) were their *Rivals* in that Hope. And ſo the Words will denote, as much as if he had ſaid, the *God of* Abraham, and not of *Lot*, as the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* pretended; the God of *Iſaac*, and not of *Iſhmael*, as his Poſterity pretended; and the *God of* Jacob, and not of *Eſau*, as the *Edomites* boaſted. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* It is no improbable Conjecture, that, as God commanded *Moſes* to *work all his Wonders before* Pharaoh, this Miracle of the *Leproſy* gave occaſion to the fabulous Story, which was invented in After-Ages, *viz. That* Moſes *was a Leper, and the* Iſraelites *a ſcabby Race, whom the* Egyptians *were fore'd to drive out of their Country, for fear of the Infection.* This Defamation is firſt met with in *Manetho*'s *Egyptian* Hiſtory; from *Manetho* it deſcended to *Apion*, the *Greek* Hiſtorian; and from him *Juſtin* and *Tacitus*, two noted *Roman* Authors, undoubtedly took it. But, as *Manetho* might not, at firſt, maliciouſly deviſe it out of his own Head, ſo thoſe Writers, from whom he compil'd his Hiſtory, might derive it from this Paſſage of *Moſes*'s appearing with a leprous Hand before *Pharaoh*, which was preſently nois'd about the Country, without the other Part of his being immediately cur'd. For (according to the Argument of *Joſephus*) "there "needs no other Proof of his being no *Leper*, than what ariſes from his own Words, *viz.* that no Lepers ſhou'd be "admitted into any Towns or Villages, but live apart, in a diſtinct Habit, by themſelves; that whoever touch'd a "Leper, or lodg'd under the ſame Roof with him, ſhou'd be reputed unclean; and that, whoever ſhou'd come to be "cur'd of that Diſeaſe, ſhou'd paſs through certain Purifications, waſh himſelf with Fountain-Water, ſhave off all his "Hair, and offer ſuch and ſuch Sacrifices, before he ſhou'd be receiv'd into the holy City. Now, if *Moſes*, *ſays he*, "had been afflicted with this Diſtemper himſelf, 'tis incongruous to think, that he wou'd ever have been ſo ſevere "upon others for it." The Leproſy indeed was a Diſtemper in a Manner peculiar to the *Egyptians*.

Eſt *Elephas* morbus, qui propter flumina *Nili*
Gignitur *Ægypto* in mediâ, neque præterea uſquam.

as both *Lucretius* (l. 6.) and *Plutarch* tells us: And, if it was ſo in *Moſes*'s Time, he may be preſum'd to have made Laws more ſtrict againſt it, with an Intention to excite the People's Carefulneſs to avoid a Diſtemper, which they had already ſeen ſo much of, but had now (together with the other Calamities of their Bondage) happily eſcap'd. For that

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this were not enough) to gain him a further Credit among the People, he gave him a *ſtanding* Power to convert *Water* into *Blood*, whenever there was Occaſion.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

But the Promiſe of all this miraculous Power would not prevail with *Moſes* to accept of this *Office*. He alledg'd, in Excuſe, his Want of Eloquence, and ‖ the natural Impediment he had in his Speech. But this Defect likewiſe God promiſes to ſupply in an extraordinary Manner, and, as he was the great Author of human Nature, to give him all the Faculties, that were neceſſary for the Buſineſs, he put him upon. So that, driven from all his Subterfuges, *Moſes* was at laſt compell'd to declare downright, that he had no Inclination to the Office, and therefore deſir'd of God to let him alone, and find out ſome other, that was fitter for his Purpoſe.

So blunt a Refuſal was not ſo pleaſing to God, and might have been reſented with Indignation; but, inſtead of that, he reſum'd the Objection, and told *Moſes*, that as to his Defect of Utterance, his Brother *Aaron* (who wou'd be fond of the Office, and was already ſet out from home to meet him) wou'd be ſufficiently capable of ſupplying. To him therefore he bid him impart the whole Affair, and to make uſe of him as his *Orator*, but to reſerve the chief Conduct of it to himſelf, and not to forget † to take along with him his Rod, wherewith he wou'd enable him to work all Miracles.

Moſes returning to Egypt, *is met by his Brother* Aaron.

By theſe Perſuaſions, and Demonſtrations of a miraculous Power to aſſiſt him, *Moſes*, at laſt, was prevail'd on to accept the Commiſſion, and, accordingly, went to his Father-in-law, and, † without telling

that the People, at this Time, were in good Health, is evident from the long Journey they undertook, and which, on all Hands is agreed they did perform: And that they were not expell'd by the *Egyptians*, but went away from them ſore againſt their Will, their Purſuit of them to the *Red-Sea*, and loſing all their Lives with a Purpoſe of retaking them (Facts that are atteſted by ſeveral *Heathen* Authors) are an abundant Demonſtration. *Joſeph.* contra *Apion.* *Plutarch*'s Quæſt. Nat. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. II. Exercit. 4. and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‖ *Moſes* here tells us of himſelf, that he was *ſlow* of *Speech*, which moſt interpret to be a *Stammerer*, or *Stutterer*; and yet St *Stephen* (Acts vii. 22.) declares of him, that *he was mighty in Words, as well as Deeds*; but this admits of an eaſy Reconciliation, if we do but ſuppoſe, that the Senſe of what he ſpake was great and weighty, though his Pronunciation was not anſwerable to it. As God however tells him, Exod. iv, 11. that he it was, who *made the Mouth*, and cou'd, conſequently, give to any Man what Faculties he thought convenient, or remove any Impediment he might have, it ſeems not improbable, that either by Uſe and Exerciſe, or elſe by God's immediate Cure of his Defect, *Moſes* had acquir'd a better Facility in delivering his Mind, ſince we find him making ſeveral Speeches to the People, eſpecially that excellent Diſcourſe before his Death, in the Beginning of *Deuteronomy*; as he has likewiſe (where his Song occurs towards the latter End) given an ample Demonſtration, that he wanted not *eloquent* Words, when he pleas'd to employ them. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Wonderful are the Stories, which the *Hebrew* Doctors tell us of this *Rod*, viz. That it originally grew in Paradiſe, was brought away by *Adam*, from him paſs'd to *Noah*, and ſo, through a Succeſſion of Patriarchs, till it came to be tranſplanted into *Jethro*'s Garden, and there took Root again, God knows how; that it was call'd *Zaphir*, (whence *Ziphorah* his Daughter had her Name) and had the *Tetrogrammaton* written upon it; that, when *Ziphorah* fell in Love with *Moſes*, her Father conſented that ſhe ſhou'd have him, if he cou'd pluck up this *Zaphir* Rod, and, at the ſame Time, publiſh'd a Proclamation, that whoever did it firſt, ſhou'd marry his Daughter; that hereupon ſeveral luſty young Men came, and tried their Strength in vain, but that *Moſes*, by being acquainted with the true Pronunciation of the Name of God, in Virtue thereof, did it with Eaſe, and ſo not only obtain'd his Daughter, but this Rod into the Bargain, with which he wrought afterwards, all his Wonders in *Egypt*. But how fictitious ſoever all this may be, 'tis certain, that in *Exod.* iv. 20. this Staff is call'd the *Rod of God*, and that partly, becauſe it was appropriated to God's ſpecial Service, to be the Inſtrument of all his glorious Works; and, partly to ſhew, that whatever was done by that Rod, was not done by any Virtue in it, or in the Hand of *Moſes*, but merely by the Power of God, who was pleas'd, for the greater Confuſion of his Enemies, to uſe ſo mean an Inſtrument. Nor is it an improbable Conjecture, that the *Wands*, which great Miniſters are wont to carry in their Hands, in Token of their Power and Office, were originally deriv'd from this of *Moſes*. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7. and *Pool*'s Annotations.

† He was, both in Juſtice, and Decency, oblig'd to acquaint his *Father-in-law* with his Intention to leave *Midian*, and go into *Egypt*, becauſe he had bound himſelf by an Oath to live with him, and was reſolv'd now to take his Wife and Children, as being well aſſur'd of a ſpeedy Return. But he thought fit to conceal from him the Errand, upon which God ſent him, leſt he ſhou'd endeavour to hinder, or diſcourage him from ſo difficult and dangerous an Enterprize. So that *Moſes*, in this Inſtance, has given us a rare Example of *Piety* and *Prudence*, in that he took care to avoid all Occaſions and Temptations to Diſobedience to the divine Commands; as well as of a *ſingular Modeſty* and



C. Mosley Sc.

A. Cheron Inv.

These be the words which Moses spake unto the Children of Israel, according unto all that the Lord had given him in commandment unto them : Deuteronomy I. Chap: Ver. 3

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ling him the Occaſion, requeſted Leave to go, and viſit his Brethren, who were in *Egypt*. His Father-in-law readily conſented to it; ſo that taking his Wife and Children along with him, he was proceeding in his Journey, when (to his great Surprize) an Angel appear'd to him in the *Inn* where he lodg'd, and, with a ſtern Countenance, and flaming Sword in his Hand, threaten'd to kill him, becauſe, by the Perſuaſions of his Wife, or his own Indulgence, he had neglected to circumciſe his younger Son; which, when his Wife perceiv'd, ſhe immediately took a Knife, made of a ſharp * Flint, and therewith circumciſing the Child, pronounc'd over him the uſual Form of *Admiſſion* into the Pale of the *Church*; which, when ſhe had done, the angry *Viſion* diſappear'd, and gave Signs that God was appeas'd.

WHILE *Moſes* was on his Way to *Egypt*, *Aaron*, by a divine Revelation, was inform'd thereof, and order'd to go, and meet him in the Wilderneſs. Not far from the Mount of *Horeb* they met: And after mutual Embraces and Endearments, *Moſes* began to open unto him the Purport of his *Commiſſion*, the Inſtructions he had receiv'd from God, and the miraculous Works, he was empower'd to ſhew: And thus proceeding to *Egypt* the two Brothers call'd an Aſſembly of the *chief Elders* of the People, wherein *Aaron* declar'd to them the Meſſage, which God had ſent by *Moſes*, while *Moſes* (to confirm the Truth of his divine Miſſion) wrought the ſeveral Miracles, which God had appointed him, before their Eyes; inſomuch that they were all fully convinc'd that he was a true Prophet, come from the God of their Fathers, who had, at length, commiſerated their Afflictions, and ſent now to deliver them from the Bondage: And, with this Perſuaſion, they kneel'd down upon their Knees, and worſhipp'd God.

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NOT many Days after, *Moſes* and *Aaron* went to Court, and, having obtain'd Admiſſion to the King, requeſted of him, that he wou'd give the *Iſraelites* Leave to go three Days Journey into the Wilderneſs, in order to perform a ſolemn Service to the Lord their God. But *Pharaoh* was ſo far from complying with their Requeſt, that, knowing no Being ſuperior to himſelf, he *profanely* queſtion'd the Exiſtence of their God; or, if there was ſuch a Thing, he cou'd not ſee why they might not ſerve him in *Egypt*, as well as elſewhere, and therefore he poſitively refus'd to let them go.

They apply to the King, but to no Effect.

THE Truth is, he ſuſpected that they had a Deſign of revolting from his Service, and had been laying *Schemes* to get out of his Dominions. This to him was an Argument, that they had too much Leiſure; and, an effectual Way to check their indulging themſelves in ſuch Contrivances, was to take care to leave them fewer vacant Hours; and therefore he order'd greater Taſks, and more Work to be laid upon them. † He reprimanded *Moſes* and *Aaron* for going among the People, and interrupting

Humility, in that ſuch glorious and familiar Converſe with God, and the high Commiſſion, with which he had honour'd him, made him neither forget the Civility and Duty, which he ow'd to his Father, nor break out into any publick and vain glorious *Oſtentations* of ſuch a Privilege. *Pool*'s Annotations.

* Whether it was requir'd, that the Inſtrument, made uſe of in the Circumciſion of Children, was to be of *Stone* or *Flint*, and whether the *Hebrews* never us'd any other, is a Queſtion very learnedly diſcuſs'd by *Pererius*, in his Diſputation on this Place. That the *Heathens* perform'd ſuch Sort of Abſciſions with ſharp Flints or Stones, is evident from ſeveral Authors; and though *Pererius* determines againſt the conſtant Uſe of the *Flint* among the *Hebrews* in Circumciſion, and againſt its being preſcrib'd, or injoin'd in the Inſtitution, yet there is great Reaſon to preſume, that this Operation was never done with any other Kind of Inſtrument, before that of *Joſhua*'s circumciſing the *Iſraelites* in the *Wilderneſs*. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

† The Words of *Pharaoh* are, *Why do ye*, Moſes *and* Aaron, *let the People from their Works? Get ye to your Burthens:* Which Words ſeem to be directed, not ſo much to the *Elders of* Iſrael, who might poſſibly go along with them, as to *Moſes* and *Aaron* themſelves; and ſo the Senſe of the Reproof will be, "So far am I from granting the Li-" berty, which you deſire for the People, that, as a juſt Puniſhment upon you, for your ſeditious Attempt, I com-" mand you alſo to go with the reſt, to take your Share in their Burthens, and to perform the Taſk, which ſhall be " requir'd of you." And that ſo cruel a *Tyrant* did not proceed farther againſt them, muſt be aſcrib'd to the mighty Power of God, who governs the Spirits, and reſtrains the Hands of the greateſt Kings, when he pleaſes. This ſeems to

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interrupting them in their Employments. He gave their Taſk-maſters charge, not to allow them any more * Straw, and yet to exact the ſame Tale of Bricks from them without Abatement.

This Charge, the Taſk-maſters, who were *Egyptians*, communicated to their *Under Officers*, who were *Hebrews:* And, when the People (who being forc'd, for Want of Straw, to wander all the Country over to pick up Stubble) had not Time to make as many Bricks, as were exacted, theſe *Hebrew* Officers were call'd to an Account, and beaten. They, however, not well knowing from whence this unreaſonable Severity proceeded, whether from the Royal Edict, or the Rigour of the Taſk-maſters, addreſs'd the King himſelf, and laid their Grievances before him in the moſt humble Manner. But ſo far were they from receiving any Redreſs, that the Anſwer return'd them was, "That the "King wou'd have his Edict executed "be it never ſo ſevere; and wou'd exact "from them their full Number of Bricks, "though he was reſolv'd to allow them no "Straw."

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

The Murmurings of the People, and Moſes's *Uneaſineſs thereupon.*

This Anſwer was enough to run them to the utmoſt Deſpair: And therefore, as they return'd from the King, meeting *Moſes* and *Aaron*, they diſcharg'd their Grief and Anger (though very unjuſtly) upon them; telling them, "That they "had taken care to infuſe an Odium into "the King againſt them, and given him "a plauſible Handle to deſtroy them, "which they wiſh'd in God might fall "upon their own Heads." Theſe bitter Expreſſions afflicted *Moſes* to that Degree, that he expoſtulated the Matter with God, for ſuffering *Pharaoh* to be ſo exaſperated againſt his People, and for having not in the leaſt mitigated their Afflictions, ſince the Time, that he firſt went to him.

His Concern for the Oppreſſion of his Brethren made him certainly forget the Promiſe, which God had given him, and the Perverſeneſs of *Pharaoh*, which he had foretold him: But, notwithſtanding this, God was pleas'd to give him freſh Aſſurances, that now the Time was come wherein he wou'd manifeſt his Almighty Power, and exert the full Force of the || Name, which he had taken upon himſelf in

to be a better Account, than what ſome of the *Jewiſh* Fictions give us of it, *viz.* that when *Moſes* and *Aaron* came into *Pharaoh*'s Preſence, they were rais'd to a taller Stature, than they had before; had a Splendor in their Countenances, like that of the Sun; and appear'd with ſuch Majeſty, as quite ſtruck him with Terror and Aſtoniſhment. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* What the Uſe of Straw was in making Bricks, is variouſly conjectur'd. Some think it was of no other Uſe, than to heat the *Kilns*, wherein they were burnt; others, who will have it that they were never burnt at all, imagine, that it ſerv'd only to cover them from the too intenſe Heat of the Sun, and that they might be bak'd gradually; but, as it is evident that they were burnt in *Kilns*, the moſt probable Opinion is, that Straw was mix'd with the Clay, to make them more ſolid: For, according to a Paſſage in *Lucilius*, mention'd by *Nonius Marcellus*, Straw was anciently employ'd to this Purpoſe.

Nam laterem qui ducit, habet nil amplius unquam,
Quam commune lutum è paleis, cœnumque aceratum. Sat. l. ix.

|| The Words of God, upon this Occaſion, are, —— *I appear'd unto* Abraham, *unto* Iſaac, *and unto* Jacob, *by the Name of* El Shaddai, *the Almighty God; but by my Name* Jehovah *was I not known to them*, Exod. vi. 3. But how can this be, when, long before *Moſes*'s Time, God is ſo frequently call'd by that Name? For, did not the Sons of *Seth call themſelves by the Name of Jehovah*, Gen. iv. 26? Did not *Abraham ſwear, and lift up his Hands to Jehovah*, Gen. xiv. 22? Did not he call the Place, where he went to offer *Iſaac*, *Jehovah-jireh*, Gen. xxii. 14? Did not the Lord ſay unto him, *I am the God* Jehovah, *that brought thee out of* Ur *of the* Chaldees, *Gen.* xv. 7? And when in a Viſion, *Jacob* ſaw him ſtand before him, did not he ſay, *I am* Jehovah, *the God of* Abraham, *thy Father, and the God of* Iſaac, Gen. xxviii. 13? Theſe Paſſages make it impoſſible for God not to be known to the Patriarchs under that Name: And therefore ſeveral learned Writers upon this Text have deprehended a Fault in our Tranſlation, and wou'd have the latter Part of the Verſe to be taken *interrogatively*, thus, *By my Name* Jehovah *was I not known unto them?* If we take the Sentence interrogatively, *ſay they*, every one will ſee, that it plainly intimates, that the Lord *had* reveal'd himſelf unto them by his Name, which is agreeable to the Scripture Account of the Patriarchs Knowledge and Worſhip of him; but to take the Words without the *Interrogation*, and ſuppoſe them to intend, that the *Lord*, who appear'd to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, was *not known to them by his Name Jehovah*, cannot be reconcil'd to ſome very expreſs Paſſages in the Book of *Geneſis*; unleſs we can ſuppoſe, that, as *Geneſis* was not written, when God reveal'd this his Name to *Moſes*, *Moſes* makes uſe of it by way of *Anticipation*, becauſe, at the Time when he wrote, the *Jews* commonly us'd it, tho' in the Days when the Patriarchs, whoſe Lives he was giving ſome Account

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in the Deliverance of his People from their Bondage, and in the Performance of their Promiſes made to their Forefathers, by giving them the Land, the rich and plentiful Land of *Canaan*, in Poſſeſſion. With this God appointed *Moſes* to acquaint the Children of *Iſrael*, and to promiſe them moreover, that he wou'd make them his peculiar People, and take them under his immediate Protection; ſo that in the Event, they ſhou'd plainly ſee, that their Deliverance, and Admiſſion to the Inheritance, he had ſpoken of, was effected by that God, who is always faithful to his Promiſes. But, tho' *Moſes* fail'd not to carry theſe Tidings to the People, yet ſuch was their Affliction of Mind, upon the Increaſe of their Servitude, that they gave little or no Attention to him.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

He is order'd again to apply to the King, and the Reſult of it.

GOD however, purſuing the Ends of his Providence, commanded *Moſes* to go again to the King, and demand the Releaſe of his People; and, when he endeavour'd to decline the Office, upon Pretence of the † Impediment in his Speech, which he might poſſibly think was the Reaſon why his own Countrymen did not hearken unto him; and how then cou'd he expect that *Pharaoh* ſhou'd do it, in a Matter ſo much to his Loſs? God, to remove this Objection, told him, —— † That there was no Occaſion for himſelf to ſpeak unto *Pharaoh*, ſeeing he

of, liv'd, it was a Thing utterly unknown. There is another Way, however, of expounding theſe Words, if, by the Name *Jehovah*, we underſtand not the *Letters*, or *Syllables*, but what is properly the Import of it, *viz.* not only God's eternal Exiſtence, but his omnipotent Power likewiſe, and unchangeable Truth, which *give Being* (as we may ſay) to his Promiſes by the actual Performance of them. That this is the Senſe of the Word *Jehovah*, is apparent from ſeveral Paſſages in this very Book of *Exodus*. Thus, Chap. vii. 5. *And the* Egyptians *ſhall know that I am* Jehovah, *when I ſtretch forth my Hand upon* Egypt; and again, Verſe 17. *Thou ſhalt know that I am* Jehovah; *for behold, I will ſtrike with the Rod, that is in thine Hand, upon the Rivers, and they ſhall be turn'd into Blood:* So that the Meaning of the whole Paſſage will fairly be, —— "That, tho' God gave *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, ſuch "Demonſtrations of his Power, as cou'd not but convince them, that he wou'd certainly perform his Promiſes; yet "they did not live to ſee the Accompliſhment of them, which he was now going to ſet before the *Iſraelites*. They "believ'd in theſe Things, but they did not *experimentally* know them. They had Dreams and Viſions indeed, but "*Moſes* was the firſt that wrought Miracles and Prodigies. By theſe he made the Name of the Lord *known* unto the "World:" And therefore *Maimonides* well concludes from this Place, that the *Prophetick* Spirit of *Moſes* was more excellent, than that which had been upon any before his Time. *Pool*'s Annotations, *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries, and *More Nevoch*. Part ii. Cap. 35.

† The Phraſe in the Text is, *uncircumcis'd in Lips*; for as among the *Jews*, *Circumciſion* of any Part denoted its *Perfection*; ſo *Uncircumciſion* was ſet to ſignify its *Defectiveneſs*, or Ineptitude to the Purpoſes, for which it was deſign'd. Thus the Prophet ſays of the *Jews*, that *their Ear was uncircumcis'd*, and adds the Explanation of it, becauſe *they cannot hearken*, Jer. vi. 10. Again he tells us, that *the Houſe of* Iſrael *were uncircumcis'd in the Heart*, i. e. wou'd not underſtand, and learn their Duty, *Jer.* ix. 26. And in like Manner, here *uncircumcis'd Lips* muſt mean a Perſon that was a bad Speaker, and wanted Eloquence; and what might poſſibly induce *Moſes* to make uſe of this *Metaphor*, rather than any other, might be the Conſideration of his having ſo lately neglected to circumciſe his Son. Some are of Opinion, that the Word *Circumciſion* carries in it an Idea of ſomething *ſuperfluous* in the Part, and that therefore *Moſes*'s Tongue might be either too long, or too big for his Mouth, and that this might occaſion either an *Inelegance*, or Heſitation in his Speech: But the more probable Opinion is, that he was what we call *Tongue-tied*, which his Parents, either in their Fright might not perceive, or, in the general Hurry and Deſtruction of the Children, might not dare to ſend for a proper Perſon to remedy, until it was too late. However this be, 'tis certain, that as *Circumciſion* was the firſt and greateſt *Sacrament* among the *Jews*, ſo *Uncircumciſion* was eſteem'd by them the greateſt Scandal and Diſgrace; and therefore *Moſes* perhaps thought it ſome Diſparagement to him, that he was not able himſelf to deliver his Mind in an handſome Manner, to *Pharaoh*, and therefore made mention of this again, to engage the divine Majeſty to *circumciſe his Lips* (as they term it) *i. e.* to remove this Impediment in his Speech, as we have ſome Reaſon to believe that he did *Pererius*, *Patrick*'s, and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† God, to ſilence the Objection, which *Moſes* had more than once made, of his Defectiveneſs in Speech, tells him, *I have made thee a God to* Pharaoh, *and* Aaron *ſhall be thy Prophet*, Exod. vii. 1. by which he does not only mean, that he had inveſted him with an Authority to require of *Pharaoh* an Obedience to his Commands, and upon his Refuſal, to inflict ſuch Puniſhments on him, as none but God cou'd inflict; but that, in executing the Commiſſion, he was putting him upon, there was no Occaſion for him to ſpeak to *Pharaoh* himſelf. *That* he had appointed *Aaron* to do; and therefore he might keep himſelf upon the Reſerve, and *Pharaoh* at an awful Diſtance, juſt as God delivers his Oracles to the People by the Mediation of his Prophets. Only there is one Objection againſt the Paſſage itſelf, which ſome imagine cannot be *genuine*, becauſe *Moſes* makes uſe of the Word *Nabi*, for a *Prophet*, which, in his Days, muſt have been expreſs'd by another: For ſo, in 1 *Sam.* ix. 9. it is ſaid, *that he, who was now call'd* Nabi, *a Prophet, was before that Time call'd* Roeh, *a Seer*; which ſeems to imply, that *Nabi* was not a Word in Uſe till *Samuel*'s Days. But this is very far from *Samuel*'s Meaning, whoſe plain Senſe is this, —— That he, who foretold

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he had conſtituted *Aaron* to be his *Interpreter*; that he muſt not be diſcourag'd at ſome few Repulſes; that *Pharaoh*, he knew, was a Man of ſo obſtinate a Temper, that the more he was puniſh'd, the leſs he wou'd relent, but that the leſs he relented, the more wou'd his Wonders be ſhewn on him and his People; that, to this Purpoſe, he had inveſted him with the Power of working Miracles, which wou'd make him juſtly terrible; and that therefore, when they came into *Pharaoh*'s Preſence, and he demanded a Proof of the Truth of his Miſſion, he ſhou'd direct *Aaron* to caſt his Rod upon the Ground, and it ſhou'd immediately become a Serpent.

The Miracles, which the Magicians cou'd imitate.

With theſe Inſtructions *Moſes* and *Aaron* came again to the King, and repeated the Demand of his diſmiſſing the *Iſraelites:* Whereupon, when the King deſir'd them to ſhew him ſome Miracle, thereby to induce him to believe, that the God, whom they ſpoke ſo much of, had really ſent for them, *Aaron* threw down his Rod, which was inſtantly chang'd into a Serpent; but (to confront this Miracle) the King ſent for the *Magicians* and *Sorcerers* of *Egypt*, and order'd them to try, if, by their *magical Arts*, they cou'd cauſe the like Tranſmutation. They attempted, and ſucceeded: They chang'd their Rods into Serpents, as the other had done, but with this remarkable Difference, that *Aaron*'s Rod ſwallow'd up all the Rods of the *Magicians*, which was enough to have convinc'd the proud Monarch of the ſuperior Power of the God of *Iſrael*, had not his Heart been ſo averſe to the Thoughts of parting with the *Hebrews*, that he did not let this Circumſtance make any due Impreſſion upon his Mind.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

Some Time after this, *Moſes* and *Aaron* put themſelves in the Way of *Pharaoh*, as he was walking out to the * River *Nile*, and, urging again the Demand, they had made for the Departure of their Brethren, as

told Things to come, or diſcover'd Secrets, was antiently call'd a *Seer*, not a *Prophet*, for a Prophet heretofore ſignify'd only an Interpreter of the divine Will; but that now (in *Samuel*'s Days) they began to apply the word *Nabi*, or *Prophet*, to thoſe, who cou'd reveal any Secret, or foreſee Things to come. *Pool*'s Annotations, *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

* The River *Nile* has its Fountain Head, in the Upper *Ethiophia*, and proceeds from two Springs, about twenty Paces diſtant from one another, and each of the Bigneſs of a Cart-Wheel. About three Days Journey from the Fountain Head, the River grows wide and deep enough to carry a Veſſel; and, having receiv'd another River into its Boſom, it purſues its Courſe *weſtward* for above 25 or 30 Leagues from its Head, and then, winding about to the *Eaſt*, it falls into a great Lake, which is probably that of *Zaire*. At its coming out of this Lake it makes ſeveral Windings towards the *South*, waters the Country of *Alata*, and from thence precipitates itſelf, between Rocks of 14 Fathom high, with a terrible Noiſe, and raiſes ſuch thick Vapours, that, at a Diſtance, they may be taken for real Clouds. After having water'd ſeveral Provinces to the *Eaſt*, it continues its Courſe ſo far into the Kingdom of *Goiam*, that it comes within a Day's Journey of its firſt Source, and thence takes a Tour round about, and runs towards *Phezelo* and *Ombarco*. Here it winds about again, and having, from *Eaſt* to *North*, croſs'd ſeveral Kingdoms and Provinces, it comes into *Egypt* at the *Cataracts*, which are vaſt Falls of Water, which it makes from ſteep Rocks of no leſs than an Hundred Feet high. From the Top of theſe Rocks the Water falls with ſuch Violence, that it makes a Kind of *Arch*, under which one may paſs without being wet, and with ſuch an hideous Noiſe, as may be heard full *three* Leagues off. At the Bottom of theſe Rocks, it returns to its uſual gentle Pace, with which it flows through the Plains of *Egypt*, in a Channel, about a League broad, tho' modern Travellers ſay much leſs. When it comes below *Memphis*, about eighty Miles from *Grand Cairo*, it is divided into two Arms, which make a Kind of *Triangle*, having the *Mediterranean-Sea* for its Baſe, and, by Reaſon of its Figure, is by the *Greeks* call'd *Delta*. Theſe two Arms were formerly divided into *five* ſmall ones; and from thence came the common Phraſe of *Septemplicis oſtia Nili*; but they are now ſo choak'd up with Sand, that they are ſcarce diſcernable. This is the only River in *Egypt*, and contains all the Water the Inhabitants have to drink, which made the *turning it into Blood* an heavy Judgment upon the People. The Overflowing of the River (which moſt impute to the great Rains, which fall, and melt the Snow in the Mountains of *Ethiophia*) is the Cauſe of all the Plenty and Fruitfulneſs of the whole Country: And therefore *Plutarch*, and ſeveral others tell us, that nothing was had in ſo much Veneration among the *Egyptians*; that they ador'd, and invocated it, as the greateſt of Gods, not only under the Name of *Oſiris*, but of *Orus* and *Jupiter* likewiſe, and inſtituted in its Honour the moſt ſolemn of their Feaſts; and therefore their Conjecture, who think that *Pharaoh* went to pay his Morning Devotions to the River *Nile*, is much more plauſible, than that of the *Chaldee Paraphraſt*, *viz.* that he went to obſerve *Divination upon the Water, as a Magician*, when, in all Probability, his Buſineſs was no more, than to bathe himſelf, as the Cuſtom among the *Egyptians* was to do almoſt every Day. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, *Wells*'s and *Moll*'s Geographies, and *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, l. 3. c. 4.

2



Pl. 47

The Plague of Frogs

And Aaron stretched out his hand over the Waters of Egypt and the Frogs came up and Covered the Land of Egypt

And the Magicians did so with their inchantments and brought up Frogs upon the Land of Egypt — Exodus Ch. 8. Ver. 6, 7.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1571, &c.

as a farther Sign that God had really ſent them, upon *Aaron*'s ſtretching out his Hand, and touching the Waters of the River with his Rod, all the Waters of the Land of *Egypt* were turn'd into Blood, and continu'd ſo for ſeven Days; ſo that * the Fiſh died, and the Inhabitants had no Water to drink, but were forc'd to dig, in new Places, for ſome to allay their Thirſt. But *Pharaoh*, finding that his *Magicians* did turn Water into Blood likewiſe, and ſuppoſing the Thing, on both Sides, to be equally perform'd by *magical Skill*, was not convinc'd by the Miracle, and ſo refus'd to let the *Iſraelites* depart.

WHEN the ſeven Days were expir'd, *Moſes* and *Aaron* came again unto him, requiring the Diſmiſſion of the People, and withal aſſuring him, that, if he did not grant their Requeſt, they ſhou'd bring a Plague of † Frogs upon all the Land, and when the King ſeem'd to ſet them at Defiance, *Moſes* ordered *Aaron* to ſtretch his Rod again over the Waters; upon doing of which there came up Abundance of Frogs, ſo as *to cover the whole Land of* Egypt, and to ſwarm in their Houſes, their Chambers, their Beds, and the very Places, where their Victuals were dreſs'd: But here it alſo happen'd, that the *Magicians* likewiſe perform'd the ſame, ſo that *Pharaoh* was not much influenc'd by this Miracle. Only, as his *Magicians* cou'd not remove the Frogs, he was forc'd to apply himſelf to *Moſes* for Relief, who, upon his Addreſs to God, had them all deſtroy'd the next Day, according to the Time that he had prefix'd; but when they were gather'd into Heaps, their Number was ſo great, that, before they cou'd well be diſpos'd of, they infected the Air, and made the *whole Land ſtink*.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

THERE were ſeveral other Miracles wrought by *Moſes* and *Aaron* in the like Manner. The Swarms of † *Lice*, which the *Magicians* cou'd not imitate; the *Murrain* or Mortality among their Cattle, wherein the *Iſraelites* were exempted; † the

And thoſe, which they cou'd not.

* *Diodorus Siculus*, in his Deſcription of *Egypt* (l. 1. p. 32.) informs us, that the River *Nile* abounded with all Manner of Fiſh, though later Travellers tell us, that they are not, at preſent, many in it; whether this may be attributed to the Muddineſs of its Water, or to the *Havock*, which the *Crocodiles*, and other Monſters of this River, may be ſuppos'd to make in it. But, whether *antient* or *modern* Geographers are right in this Particular, 'tis certain that this Putrefaction of the Water, and ſlaying the Fiſh, was a very heavy Judgment upon the *Egyptians*, who abſtain'd from eating of moſt Animals, whoſe Liquor was generally Water, and whoſe conſtant Food was the Fruits of the Earth, and the Fiſh of this River. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. 2.

† The River *Nile* naturally produces Frogs; but ſo great an Abundance, appearing on a ſudden, filling the Country, and leaving the Rivers and Fields to go into the Cities and Houſes, was really miraculous. How they got into the Cities and Houſes, is not ſo hard a Matter to conceive: For, if expert Generals, according to both *antient* and *modern* Hiſtory, have ſometimes ſuppris'd an Enemy, by entering Cities through the *Common ſewers*, with much leſs Difficulty might the *Frogs*, *theſe Armies of the divine Vengeance*, find a Conveyance into the Cities, which ſtood all upon the Banks of the *River*, by Aqueducts and ſubterraneous Communications; and, being got into the Cities, they might find Apertures in the Walls of the Houſes, which the Inhabitants never perceiv'd before. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

† Some wou'd have the Word *Cinnim*, which we render *Lice*, to ſignify *Gnats*. The *Septuagint* call them Κνίπας; but what Kind of Creatures theſe were is not ſo certainly known. Others wou'd have them to be a new *Species* of Animals, call'd *analogically* by an old Name; or, if, they were *Lice*, that they were ſuch as had Wings, and cruelly ſtung and ulcerated the *Egyptians*. But upon the Suppoſition, that they were no worſe than common *Lice*, this was Plague enough to the *Egyptians*, who affected *Neatneſs* to ſuch a Degree, that they bath'd themſelves every Day, and ſome of them frequently ſhav'd their Bodies all over, for fear of ſuch Vermin. Thoſe who pretend that theſe *Lice* were a new *Species*, make this a Reaſon, why the *Magicians* cou'd not counterfeit this Miracle, becauſe, tho' they cou'd eaſily provide the Serpents, the Blood, and the Frogs, yet this Sort of Animal was now no where to be had; and therefore, as the *Organs* of Sight are more liable to be impos'd upon, than thoſe of *Feeling*, the Magicians might impoſe upon the King, and the other Spectators, with *fantaſtical Blood* and *Frogs*, but *viſionary Lice* cou'd not vex and torment the Body: So that now it was Time for the *Enchanters* to deſiſt, and to own their Inability to *mimick Moſes* any farther. But ſuppoſing, that what the Magicians did, in the three former Miracles, was not Illuſion and Impoſition upon the Senſes, but *Reality*, the true Reaſon, why they cou'd proceed no farther, was, that God Almighty had laid his Reſtraint and Prohibition upon the evil Spirits, who had hitherto been ſubſervient to them, that they might not aſſiſt them any longer. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

† The Word *Arob*, which we render *Fly* in general, is, by the *Septuagint*, call'd Κυνομυῖα, i. e. *Dog-fly*, from its biting; for it faſtens its Teeth ſo deep in the Fleſh, and ſticks ſo very cloſe, that it oftentimes makes Cattle run mad;

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the Plague of *Flies*; † the *Boils* inflicted upon the *Magicians* themſelves; the terrible *Thunder* and *Lightning*, † *Rain*, and *Hail*, which deſtroy'd the Fruits of the Earth; the Plague of the † *Locuſts*, or *Graſhoppers*, which devour'd what eſcap'd from the *Hail*; and that of thick † *Darkneſs*, which cover'd all *Egypt* for three Days, while

From Exod. i. to Chap. xii.

mad; and the Congruity of this Plague ſeems to be greater, becauſe one of the *Egyptian* Deities, which they call'd *Anubis*, bore the Head of a Dog. The Pſalmiſt indeed tells us, that *God ſent divers ſorts of Flies among them, which devour'd them*, Pſal. lxxviii. 45. So that, according to him, it was not one particular Kind, but *all Sorts* of Flies mingled together in one prodigious Swarm or Conflux. Some tranſlate it a *Mixture of Beaſts*, which they ſuppoſe went into *Egypt* to infeſt and deſtroy the Country; but this is not ſo probable a Conſtruction, becauſe the Puniſhments, hitherto inflicted, were nauſeous and troubleſome, rather than mortal; though this Plague of infinite Numbers of ſmall Tormentors is ſo great a one, that God calls it his Army, *Joel* ii. 25; and that the *Greeks* thought fit (as *Pliny*, l. 10. c. 28, tells us) to have a God to deliver them from it, under the Stile of *Myiagros*, or *Myiodes*, even as *Belzebub* ſignifies the *Lord* or *God* of Flies. *Bochart*, *Hier*. Pt. II.

† The *Hebrew* Word *Shechin* properly ſignifies an *Inflammation*, which firſt makes a Tumour or Boil (as we tranſlate it) and thence turns into a grievous Ulcer. Dr. *Lightfoot* indeed obſerves, that in the Book of *Job*, Chap. ii. 7, 8. where the ſame Word occurs, it ſignifies only a *burning Itch*, or an *inflam'd Scab*; an intolerable dry Itch, which *Job* cou'd not ſcratch off with his Nails, and was therefore forc'd to make Uſe of a *Potſherd:* But then he confeſſes that this *Shechim*, here ſpoken of, was more *rancorous* than that, having Blains and Ulcers, that broke out with it, which *Job*'s had not. So that the *Egyptians*, according to this, muſt have been vex'd with a treble Puniſhment at once (a Puniſhment fitly calculated for the Mortification of a delicate and voluptuous People) aking Boils, nauſeous Ulcers, and a burning Itch: And to this that Commination of *Moſes* to the People, in caſe they prov'd diſobedient, does, without all Peradventure, allude: *The Lord will ſmite thee with the Botch of* Egypt, *and with the Emrods, and with the Scab, and with the Itch, whereof thou canſt not be heal d.* Deut. xxviii. 27.

† This Infection was the more terrible in *Egypt*, becauſe, according to the Account of *Herodotus*, (l. 3. c. 10.) a very rare Thing it was, to ſee any *Rain*, and much more any *Hail* in that Climate: And, accordingly, he mentions it as a Kind of Prodigy, that, in the Reign of *Pſalmmenitus*, there happen'd to be a Shower, in *Thebes*, which was never known before in the Memory of Man, nor ever after, to the Age wherein our Author wrote. The Pſalmiſt has given us a very *poetick* Deſcription of this Judgment: *He deſtroy'd the Vines with Hail, and the Sycamore-Trees with Froſt: He gave up the Cattle alſo to the Hail, and their Flocks to hot Thunder Bolts*, Pſal. lxxviii. 47, 48. And from the plain Account of *Moſes*, where he mixes *Thunder*, *Hail*, and *Fire together*, Exod. ix. 23. the Obſervation is obvious, that there were no leſs than three of the Elements in Confederacy againſt *Pharaoh*'s Obſtinacy; *the Air* in the Thunder; *the Water* in the Hail; and *the Fire* in the Lightning, all jointly demonſtrating, and proclaiming, that the *God of Iſrael* was the God of *Nature*.

† This is the Creature, which we properly call the *Graſhopper*; and wonderful is the Account, which ſeveral Authors give of them. *Thevenot*, in his Travels tells us, "That in that Part of *Scythia*, which the *Coſſacks* now inhabit, "there are infinite Numbers of them, eſpecially in dry Seaſons) which the *North Eaſt* Wind brings over from *Tartary* "*Circaſſia*, and *Mingrelia*, which are ſeldom or never free from them; that they fly in the Air all compact together, "like a vaſt Cloud, ſometimes 15 or 18 Miles long, and about 10 or 12 Miles broad, ſo that they quite darken the "Sky, and make the brighteſt Day obſcure; and that wherever they light, they devour all the Corn in leſs than two "Hours Time, and frequently make a Famine in the Country. Theſe Inſects, *ſays he*, live not above ſix Months; "and when they are dead, the Stench of them ſo corrupts and infects the Air, that it very often breeds dreadful "Peſtilences." God (as we hinted before) calls the *Locuſt*, *the Canker-worm, Caterpillar, and the Palmer-worm, his great Army which he ſends* amongſt a wicked and rebellious People, *Joel* ii. 25. And how proper the Expreſſion is, in Relation to the *Locuſt* in particular, will appear from the Account which *Aldrovandus* and *Fincelius* gives us of theſe Animals, *viz.* "That, in the Year of the Lord 852, an infinite Number of them was ſeen to fly over 20 Miles in *Germany* "in one Day, in the Manner of a *form'd Army*, divided in ſeveral *Squadrons*, and having their *Quarters* apart, when "they reſted; that the Captains march'd a Day's Journey before the reſt, and choſe the moſt opportune Places for "their *Camp*; that they never remov'd 'till Sun-riſing, at which Time they went away in as much *Order*, as an Army "of Men cou'd do; that, at laſt, having done great Miſchief, wherever they paſs'd (after Prayers made to God) "they were driv'n, by a violent Wind, into the *Belgick* Ocean, and there drown'd; but that, being caſt by the Sea, "upon the Shore, they cover'd 140 Acres of Land, and caus'd a great Peſtilence in the Country:" Which is enough to ſhew how dreadful a Puniſhment this was, eſpecially conſidering, that theſe *Locuſts* were ſuch, *as were never known before*, and yet the ordinary *Locuſt* (as *Ariſtotle* and *Pliny* have deſcrib'd it) was an Animal ſo fierce and formidable, that one ſingle one wou'd kill a Serpent, by taking it faſt by the Jaws, and biting it to Death. *Ariſt*. Hiſt. Animal. l. 5. c. 23. *Pliny*'s Nat. Hiſt. l. 11. c. 9. and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† The *Septuagint* and moſt Tranſlations render it, *a Darkneſs which might be felt*, i. e. conſiſting of black Vapours and Exhalations, ſo condens'd, that they might be perceiv'd by the Organs of Touch. But ſome Commentators think, that this is carrying the Senſe too far; ſince, in ſuch a Medium as this, Mankind cou'd not live an Hour, much leſs for the Space of three Days, as the *Egyptians* are ſaid to have done: And therefore they imagine, that, inſtead *of a Darkneſs that may be felt*, the *Hebrew* Phraſe may ſignify a Darkneſs, wherein Men went *groping* and *feeling* about for every Thing, they wanted. And in this Senſe the Author of the Life of *Moſes* certainly takes it;

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Hereupon the King begins to relent.

while the Land of *Goſhen* (where the *Iſraelites* liv'd) was enlighten'd as uſual. All theſe Miracles, perf rm'd by the Word of *Moſes*, did not a little perplex the King. He found, that all the Power and Learning of the *Magicians* cou'd not equalize them. Upon attempting one of them, they themſelves confeſs'd, that it was done by *the Finger of God*; and, in the Caſe of another, they were equally Sufferers in the common Calamity: So that the King's Heart was, ſeveral Times, almoſt overcome. He offer'd the *Iſraelites* Leave to perform their religious Offices to their God, provided they wou'd do it in *Egypt*; but their Religion *(as* Moſes *told him)* was ſo very different from the *Egyptian*, that were they to do what God requir'd of them in *Egypt*, the Inhabitants wou'd * riſe up againſt them, and ſtone them. The King, after this, offer'd that they might go out of the Kingdom, provided *adult* Perſons wou'd only go, and leave their Children behind, as Pledges for their Return; but to this *Moſes* peremptorily replied, that none ſhou'd be left behind, the Young and the Old ſhou'd go together; which enrag'd *Pharaoh* ſo, that, with ſome ſevere Menaces, he order'd him to depart from his Preſence. However, as he found the Plagues increaſe upon him, he came to a farther Conceſſion, and was willing that the People ſhould go, but only that their Flocks and their Herds ſhou'd be ſtay'd, as rightly ſuppoſing, that this might be a Means to accelerate their Return: But *Moſes* poſitively inſiſted that all their Subſtance ſhou'd be taken with them, and *not one Hoof be left behind*; whereupon *Pharaoh* grew ſo exceeding angry, that he charg'd him to be gone his Preſence, and never attempt to ſee him more, for that, if he did, he wou'd certainly put him to death.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

MOSES however, by the divine Command, went once more to *Pharaoh*, with the ſevereſt Meſſage, he had ever brought him, and repreſented to him, that, at Mid-night, God wou'd ſtrike dead the Firſt-born of every Family throughout all the Land of *Egypt*, and that thereupon there ſhou'd be ſuch a Dread and Terror among the *Egyptians*, that they wou'd come to him in the moſt ſubmiſſive Manner, and beg of him to lead the People out of the Land, and after that, *ſaid he*, I *ſhall go*; which put *Pharaoh* into ſuch a Rage, that *Moſes*, having no Intention to incenſe and provoke him farther, turn'd away, and left him.

Moſes's *laſt Meſſage to him.*

FOUR Days before this, God had inſtructed *Moſes* and *Aaron* to direct the People to prepare the *Paſſover*, which was to be a *Feaſt* in Commemoration of their Departure out of *Egypt*; becauſe the Night before they left it, the deſtroying Angel, who ſlew the Firſt-born of the *Egyptians*, *paſs'd over* the Houſes of the *Iſraelites*, without doing them any Harm, they being mark'd with the Blood of the Lamb, which was kill'd the Evening before. And the Injunction, which *Moſes* gave the People, was

The Inſtitution of the Paſſover.

" for, in this Darkneſs, *ſays he*, they, who were in Bed, durſt not get up, and ſuch, as their natural Occaſions " compell'd to get up, went feeling about by the Walls, or any other Thing, they cou'd lay hold on, as if they " had been blind." What it was, that occaſion'd this *Darkneſs*; whether it was in the *Air*, or in their *Eyes*; whether it was a Suſpenſion of *Light* from the Sun in that Country, or a black and thick Vapour, which totally intercepted it; there is Reaſon to think, that the Deſcription, which the Author of *the Book of Wiſdom* gives us of their inward Terrors, and Conſternation, is not altogether conjectural, *viz.* That *they were* not only *Priſoners of Darkneſs, and fetter'd with the Bonds of a long Night, but were horribly aſtoniſh'd* likewiſe, *and troubled with ſtrange Apparitions*: For, while over them *was ſpread an heavy Night, they were to themſelves more grievous than Darkneſs*, Wiſd. xvii. 2, 3, 21. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Philo*'s Life of *Moſes*.

* The Words in the Text are, *Lo, ſhall we ſacrifice the Abominations of the* Egyptians *before their Eyes, and ſhall they not ſtone us?* Exod. viii. 26. Where the *Interrogation*, having in it the full Force of an *Affirmation*, makes the Senſe of the Words to be this: " If we ſhou'd offer thoſe Creatures, which the *Egyptians* worſhip for Gods, as " the Ox, and the Sheep, they doubtleſs will be affronted to ſee us ſacrifice their Gods to our God.". For, that, the *Egyptians* did look upon ſeveral Animals with a ſacred Veneration, is evident from that known Paſſage in the Satyriſt:

——— Ianatis Animalibus abſtinet omnis
Menſa: Nefas illic Fœtum jugulare Capellæ. *Juven.* Sat. 15.

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was to this Effect; — That † every Family of *Iſrael* (or, if the Family was too little, two neighbouring Families joining together) ſhou'd on the *Tenth* Day of the Month, take a Lamb or Kid, and ſhut it up until the *fourteenth* Day, and then kill it; that the Lamb was to be a *Male*, not above a Year old, and without any manner of *Blemiſh*; that when they kill'd it, they ſhou'd catch its Blood in a Veſſel, and with a Bunch of *Hyſſop* dipp'd in it, ſprinkle the *Lintel* and *Side-poſts* of the outer Door, and ſo not ſtir out of the Houſe until next Morning; that in the mean Time, they were to eat the Lamb or Kid, (dreſs'd whole, and without breaking a Bone of it) neither *raw*, nor *ſodden*, but *roaſted*, with *unleaven'd* Bread, and bitter Herbs; that if there was more than they cou'd diſpenſe with, no Stranger was to eat of it, and therefore they were to burn it; and, laſtly, that the Poſture, in which they were to eat it, was to be in a Hurry, with their Cloaths on, and their Staves in their Hands, as if they were juſt upon the Point of going.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

And the Occaſion of the Iſraelites *leaving* Egypt *in haſte.*

When every Thing was thus in Readineſs for their Departure, God, in the Middle of the Night, by his deſtroying Angel, † ſlew the Firſt-born of every Houſe

† Some learned Men are of Opinion, that God, in the Inſtitution of the *Paſſover*, had reſpect to thoſe impious Rites, which either then did prevail, or, in a ſhort Time, were to prevail among the *Egyptians*, and other Nations, where the *Iſraelites* were to dwell. Thus they tell us, "That God appointed a Lamb to be ſlain, and eaten, and the "Month *Niſan* or *March*, to be the particular Time of eating it, in Contempt of the *Egyptians*, who, at that Time, "when the Sun firſt enter'd into *Aries*, began their ſolemn Worſhip and Adoration of this Creature, and that "celeſtial Sign; that he forbad the People to eat the Fleſh of the *Paſchal* Lamb *raw*, or *ſodden*, to *break its Bones*, "or *leave* any Fragments of it, becauſe, in the prophane Feaſts of *Bacchus*, it was a Cuſtom to eat the raw Fleſh of "the Victims, which they offer'd to that God, and to break all their Bones; and, in the Adoration of the Ὧραι, "whom the *Egyptians*, and, from them, the *Athenians*, reputed *Goddeſſes*, they boil'd all their Sacrifices, and carry'd "conſtantly ſome Part of them home, as a good Preſervative againſt Misfortunes." But there is no need, one wou'd think, for ſuch *elaborate* Explications, when, conſidering the Situation the *Iſraelites* were in, ſolely oppreſs'd by the *Egyptians*, and ſhortly to be releas'd, and ſent away with all Speed, the *Nature* and *Quality* of the *Paſchal* Sacrifice, as well as the *Manner* of *dreſſing*, and Manner of *eating* it, may perfectly be accounted for. Thus it was to be *a Male*, becauſe a more excellent Species than the Female; *without Blemiſh*, to render it acceptable to God; *under a Year old*, otherwiſe it cou'd not properly be call'd a *Lamb*; and *ſet apart from the reſt of the Flock*, that it might be in Readineſs, when the People came in haſte to offer it. *Roaſted it was to be, and not boil'd*, becauſe Roaſting was the ſpeedier Way of dreſſing it; but *roaſted thoroughly*, becauſe the whole was to be eaten; and *the whole was to be eaten*, that none might be left for the *Egyptians* to profane. It was to be eaten *ſtanding*, *and in haſte*, and with other Circumſtances of Men every Moment expecting to begin their Journey; *with bitter Herbs*, to put them in Mind of their cruel Servitude; *and unleaven'd Bread*, in Memory of their Deliverance from it, ſo ſuddenly, that they had not even Time to leaven their Bread for their Journey; which is all that the *Iſraelites* underſtood, and all perhaps that God, at that Time, intended they ſhou'd underſtand, by the Directions, which he gave them concerning this remarkable *Ordinance*. *Spencer* de Rit. Heb. Tom. I. l. 2. c. 4.

† The Word *Bekor* ſignifies ſometimes a Perſon of ſome *Eminence* or *Excellence*, as well as the *Firſt-born*: And therefore it may not be an unreaſonable Suppoſition, that, where a Family had no *Firſt-born*, the *principal*, or moſt eminent Perſon, was ſmitten with Death: Which is certainly better, than to imagine, with ſome, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Interpreters, that the Words of *Moſes* are only applicable to an Houſe that had a *Firſt-born*, or with St. *Auſtin*, that Providence did ſo order it at this Time, that every Houſe had a *Firſt-born*. Since this however is the concluding Judgment, which God ſent upon the *Egyptians*, it may not be improper here to enquire a little how long *Moſes* was in working all theſe Miracles. According to Archbiſhop *Uſher* then, (who has included them all within the Space of one Month) we may ſuppoſe, that, about the 18th Day of the *ſixth* Month, was ſent the Plague of the *Waters turn'd into Blood*, which ended *ſeven* Days after. On the 25th came the *ſecond* Plague of *Frogs*, which was remov'd the Day following, and on the 27th, that of the *Lice*. About the 28th *Moſes* threaten'd the *fourth* Plague of *Flies*, and inflicted them on the 29th. On the 1ſt of the next Month, (which was afterwards made the *firſt* Month of the Year) he foretold the *fifth* Plague of the *Murrain*, and inflicted it the next; and on the 3d, the *ſixth* Plague of *Boils*, which fell upon the Magicians themſelves. About the 4th Day, he foretold the *ſeventh* Plague of *Thunder* and *Hail*, and on the 5th inflicted it. On the 7th, he threaten'd the *eighth* Plague of *Locuſts*, and, having ſent them the Day following, remov'd them on the *ninth*. On the 10th he inſtituted the Feaſt of the *Paſſover*, and brought upon *Egypt* the *ninth* Plague of *Darkneſs*, which laſted for *three* Days; and on the 14th, he foretold the *Tenth*, viz. the Deſtruction of all their *Firſt-born*, which came to paſs the Night following. This ſeems to be a reaſonable Period of Time; and the *gradual* Increaſe of theſe Judgments is ſomewhat remarkable. The *four* firſt Plagues were *loathſome*, rather than *fatal*, to the *Egyptians*; but after that of the *Flies*, came the *Murrain*, which chiefly ſpent its Rage upon the Cattle. The *Boils* and *Blains* reach'd both Man and Beaſt, though there was ſtill a Reſerve for Life. The *Hail* and *Locuſts* extended, in a great Meaſure, even to Life itſelf; the firſt by an *immediate* Stroke, and both conſequently by deſtroying



P. Veronese Inv.

I.S. Muller sc.

The Israelites going out of Egypt

And when Pharaoh drew nigh the children of Israel lift up their eyes & behold the Egyptians marched after them & they were sore afraid and the children of Israel cried out unto the Lord. Exódus XIV Chap: 10 Verse.

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Houſe in *Egypt*, from the Prince, who ſat on the Throne to the meaneſt Slave; but among the *Iſraelites*, none was hurt, becauſe the bloody Mark, upon the Door-poſts, was a Token for the Angel not to ſtrike there. At Midnight there was a ſudden Out-cry and Confuſion among the *Egyptians:* The dying Groans of their Children awoke them; and, when they perceiv'd that in every Family, without Exception, the *Firſt-born*, both of Man and Beaſt, were dead, they came immediately to *Moſes* in a great Fright and Terror, and deſir'd him to get the People together, and to take their Flocks, and their Herds, and all that belong'd to them, and be gone, becauſe they cou'd not tell, where ſuch dreadful Judgments wou'd end. *Moſes* had before-hand, according to God's Order, directed the *Iſraelites* to borrow of the *Egyptians* Silver and Gold Veſſels to a great Value; and God had, at this Time, diſpos'd the Hearts of the *Egyptians* to lend them every Thing they aſk'd for. The Truth is, they were in a Manner frighted out of their Wits, and ſo urgent were they to have the *Iſraelites* gone, that they wou'd not let them ſtay, ſo much as to bake their Bread, but oblig'd them to take the Dough, raw as it was, along with them, and bake it, as well as they cou'd, upon the Road: From whence it came to be a Law, that, during the whole eight Days of the Paſſover, no other Bread, than what was unleaven'd, was to be eaten.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

The OBJECTION.

" THE Services, which *Joſeph* did " the Crown of *Egypt*, were ſo " many, and ſo very remarkable, that " one can hardly imagine, that a *Nation*, " who ow'd their Lives to him, *(a)* as " they themſelves confeſs, or a *King*, who " was indebted to him for ſo large an " Augmentation of his Revenue, ſhou'd " ever loſe the Remembrance of ſo able a " *Miniſter*. But allowing this to be a " *Frailty* in human Nature, that we are " unmindful oftentimes of our beſt *Bene-* " *factors*; yet, what Reaſon cou'd there " be, why the *Egyptions* ſhou'd, all on a " ſudden, take it in their Heads to treat " the *Iſraelites* ſo inhumanly, a Company " of poor harmleſs Shepherds, who cou'd " give no Moleſtation to any Government: " Or, if it be in the Nature of Man to be " *cruel*, why ſhou'd a God of infinite " *Mercy* and *Compaſſion* ſuffer *his own* " People, for whom he profeſs'd ſo particular a Regard, to undergo ſo long " and ſo ſevere a Servitude, when we " read of no Sins and Provocations extraordinary on their Parts to excite him to " it?

" To repel Violence, and vindicate the " Oppreſs'd, are certainly Acts of great " Generoſity; but, even this may not be " done, to any high Degree, without a " proper Authority: And therefore, " when we find *Moſes* killing an *Egyp-* " *tian*, becauſe he mal-treated an *Hebrew* " Brother, we cannot but think, that he " tranſcended his Commiſſion; that he " acted the Part of a *Magiſtrate*, when " he was but a *private* Man, and was " therefore guilty of wilful *Murther*, as " himſelf ſeems to have been conſcious, " by burying the dead Body in the " Sand.

" BY all that appears in *Moſes*'s Wri- " tings, he ſeems to have had a compe-

the Fruits of the Earth. That of *Darkneſs* added Conſternation to their Minds, and Laſhes to their Conſciences; and when all this wou'd not reclaim, at length came the deciſive Blow; firſt the *Exciſion* of the *Firſt-born*, and then the *drowning* of the incorrigible Tyrant and all his Hoſt; *great and marvellous are thy Works, O Lord, God Almighty! juſt and true are thy Ways, thou King of Saints!* Rev. xv. 3.

(a) Gen. xlvii. 25.

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" tent Knowledge in Matters of Religion; and yet it may justly raise our " Wonder, how he came, at the Age of " Fourscore, to be so ignorant of the " very *Name of God*, as to enquire of him, " by what Title he was to distinguish " him, when he carried his Message to " the *Israelites*; nor does the Title, or " Definition of *I am that I am*, which " he makes God give of himself, and " seems to carry in it a *Reproof* to *Moses*'s " Question, convey, in the least, any " *positive* or *distinct* Idea of what the " Divine Nature is.

" Great and hazardous Actions " indeed are not to be enterpriz'd without " mature Thought and Deliberation; but " when *Moses* was assur'd of the Divine " Appearance, and that it was God, in " Reality, who was then speaking to him, " it savours of Perverseness and Obstinacy, " rather than any Humility or Diffidence " of himself, to frame so many idle Ex- " cuses, in order to evade a Service, which " God was so desirous to employ him " in.

" The Sign however, which God gave " *Moses* of the Certainty of his Success, " *viz.* That on the Mountain, where " they then were, the *Israelites*, when " releas'd, shou'd come and *worship him*, " was not so very *satisfactory*; because it " referr'd him to an *Event* a long while " *posterior* to his *Mission*. Nor was his " Mission itself so very *pleasing* to God, " one wou'd think, when the very next " News we have of him, is, that *he* " *meets Moses* in the *Inn*, and threatens " to *slay him*, which put the whole Fa- " mily into a sad Flutter, and made the " *good Woman*, to save her Husband's " Life, *circumcise* her Son, though she " scolded all the while, and call'd him *a* " *bloody Husband*.

" The Truth is, *Moses*, in this Part " of his History, has not so well con- " sulted the Honour and Veracity of the " God, from whom he speaks. When " he comes to *Pharaoh*, he requests only " the Grant of *three Days Journey into* " *the Wilderness*, in order to offer Sacrifi- " ces to God; and yet it is apparent, that, " from the very first, he was meditating a " total Escape. When he speaks to the " People, to give them Consolation under " their Afflictions, he promises them a " *Land flowing with Milk and Honey*, " which denotes all Manner of plenteous " Provision; and yet, it is notorious, that, " not only *Strabo* has made it *a stony and* " *barren* Country, but all modern *Geo-* " *graphers* and *Travellers* have likewise " given it a Character, that does not tend " at all to its Advantage.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

" The Conception which we have of " God, is, that he is a *Being* of infi- " nite Goodness, Justice, and Wisdom, " who can do no cruel, no unrighteous, " no weak, or self-repugnant Action; can " neither be the Author or Abettor of " any Wickedness in us; nor the Cause " or Promoter of any Matter, that de- " rogates from his own Glory and Great- " ness: And yet, when we read of his " *hardening* Pharaoh's *Heart*, we must al- " low it to be an Inconsistency with his " *Goodness*; of his ordering the *Israe-* " *lites* to *spoil the Egyptians*, an Infrac- " tion upon his *Justice*; and of his per- " mitting the *Magicians* to do the like " Miracles with his Servant *Moses*, a " Diminution of his own *Power*, and, " in some Measure, a cancelling his own " *Credentials*: For how shall we know " that Miracles are true, and really " wrought by the Finger of *God*, when " God himself impowers evil Spirits, ei- " ther to work exactly the same, or to " *mimick* them in so artful a Manner, " that the most curious and attentive Eye " shall not be able to discern the Diffe- " rence?

" Though, therefore, we can give " no Reason, why *Moses* shou'd be so very " *complaisant* to *Pharaoh*, as to give him " Notice of the Time, when he intended " to inflict, or remove a *Plague*; yet " we can assign a very good one, why " *Pharaoh* shou'd send for the *Magicians* " and *Sorcerers* to confront *Moses*: Nor

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" is it a bad Apology for his Noncom-
" pliance with God's Command to releaſe
" his People, that he ſaw ſome of the
" ſelf-ſame Miracles, as pretended to be
" *divine*, very dexterouſly done, either
" by the *Faſcination* of ſome evil Spirit,
" or by the mere Power and Force of
" *Magick*."

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing the Revolution, *which happen'd in* Egypt.

TO account, in ſome Meaſure, for the Occaſion of the Sufferings of the *Iſraelites* in the Land of *Egypt*, we muſt obſerve, that in the fifth Year of *Concharis*, (whom *Joſephus*, from *Manetho*, calls *Timeus*, and who, according to *Syncellus*, was the twenty-fifth King of the Land of *Tanis*, or *Lower Egypt*;) there came a numerous Army of *unknown* People, and invaded *Egypt* on a ſudden. They over-ran both the *Upper* and *Lower Egypt*; burn'd the Cities, kill'd the Inhabitants, and, having, in a little Time, ſubdu'd all before them, made one of their Leaders, whoſe Name was *Salatis*, their King; who, as ſoon as he was ſettled on the Throne, laid the Land under *Tribute*, made its ancient Inhabitants his *Slaves*, and gave the Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates to his own People. Who this *Salatis* and his Followers (who call'd themſelves *Paſtors* or *Shepherds)* were, is not ſo eaſy a Matter to diſcover. The moſt probable Conjecture is, that they were ſome of the *Horites*, whom the Children of *Eſau* drove out of *Sier* (a Country, which lay to the *Eaſt* and *South* of the *Dead-Sea)* becauſe the *Horites* were a People, who liv'd by Paſturage, and happen'd to be expell'd their own Country much about this Time. *Egypt* indeed was a very flouriſhing Kingdom, but ſo far from being famous for War, that we read of none of their Exploits of this Kind from the Time of their firſt Eſtabliſhment, to this very Day. They conſum'd their Time in Eaſe, and Wealth, and Luxury; and therefore the *Horites* (if they were the *Horites)* might eaſily conquer them, and gain themſelves a Settlement in their Kingdom, even as the *Arcadians* did in *Thrace*, and the *Pelaſgi*, and afterwards the *Trojans*, in *Italy*. From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

HOWEVER this be, the Government of *Egypt* being by this Means ſubverted, the Protection and Happineſs, which the *Iſraelites* enjoy'd, periſh'd with it. This *new King*, as the Scripture calls him, knew nothing of *Joſeph*, nor did he regard any Eſtabliſhment, which he had made. He had forc'd his Way into *Egypt* with his Sword, and ſettled his People by Conqueſt, in ſuch a Manner, and upon ſuch Terms, as he thought fit: Only, as the *Hebrews* were a great and increaſing People, inhabiting thoſe Parts which he moſt ſuſpected, and fearing leſt, if any Invaſion ſhou'd happen from the *Eaſt*, or any Inſurrection among the antient Inhabitants, they poſſibly might join with them, and ſo endanger his new Acquiſition, he thought it a Point of good *Policy* to uſe all proper Means to keep them effectually under.

And why God ſuffer'd the Iſraelites *to be* diſtreſs'd.

ONE of the great *Myſteries* in the Diſpenſations of Providence, is, God's making Choice of the Children of *Iſrael* for his peculiar People, when it is ſo manifeſt (as *Moſes* roundly tells them) that they were a *ſtiff-necked* Nation, and *(b) had been rebellious from the very firſt Day that he knew them. (c) God will be gracious to whom he will be gracious, and will ſhew Mercy to whom he will ſhew Mercy:* But, upon Suppoſition that the Children of *Iſrael* did not behave ſo well, during their Abode in *Egypt*, that they neglected the Worſhip of the true God, and comply'd too much with the *idolatrous* Cuſtoms of the Country; this will afford us Reaſon enough, why God might ſuffer their Sorrows to be multiply'd, *and their Enemies to ride over their Backs. (d) He does not*, indeed, *afflict willingly, nor grieve the Children of Men*; and therefore, we may preſume, that this ſevere Chaſtiſement of his *Rod* was to make them ſmart for ſome great and *national* Defection; was to remind them of their ſad Degeneracy from the Virtue of their Anceſtors; and ſo (in the Phraſe of the *Prophet) (e) to look*

(b) Deut. ix. 24. *(c)* Exod. xxxiii. 19. *(d)* Lam. iii. 33. *(e)* Iſa. li. 1, 2.

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look unto the Rock, whence they were hewn, and to the Hole of the Pit, whence they were digged; to look unto Abraham *their Father, and unto* Sarah *that bare them.*

But even putting the Caſe, that they had not been thus culpable; yet, ſince *(f) whom the Lord loveth he chaſteneth, and ſcourgeth every Son whom he receiveth,* who can ſay, but that God might juſtly permit ſuch Calamities to befal a People, whom he had *adopted* for his own, the more to exerciſe their Virtue, and Patience, and Reſignation to the Divine Will; *(g)* the more to keep up a Diſtinction between them and the *Egyptians*, which a friendly Uſage might have deſtroy'd; the more to prepare, and make them willing to leave *Egypt*, whenever God ſhou'd ſend them an Order to depart; and the more to heighten the *Reliſh* of their future Deliverance, and to make them more thankful, more obedient to him, and his Injunctions, upon every Remembrance of that *Houſe of Bondage*, wherein they had ſuffer'd ſo much, and been ſo long detain'd?

Moſes's *Truth as an Hiſtorian.*

Of all the Writers of the *Hiſtories of their own Times*, there is none to be compar'd to *Moſes* in this Regard, that he reveals his own Faults and Blemiſhes, which he might have eaſily conceal'd, and conceals many Things, recorded in other Authors, which might have redounded to his own immortal Honour. He might have conceal'd the near *Conſanguinity* between his *Father* and *Mother*, which, in After-Ages, made Marriages unlawful, though then perhaps it might be diſpens'd with. He might have conceal'd his *Murther* of the *Egyptian*, and, for Fear of Apprehenſion, his *Eſcape* into *Midian*. He might have conceal'd his *Averſion* to the Office of reſcuing his Brethren from their Bondage; the many frivolous Excuſes he made, and the flat Denial, he gave God at laſt, 'till God was in a Manner forc'd to obtrude it upon him. He might have conceal'd his Neglect in not circumciſing his Son, which drew God's angry Reſentment againſt him, ſo that he *met him*, and wou'd have *ſlain him*. He might have conceal'd ſome peeviſh Remonſtrances, he made to God, when *Pharaoh* prov'd obſtinate, and refus'd to comply. Above all, he might have conceal'd the whole Story of the *Magicians*, their working three Miracles equally with him, and every other Circumſtance, that ſeem'd to eclipſe his Glory: But, inſtead of this, we may obſerve, that, as he makes a large Chaſm, in his Life, from his Childhood to his being *Forty* Years old, and from *Forty* to *Fourſcore*; ſo he has left us nothing of the incomparable *Beauty* and *Comelineſs* of his Perſon; nothing of the Excellency of his natural *Parts*, and Politeneſs of his Education; nothing of his *Ethiopian* Expedition, the Conqueſts he made there, and the Poſts of Honour, which he held in the *Egyptian Court*; nothing, indeed, of all the Tranſactions of the preceding Part of his Life, but what the Author to the *Hebrews* has taken Care to tranſmit, *viz. (h) that when he came to Years, he refus'd to be call'd the Son of* Pharaoh's *Daughter, chuſing rather to ſuffer Affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the Pleaſures of Sin for a Seaſon.* So that here we have a ſignal Evidence of the Truth and Honeſty of our Hiſtorian, that in the Paſſages of his own Life, he conceals ſuch, as an Impoſtor wou'd be fond to emblazon, and diſcovers others, which any Man of Art and Deſign wou'd be careful to conceal; though even ſome of theſe Paſſages, which, at firſt Sight, may ſeem to deſerve ſome Blame, upon a farther Enquiry, may be found to be excuſable at leaſt, if not to be juſtify'd.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

The Murder of the Egyptian *juſtify'd.*

Whoever was the Author of the Book of *Job*, it is certain, that he was a Writer of great Antiquity, and yet he makes it a Part of the Character of that righteous Man, that he *(i) delivered the Poor, when he cried, and the Fatherleſs, and him that had no Helper; that he brake the Jaws of the Wicked, and plucked the Spoil*

(f) Heb. xii. 6. *(g)* Sherlock, *on Providence.* *(h)* Heb xi. 24, 25. *(i)* Job xxix. 12, 17.

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Spoil out of his Teeth. If this may be thought to relate to *Job*, as a publick *Magiſtrate* only, there is a Direction in the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*, which ſeems to be of a more general Concernment; *(k) If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto Death, and thoſe that are ready to be ſlain; If thou ſayeſt, behold, we knew it not; doth not he, that pondereth the Heart, conſider it? And he, that keepeth thy Soul, doth not he know it? And ſhall not he render to every Man according to his Works?* If this be thought again not to affect *Moſes* at all, as being at this Time, an Inhabitant of *Egypt*; there was in *Egypt* likewiſe a Law, *(l)* which perhaps, at this Time, was in Force, and obligatory upon all, *viz.* "That, whoever ſaw his Fellow-Crea-"ture, either kill'd by another, or violent-"ly aſſaulted, and did not either apprehend "the Murtherer, or reſcue the Oppreſs'd "if he cou'd, or, if he cou'd not, made "not an Information thereof to the *Magi-"ſtrate*, himſelf ſhou'd be put to death." Now the Hiſtory tells us, that, *(m) when* Moſes *went out unto his Brethren, he looked on their Burthens, he ſpied an* Egyptian *ſmiting an* Hebrew. So that, it is but ſuppoſing, that this *Egyptian* was one of the *Taſk-Maſters* (as the *Burthens* here mention'd ſeem to denote) who ſo barbarouſly treated the *Hebrews*, and was now going to beat one of them to death; and according to the Law of the Land (which ſeems indeed to be the Law *of all Nations)* then in being, he was oblig'd to interpoſe; and if, upon his Interpoſition, the *Egyptian* turn'd upon him, and aſſaulted him briſkly, (which is no hard Matter to imagine) he was oblig'd, in his own Defence, to ſlay him.

(n) To complain to the Magiſtrate in this Caſe, and implore the Aſſiſtance of the Law, was to no Manner of Purpoſe. The whole Civil Power was lodg'd in ſuch Hands, as had ſecret Inſtructions from Court to vex and ill-treat the *Iſraelites*; and when Matters were come to this *Criſis*, that Oppreſſion rul'd, and the Government was turn'd into a mere *Latrociny*, private Force, upon any proper Occaſion, muſt be deem'd lawful in all, but in *Moſes* much more ſo, ſince he was either mov'd and animated thereunto by a divine Impulſe, or inveſted, before it happen'd, (as *(o)* St *Stephen*'s Comment upon the Place gives us Reaſon to think he was ſo inveſted) with the Title, and Office of *Deliverer of the People of God.*

From Exod. i to Chap. xiii.

THAT the *Names* both of *Perſons* and *Things* were of the greateſt Importance to be rightly underſtood, in order to attain the trueſt Knowledge, that cou'd be had, of their *Natures*, was the Opinion both of *Jews* and *Heathens*; and ſome of the earlieſt Writers of the *Chriſtian Church* have ſpeculated upon this Subject, with ſo much philoſophical Subtlety, as to build thereon many fooliſh Fancies, and ridiculous Errors. It cannot be deny'd indeed, but that God, in giving ſome Names, that are recorded in Scripture, had reſpect to the Nature and Circumſtances of the Perſons, to whom they belong'd; and that in Imitation of him, Men endeavour'd, even from the Beginning, to give Names as expreſſive of the Properties of the Things nam'd, as human Wiſdom cou'd direct them: And therefore, without troubling ourſelves with what the Ancients have offer'd concerning the *Science* of Names, we may from hence deduce the true Reaſon, why *Moſes* deſir'd to be inform'd, at this Time more eſpecially, what the Name of God was.

Why Moſes *deſir'd to know* God's Name.

IF we conſider the ſmall Advances, which Philoſophy had made, we cannot imagine, that Men, at this Time, had a ſufficient Knowledge of the Works of the *Creation*, to be able thereby to demonſtrate the *Attributes* of God; nor cou'd they, by Speculation, form proper and juſt Notions of his *Nature*. Some of them indeed, the Philoſophers of that Age, thought themſelves wiſe enough to attempt theſe Subjects; but what was the Succeſs?

(k) Prov. xxiv. 11, 12. *(l)* Diodorus Siculus, l. 1. p. 69. *(m)* Exod. ii. 11. *(n) Le Clerc's* Commentary in Locum. *(o)* Acts vii. 25.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1571, &c.

(p) *Profeſſing themſelves to be wiſe, they became Fools, and changed the Glory of the incorruptible God.* After they had ſpeculated never ſo long on any Element, the *Fire*, *Air*, or *Water*, the Convex of the Firmament, the Circle of the Stars, or the Lights of Heaven, not forming true Notions of their Natures, they were either delighted with their *Beauty*, or aſtoniſh'd with their *Power*, and ſo framing very *high*, but *falſe* Eſtimates of them, they loſt the Knowledge of the Work-Maſter, and took the Parts of his Workmanſhip to be God.

MOSES, indeed, might be a Man of excellent Parts; but we carry our Compliment too far, if we think him not liable to have fallen into theſe, or perhaps more dangerous Errors, had he endeavour'd to form his Notions of God, either from the *Egyptian*, or any other Learning, that was then extant in the World. *Faith*, or a Belief of what God had reveal'd, was the only Principle, upon which he cou'd hope rightly to *know God*; and this was the *Principle*, which *Moſes* here deſires to go upon. For as the *Revelation*, which God had hitherto made of himſelf, was but ſhort and imperfect; ſo *Moſes*, by deſiring to know God's Name, deſir'd that he might have ſome Revelation of his Nature and Attributes vouchſaf'd him; for, that the *Name* of God does frequently ſignify the Divine Nature and Attributes, is evident from ſeveral Paſſages in Scripture.

When *Moſes* deſir'd to ſee God's Glory, he obtain'd, that the *Name* of the Lord ſhou'd be proclaim'd before him, and the Proclamation was; (q) *The Lord, the Lord God, merciful, and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in Goodneſs and Truth, keeping Mercy for Thouſands, forgiving Iniquity, Tranſgreſſion, and Sin.* And, in like Manner, *Iſaiah*, propheſying what the Meſſiah ſhou'd be, declares his *Name* to be (r) *Wonderful, Counſellor, the mighty God, the Everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace.* In both theſe Places, and many more, that might be produc'd to the ſame Purpoſe, the *Name* denotes the *Nature* of God; and therefore the Deſign of *Moſes*, in aſking God's Name, was to obtain an Information of the Divine Attributes, in order to carry a Report of them to his Brethren. And indeed, conſidering that *Moſes* was the firſt, that ever carry'd a Meſſage from God to Man, it was natural for the *Iſraelites* to aſk him by what *Name*, or peculiar *Attribute*, he had made himſelf known unto him, ſo as to authorize him to ſpeak to them, in ſuch a Manner, as no Man before had ever done; which Queſtion he cou'd not pretend to anſwer, unleſs God, by Revelation, thought fit to enable him, and therefore he deſir'd to be confirm'd (as far as the Divine Goodneſs wou'd be pleas'd to diſcover) what *Name* he wou'd be call'd by, as knowing very well, that, by obtaining *this*, he might form proper Notions of his Nature and Perfections.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

The Propriety and Meaning of God's Name.

And, accordingly, we may obſerve, that this great Appellation, which God is here pleas'd to give of himſelf, expreſſes his incomprehenſible Nature, in ſuch open and proper Characters, that St *Hilary* (as he tells us of himſelf) lighting on theſe Words, before he was a *Chriſtian*, and as he was muſing about God and Religion, was ſtruck with Admiration, becauſe he cou'd think of Nothing ſo proper and eſſential to God, as *to be*. God himſelf, however, chuſes to expreſs the Word in the *future* Tenſe, or Purpoſe, (as ſome imagine) to ſhew, that he is the only Being, that can truly ſay, *I ſhall, or will be, what I am*; for as much as all other Beings derive their Exiſtence from him, and may be depriv'd of that Exiſtence, whenever he pleaſes.

What Knowledge the wiſeſt of the *Heathen* World might have of this *incommunicable* Name of God, without the Help of Revelation, is a Matter of great Uncertainty. It is more than probable, that *Plato*'s Definition of a God, *viz. A Being, that* is *always, and had no Beginning*, was borrow'd from theſe Words of *Moſes*:

(p) Rom. i. 22, 23. (q) Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. (r) Iſa. ix. 6.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1571, &c.

Moſes: But, there is a Paſſage in *Plutarch*, which mentions an Inſcription in the Temple of *Delphos*, conſiſting of theſe Letters EI, a Contraction, as ſome imagine of EIMI, *I am*, which (according to the Opinion of *(s)* a great Judge in thoſe Days) was one of the moſt perfect Names and Titles of the Deity, ſeeing it imported, that, " tho' our Being is uncertain, " precarious, temporary, and ſubject to " change, ſo that no Man can ſay of him- " ſelf, in a ſtrict and abſolute Senſe, *I* " *am*; yet we may, with great Propriety, " give the Deity this Appellation, becauſe " God is independent, immutable, eternal, " always, and every-where the ſame;" for *(t) I am Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the Ending, the Firſt and the Laſt, ſaith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.*

Why Moſes *was ſo backward to go into* Egypt *to reſcue his Brethren.*

BUT all this wou'd not work upon *Moſes* to undertake the Office, to which God call'd him; and yet, when we come to conſider his Caſe, we cannot altogether accuſe him of Perverſeneſs or Obſtinacy. About forty Years before, he had felt ſome extraordinary Motion in himſelf, and, as he was then in the Fervour of his Youth, he took it for a certain Indication, that God intended to make uſe of him as an Inſtrument for his People's Deliverance; but then he was a far greater Man, than now. The Princeſs, (if alive) who had adopted him for her Son, ſupported his Intereſt at Court; or, if dead, had, in all Probability, left him a Fortune ſufficient to procure himſelf one. But now, Age had made him cool and conſiderate. The Loſs of his Patroneſs had quaſh'd all aſpiring Thoughts. A long Habitude had perfectly reconcil'd him to an obſcure Courſe of Life: And therefore, as one loth to be rouz'd from his Solitude, *(u) who am I*, ſays he, *that I ſhou'd go unto* Pharaoh, *And that I ſhou'd bring forth the Children of* Iſrael *out of* Egypt?

HE had already experimentally known the Ingratitude and Diſingenuity of the *Hebrews: (x) When he ſuppoſed they wou'd have underſtood, that God, by his Hand, wou'd have delivered them*, he voluntarily offer'd his Service; but their Rejection of him, when in the Height of his Power, upon ſo great an Alteration in his Circumſtances, took away all Hopes of Succeſs in ſo difficult an Enterprize. So that the principal Error, which *Moſes* incurr'd upon this Occaſion, was no more than a Diſtemper incident to the Generality of Mankind, *viz.* the meaſuring of God by himſelf, and judging of Events, from the Probabilities or Improbabilities of *ſecond Cauſes*.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

BUT there is another Reaſon, not to be diſſembled, which might poſſibly deter *Moſes* from returning into *Egypt*, and that was the Blood of the Man, for which he had fled into *Midian*, and his certain Knowledge of the Laws of that Land, *viz. (y)* that " whoever kill'd another, " whether he was bond, or free, was not " to eſcape with his own Life." Juſt before God appear'd to him in the Buſh, and had this Diſcourſe with him, we read, that *(z)* the *King of* Egypt *died*, that King, to wit, in whoſe Reign he had ſlain the *Egyptian*, and who ſought to apprehend him, that he might put him to death: But, as *Moſes* kept no Manner of Correſpondence with *Egypt*, the News of this King's Death might not have reach'd his Ears, or if it had, he might reaſonably think, that ſome ſurviving Relation of the ſlain Man might enter a Proceſs againſt him for the Murther. So that here he fell into a Paſſion, which is hardly ſeparable from human Nature, *viz.* the Love of Life, and Dread of Puniſhment; and which in him was the more excuſable, becauſe God, as yet had not clear'd his Mind from the Fear and Suſpicion it lay under.

IT muſt not be deny'd then, but that there were ſome Tokens of human Frailty in *Moſes's laſt Refuſal* of the Commiſſion, which was offer'd him; but then there

(s) Ammonius. *(t)* Rev. i. 8, 11. *(u)* Exod. iii. 11. *(x)* Acts vii. 25. *(y)* Diodorus Siculus, l. 1. p. 70. *(z)* Exod. ii. 23.

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there is this to ſay in Excuſe, that the moſt excellent Perſons are the leaſt forward to embrace the Offers of great Preferment. For if no Authority (according *(a)* to *Plato)* is deſign'd for the Benefit of him that governs, but of thoſe that are govern'd; no wiſe and conſiderate Man will voluntarily take upon him the Government of a People, but muſt either be hir'd, or compell'd to it: And therefore *Moſes*, conſidering the great Weight of the Employment, out of a due Senſe of his own Infirmities, declin'd it as long as he cou'd. And tho' Mention is made in Scripture of the *(b) Lord's being angry with him*, yet this Anger cou'd amount to no more, than ſuch a Diſpleaſure, as a Father conceives at his Child, when, notwithſtanding all that can be ſaid and done, to create in him a juſt Confidence, he ſtill continues baſhful and diffident of himſelf.

The Significance *of the* Sign *which God gives to* Moſes.

It may be thought perhaps by ſome a farther Excuſe for *Moſes's Backwardneſs*, or, at leaſt, no great *Encouragement* to his Undertaking, that God makes the *Sign*, wherewith he wou'd ſeem to ratify his Promiſe, of a Date ſo ſubſequent to his Commiſſion. *(c) I will certainly be with thee, and this ſhall be a Token unto thee, that I have ſent thee: When thou haſt brought forth the People out of* Egypt, *ye ſhall ſerve God upon this Mountain.* For how can a future Event ſerve for a Sign of the Accompliſhments of a preſent Promiſe? The common Solution of this Difficulty is —— That God deſign'd this for a Token to *Moſes*, in order to root out of his Heart all Remains of *Infidelity*, which might perhaps be found in him, even after he had delivered the *Iſraelites* out of Bondage; but this is a Senſe by no Means allowable, for how can we ſuppoſe, that, after God had brought out his People with *an high Hand, and a ſtretch'd-out Arm*; by making himſelf juſtly terrible to *Pharaoh* and all his Court; by turning Rivers of Water into Blood; by changing the Day into Night; by ſlaying all the Firſt-born in *Egypt*, and by cauſing the King and his whole Army, to be ſwallow'd up in the ſame Waves of the Sea, which *(d) were a Wall on the Right-hand and on the Left*, and open'd a Way for his own People to paſs: How can we ſuppoſe, I ſay, that this *faithful Servant* of his ſhou'd have the leaſt doubt, whether this mighty Deliverance was to be aſcrib'd to *Providence* or *Chance?* Or, if there was any farther Occaſion for *Tokens*, why ſhou'd a *ſmaller*, than any of the foregoing, be propos'd? Or, when propos'd, why ſhou'd it be preſum'd ſufficient to produce an Effect, which others, much more conſiderable, were found incompetent to do?

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

To evade theſe Queſtions, ſome of the *Jewiſh* Doctors have devis'd a new Partition of the Words; and, when God ſays to *Moſes*, *this ſhall be a Token to thee*, they think he means it of the *Buſh*, from whence he ſpake, all *on Flames without conſuming*, which was, queſtionleſs, Token enough, *that God had ſent him*; and thereupon they make the ſubſequent Words the Beginning of a freſh Sentence, and declarative of a farther Purpoſe, for which God wou'd *bring forth his People out of* Egypt, even that, from that Mountain, he might give them a Law, which was to be the Rule and Directory of their Religious *Worſhip* and *Service*. But there is no Neceſſity for this Subterfuge, when the Difficulty may be fairly reſolv'd by diſtinguiſhing the Promiſes of God into two Kinds; thoſe, that depend on certain Conditions, and thoſe that have no Conditions at all.

To be the Meſſenger of the *former* Kind of Promiſes is exerciſing a glorious Miniſtry, but then it is a Miniſtry attended with Danger. He, upon whom God confers it, may live in perpetual Fear of promiſing ſomething without Effect; becauſe they, to whom the Promiſe is made, may forfeit it by not performing the requiſite Condition: But Nothing can diſcourage the Man, to whom God has given a Com-

(a) De Repub. l. 1. *(b)* Exod. iv. 14. *(c)* Exod. iii. 12. *(d)* Exod. xiv. 22.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1571, &c.

a Commiſſion of the *latter* Kind, becauſe the Infallibility of the Event ſupports him againſt all the Obſtacles, that can poſſibly ariſe.

Now to apply this to the Caſe in Hand. When God promiſes *Moſes* a Deliverance of his People, *Moſes* might fear, that their Impiety, or Unbelief, might be a Bar, and Obſtruction to their Deliverance; and therefore, God, in order to cure him of this Fear, endeavours to make him ſenſible, that the Promiſe, he now gives him, was not *indefinite* and *general*, like thoſe which depended on certain *Conditions*; but that it was one of thoſe, whoſe Accompliſhment was decreed in the divine *Councils*, independent on any Event, or any Condition; and therefore he not only *promiſes*, but *foretels*, and particulariſes the niceſt and minuteſt Circumſtances. He not only acquaints him, that his People ſhall be deliver'd, but he deſcribes to him the exact Place, where, after they found themſelves ſet at Liberty, they were to pay their Homage to their Deliverer: And this *Detail* is the Token, that God gives him of the Certainty of the Event.

To illuſtrate this by a parallel Inſtance. When the Armies of *Sennacherib* beſieg'd *Jeruſalem*, *Hezekiah* began to fear that they wou'd take it: To ſecure him againſt that Fear, *Iſaiah* promiſes him an approaching Deliverance. *Hezekiah* is afraid, leſt the Sins of the People ſhou'd ſtand between him, and the divine Goodneſs: To ſecure him againſt this Apprehenſion likewiſe, and to convince him, that the Reſolution, God had taken to deliver his People, was *irreſpective* and *infallible*; *(e) this ſhall be a Sign to thee*, ſays he, *ye ſhall eat this Year ſuch Things, as grow of themſelves, and in the ſecond Year, which ſpringeth of the ſame, and in the third Year ſow ye, and reap, and plant Vineyards, and eat the Fruit thereof.* To return to *Moſes*.

HAD this Promiſe indeed been the only Sign, which God had given him, it might have adminiſter'd ſome Umbrage of *Suſpicion*; but when it was attended with ſeveral other *Signs and mighty Wonders*, it cou'd not but be of great uſe for the Confirmation of his *Faith* in his preſent Undertaking, ſince he knew it was as certain, as if it had already been effected, becauſe it proceeded from the Mouth of the *Almighty*, whoſe Promiſes, when abſolute and unconditional, are always *Yea and Amen*.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

I KNOW of few Paſſages, more difficult to be underſtood, than that which contains the Adventure of *Moſes*'s Family in the Inn, *(f) where the Lord met him, and ſought to kill him, until* Zipporah *took a ſharp Stone, and cut off the Fore-Skin of her Son, and caſt it at his Feet, and ſaid, ſurely a bloody Huſband art thou to me.* *Zipporah* is commonly repreſented as a *perverſe* and *froward* Woman, who look'd upon *Circumciſion* as a *cruel* and unneceſſary Ordinance, and therefore prevail'd with her Huſband, (who perhaps might be too indulgent to her in the Caſe of her younger Son) to omit it. But it ought to be conſider'd, that, as ſhe was a *Midianitiſh* Woman, and deſcended from *Abraham* by his Wife *Keturah*, ſhe cou'd not have any Averſion to the Rite of *Circumciſion*, in which ſhe acquieſc'd, in the Caſe of her *elder* Son *Gerſhom*, and in which ſhe was ſo expert, that, upon her Huſband's Incapacity, ſhe herſelf perform'd the Operation upon the *Younger*.

Moſes cenſur'd for neglecting *to circumciſe his Son.*

THE *Midianites* might perhaps, in this Reſpect, imitate their Neighbours the *Iſhmaelites*, who did not circumciſe their Children, until they were thirteen Years of Age; and, for this Reaſon, ſome have imagin'd, that *Moſes*'s Son had not, as yet, undergone the Operation: But *Moſes* knew very well, that there was a *Limitation* of Time in the Inſtitution of the Ordinance, and therefore the more probable Reaſon for this Omiſſion ſeems to be, that they were now upon their Journey, when *Zipporah* was brought to-bed, and that therefore they might think,

(e) 2 Kings xix. 29.

(f) Exod. iv. 24, 25.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1571, &c.

that the Danger of the Wound to the Infant might excuſe the deferring of his Circumciſion, as it excus'd the *Iſraelites afterwards* in the Wilderneſs.

But, as it does not appear that *Moſes* lay under any Neceſſity of taking his Family, eſpecially his Wife with Child, along with him; ſo this Omiſſion of circumciſing his Son might be imputed to him as a greater Fault than ordinary, becauſe he may be ſuppos'd to have underſtood the Will of God, concerning this *Rite*, more perfectly, than any other Man; and was, but juſt before, reminded of the Benefit of that *Covenant*, whereof this Ordinance was a Seal, and ſome Part of which he was going *now* to take Poſſeſſion of.

But how abſurd wou'd it have been, for *Moſes* to be made a *Law-giver* to others, when himſelf liv'd in an open Violation of God's Laws? Or to be appointed a chief Ruler and Inſtructor of the *Iſraelites*, to whom he was to inculcate the Obligation of this Ordinance, and on whom he was to inflict *Pains* and *Penalties* for their Neglect of it, when himſelf was guilty of the ſame Sin? Nor was this Omiſſion only a great Sin in itſelf, but a great *Scandal* likewiſe to the *Iſraelites*, who, by his Example, might very likely be led into the ſame Miſcarriage, and be tempted to ſuſpect the *Call* of a Perſon, who ſhew'd ſuch a viſible Contempt of God's Law. As *Moſes* therefore was a *publick* Perſon, and juſt inveſted with a *Commiſſion* from God, his Diſobedience to a known Law was more enormous, his Example might have done more Miſchief, and therefore God's Severity againſt him, either in afflicting him with ſome ſudden *Sickneſs*, or affrightening him with ſome terrible *Apparition*, was neceſſary to remind him of his Duty. And, accordingly, whatever the Means was, we find, that it brought to his Wife's Remembrance the Neglect of their not having circumcis'd the Child; but we injure her Character, if we think, that the Words, which ſhe is made to utter upon this Occaſion, were any angry *Taunt* or Exprobation to her Huſband, ſince (according to the Expoſition *(g)* of a very learned Writer upon the Text) they are not directed to him, but to her Son; and are not the Effect of any angry Reſentment, but a *ſolemn* Form of Speech, made uſe of at the Time of any Child's *Circumciſion*.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

Several of the *Jewiſh* Doctors tell us, that it was a Cuſtom of the *Hebrew* Women to call their Children, when they were circumcis'd, by the Name of *Chatan*, i. e. *Spouſe*, as if they were now *eſpouſed to God*; and to this Cuſtom the *Apoſtle* perhaps might allude, when he tells his *Corinthians*, *(h) I am jealous over you with an holy Jealouſy; for I have eſpouſed you to one Huſband, that I may preſent you as a chaſte Virgin to Chriſt.* However this be, *(i) Zipporah*, who was an *Arabian* Woman, might the rather make uſe of this *Term*, and apply it to her Son, becauſe the *Arabians* (whoſe Language has a great Affinity to the *Hebrew*, and who themſelves, as Deſcendants from *Abraham*, did, all along, uſe the Rite of *Circumciſion*) make the Word *Chatan* ſignify to *circumciſe*, and *Chiten*, *Circumciſion* (as manifeſtly appears in their *Tranſlation* of the *New Teſtament*;) which can no otherwiſe be accounted for, than from this Cuſtom of calling a Child *Chatan*, when he is *circumcis'd*, even as we, becauſe a Child in Baptiſm is made a *Chriſtian*, uſe the Word *chriſten* for to *baptize*.

His Wife's Conduct *ſet right.*

If *Zipporah*'s Words then were directed, not to her Huſband, but the Child whom ſhe had juſt now circumcis'd, their proper Meaning muſt be, *I, by this Circumciſion, pronounce thee to be a Member of the Church:* For the Child, on the Day of his Circumciſion, (ſays *Aben Ezra* upon this Text) was us'd to be call'd *Chatan, becauſe he was then firſt join'd to the People of God, and as it were, eſpous'd unto God.* And if this be the Senſe of the Matter, *Zipporah* was ſo far from expreſſing any angry Reſentment, or giving her Huſband any opprobrious Language upon this Occaſion,

(g) Mede's Diſcourſe 14. *(h)* 2 Cor. xi. 2. *(i) Mede*'s l. i. Diſcourſe 14.

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ſion, that ſhe only did the Office of circumciſing her Son, when ſhe perceiv'd that the Delay of it had given Offence to God, and, in doing that Office, pronounc'd the Words over him, which us'd to be pronounc'd, whenever that *Ceremony* was duly perform'd.

THIS is an Interpretation, which, not only the *Septuagint* and *Chaldee* Paraphraſt ſeem to countenance; but what moſt modern Maſters of *Jewiſh* Learning have approv'd. And, as it ſeems to clear the Character of *Zipporah*, ſo may it receive ſome farther Confirmation from the ſubſequent Behaviour of the *Angel*, who, as ſoon as he ſaw the Ceremony perform'd, and heard the ſolemn Form pronounc'd over the Child, (*k*) *let* Moſes *go, and did not ſlay him*; whereas had the Operation been done in the Manner, that ſome pretend *grudgingly*, and of *Neceſſity*, with inward Regret, and Words of Reproach to her Huſband, this (one wou'd think) wou'd have incens'd the Angel, either to have continu'd the Puniſhment (be it what it will) upon *Moſes*, or rather to have transferr'd it to his Wife, who, upon this Suppoſition, ſeems moſt juſtly to have deſerv'd it.

UPON the whole therefore it appears, that the Words of *Zipporah* were addreſs'd to her Son, and not her Huſband, and were the uſual Form of Admiſſion into the *Jewiſh* Church; that it was at the Child's Feet that ſhe laid the Foreſkin, and not threw it at her Huſband in Anger, when ſhe ſpake the Words abovemention'd; and that, in this whole Affair, there was neither any Squabble between *Moſes* and his Wife, nor any indecent Behaviour, or opprobrious Language us'd by her.

No Fallacy in Moſes's *Demand.*

IT cannot be deny'd indeed, but that God, from the very firſt Day, that he appointed *Moſes* to go to *Pharaoh*, intended to deliver his People from their Captivity, and, when once they were departed out of *Egypt*, that they ſhou'd never return again; and yet they are directed to demand only to go *three Days Journey into the Wilderneſs*. This was not the *whole* of what was intended; but *Moſes* lay under no Obligation to let ſo bitter an Enemy, as *Pharaoh*, into his whole Deſign. It is ſufficient to abſolve him from any Imputation of *Diſingenuity*, that he acted according to the Inſtructions, which God gave him; *(l)* and God certainly was not oblig'd to acquaint *Pharaoh* with all his Mind, but only ſo far as he thought proper: And, for wiſe and good Reaſons, he thought proper to make the Demand no higher at firſt, than *three Days Journey into the Wilderneſs*, that, by his Denial of ſo modeſt a Requeſt, he might make his Tyranny more manifeſt, and the divine Vengeance upon him more juſt and remarkable.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

IT muſt be acknowledg'd again, that the Expreſſion of *flowing with Milk and Honey*, when apply'd to any Country, like that of King *Solomon's making Silver to be in* Jeruſalem *like Stones (m)*, is *hyperbolical*. It denotes very rich Paſtures and Grounds, which ſhou'd feed Cattle yielding Abundance of Milk, and which ſhou'd produce great Plenty of Flowers and Plants, for the Bees to make Honey. It repreſents indeed a general Fruitfulneſs all the Country over; for which *Paleſtine* (according to the Account of Writers of no mean Character) was certainly once famous, however it came into *Strabo*'s Head to diſparage it. For (to mention an Author or two of ſome Note) *Ariſtæus*, who was *there* to bring the *Seventy Interpreters* into *Egypt*, tells us, that immenſe and prodigious was the Produce and Plenty, it afforded of trees, Fruits, Paſture, Cattle, Honey, beſides the Spicery, Gold, and precious Stones imported from *Arabia (n) Joſephus* deſcribes the Country, as it was in his Time, *i. e.* in the Time of our *Saviour* and his *Apoſtles*, as moſt remarkably fruitful and pleaſant, and abounding in the very choiceſt Productions of the Earth. *Bochart*, much later, and ſince the Country has been inhabited by the *Turks*, liv'd in it for

The Fruitfulneſs *of the Land of* Paleſtine.

(*k*) Exod. iv. 26. (*l*) *Pool*'s Annotations in Locum. (*m*) 1 Kings x. 27. (*n*) *Antiq.* l. 5. and *Fuller*'s *Piſgah* Sight of *Paleſtine*.

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for the Space of ten Years, and, as he was particularly curious and diligent in informing himſelf in every Thing, ſpeaks the greateſt Things imaginable of the Richneſs of its Soil, and the Choiceneſs of its Products: And (to name no more) our own Countryman, Mr *Sandys*, who in the Beginning of the laſt Century travell'd through it, gives it the Character of *a Land adorn'd with beautiful Mountains, and luxurious Vallies; the Rocks producing excellent Waters, and no Part empty of Delight, or Profit:* And certainly thoſe, who either were *Natives*, or have ſojourn'd a long Time in a Country, may be ſuppos'd to have a more perfect Knowledge of it, than a *Foreigner*, who liv'd at a Diſtance as *Strabo* did.

The Truth is, if we conſider of what a ſmall Compaſs the Land of *Canaan* is, and yet what a prodigious Number of Inhabitants (both before, and after the *Iſraelites* became Maſters of it) it maintain'd, we muſt conclude, it cou'd not but deſerve the Character, which the Authors above-cited have given us of it; and the Barrenneſs and Poverty of its Soil, which ſome *modern* Travellers ſeem to complain of, muſt be imputed either to its Want of Tillage and Cultivation, (which the *Turks*, its preſent Inhabitants, are utterly ignorant of) or to the particular *Judgment* of God, who, for the *Wickedneſs* of any Nation, has frequently perform'd, what he threaten'd to the *Jews* of old; (*o*) *I will break the Pride of your Power, and I will make your Heaven as Iron, and your Earth as Braſs, and your Strength ſhall be ſpent in vain; for your Land ſhall not yield her Increaſe, neither ſhall the Trees of the Land yield their Fruits.*

The hardening Pharaoh's *Heart not from God.*

Several Things are ſaid in Scripture to be done by God, which are only *permitted* by him to come to paſs in their ordinary Courſe and Procedure: And thus God may be ſaid to *harden* Pharaoh's *Heart*, only becauſe he did not interpoſe, but ſuffer'd him to be carry'd, by the Bent of his own Paſſions, to that inflexible Obſtinacy, which prov'd his Ruin. That *Moſes* to whom God us'd theſe Expreſſions concerning *Pharaoh*, underſtood them in this Senſe, is evident from many Parts of his Behaviour to him, and eſpecially from his earneſtly intreating him to be perſuaded, and to let the People go. (*p*) Had *Moſes* known, or ever thought, that God had doom'd *Pharaoh* to unavoidable *Ruin*, it had been an unwarrantable Preſumption in him to have perſuaded him to have avoided it: But that *Moſes*, with all poſſible Application, endeavour'd to make an Impreſſion upon *Pharaoh* for his Good, is manifeſt from this Paſſage, (*q*) *glory over me*, i. e. do me the Honour to believe me, *when I ſhall intreat for thee, and for thy Servants*; wherein he makes an earneſt Addreſs to *Pharaoh*, to induce him to be perſuaded to part with the People, which he certainly never wou'd have done, had he been ſatisfy'd that God himſelf had prevented his Compliance, on Purpoſe to bring him to Ruin.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

It is farther to be obſerv'd therefore, that not only in the *Hebrew*, but in moſt other Languages, *the Occaſion* of an Action, and what in itſelf has no Power to produce it, is very often put for the *efficient Cauſe* thereof. Thus in the Caſe before us: (*r*) God ſends *Moſes* to *Pharaoh*, and *Moſes*, in his Preſence, does ſuch miraculous Works, as wou'd have had an Effect upon any other: But becauſe he ſaw ſome of the Miracles imitated by the *Magicians*; becauſe the Plagues, which God ſent, came gradually upon him, and, by the Interceſſion of *Moſes*, were conſtantly remov'd; he thence took *occaſion*, inſtead of being *ſoften'd* by this *Alternative* of Mercy and Judgment, to become more *ſullen* and *obdurate*. When *Pharaoh* (as the Text tells us) *ſaw that the Rain, and the Hail, and the Thunder ceas'd, he ſinned yet more, and hardened his Heart.*

The

(*o*) Levit. xxvi. 19, 20. *Clarc*'s Commentary. (*p*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 9. (*q*) Exod. viii. 9. (*r*) *La*

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1571, &c.

The Mercy of God, which ſhou'd have led him to Repentance, had a contrary Effect upon him, and made him more *obſtinate:* " *(s)* For an hearden'd Heart " (as one expreſſes it) is neither cut by " Compunction, nor ſoften'd by any " Senſe of Pity. It is neither mov'd by " Intreaties, nor yields to Threatnings, " nor feels the Smart of Scourges. It " is ungrateful to Benefactors, treacherous " to Counſels, ſullen under Judgments, " fearleſs in Dangers, forgetful of Things " paſt, negligent of Things preſent, and " improvident for the future;" All which bad Qualities ſeem to have concenter'd in *Pharaoh*. For, whatever might have contributed to his *Obduration* at firſt, it is plain, that, in the Event, even when the *Magicians* own'd a divine Power in what they ſaw done, and were quite confounded, when they felt themſelves ſmitten with the Boils, and might thereupon very likely perſuade him to ſurrender; he is ſo far from relenting, that he does not ſo much as aſk a Remove of the Plague. It was therefore entirely agreeable to the Rules of *divine* Juſtice, when Nothing wou'd reclaim this wicked King; when even That, which wrought upon the Miniſters of *Satan*, made no Impreſſion upon him, to let his Crime become his Puniſhment, and to leave him to *eat the bitter Fruit of his own Ways, and to be fill'd with his own Devices.*

That the Hebrews, *at their Departure, did not rob the* Egyptians.

THE *Iſraelites*, we own, did carry out of the Land of their Captivity ſeveral Things of great Value, which they had from the *Egyptians:* But then we are to conſider, that the Word, which our Tranſlators render *borrow*, does more properly ſignify *to aſk of one*; and what they render *to lend*, is as literally *to give*. For the Caſe ſtood thus between the two Nations. *(t)* The *Egyptians* had been thoroughly terrify'd with what had paſſed, and eſpecially with the laſt terrible Plague upon their *Firſt-born*, and were now willing to give the *Hebrews* any Thing, or every Thing, only to get quit of them. They therefore brib'd them to be gone, and courted them with *Preſents*, ſo very *profuſely*, as even to impoveriſh themſelves: But for this the *Iſraelites* were not at all culpable, becauſe they only accepted of what the others gave them, and what was freely given, they doubtleſs had a Right to detain.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

BUT ſuppoſe that the *ſtrict* Senſe of the Word was, that they really did *borrow* many valuable Things of the *Egyptians*; yet it is a Truth allow'd on all Hands, that God, who is the ſupreme *Lord* of all Things, may, when he pleaſes, and in what Manner he pleaſes, *tranſfer* the Rights of Men from one to another. Conſidering then, that God was now become the King of the *Iſraelites*, in a proper and peculiar Manner; and conſidering farther, what inſufferable Wrongs the King and People of *Egypt* had done to this People of God, who were now become his peculiar Subjects, and *Proprietary Lieges*; this Act of *ſpoiling the Egyptians* (even in the harſheſt Senſe of the Word) was, according to *the Laws of Nations*, more juſtifiable, than Royal Grants of *Letters of Mart*, or other ſuch like Remedies, as Kings are accuſtom'd to make uſe of againſt other *Powers*, that have wrong'd their Subjects, or ſuffer'd them to be wrong'd by thoſe, that are under their Command, without making a proper Reſtitution. In ſhort, whatever the *Hebrews* took from the *Egyptians*, they took, and poſſeſs'd it by the *Law of Repriſals*, i. e. by Virtue of a ſpecial Warrant from the Lord himſelf, who was now become, not their *God* only, but their peculiar *King*.

* THAT ſome Compenſation was due, in ſtrict Juſtice, from the *Egyptians* to the *Hebrews*, for the great Services they

(s) Vide *Patrick*'s Commentary. *(t)* Scripture vindicated, Part II.

* In the *Gemarah* of the *Sanhedrim*, there is told a memorable Story concerning this Tranſaction. In the Time of *Alexander the Great*, the *Egyptians* brought an Action againſt the *Iſraelites*, deſiring that they might have the Land of *Canaan*, in Satisfaction for all they had borrow'd of them, when they went out of *Egypt*. To this *Gibeon Ben Koſam*

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had done them, is what can hardly be deny'd: But ſuppoſing this *Borrowing* and *Lending* between them had been without any ſuch Regard, yet, if the *Iſraelites* acquir'd a Right to theſe Things afterwards, there was then no Obligation for their making any Reſtitution. Now, that they acquir'd ſuch a Right is manifeſt from the *Egyptians* purſuing them in an *hoſtile Manner*, and with a Purpoſe to deſtroy them, after they had given them free Liberty to depart; by which Hoſtility and Perfidiouſneſs they plainly forfeited their Right to what they had only lent before. For this *hoſtile* Attempt (which wou'd have warranted the *Iſraelites* to have fallen upon the *Egyptians, and ſpoil'd them* of their Goods) did certainly warrant them to keep them, when they had them; ſo that now they became the *rightful* Poſſeſſors of what they had only upon Loan, and cou'd not have detain'd, without Fraud and Injuſtice, before.

Thus, in what View ſoever we contemplate this Fact, whether it be a voluntary *Donation*, made by the *Egyptians*; or an Act of *Repriſal*, made by the *Hebrews*; or a Deed of *Forfeiture*, which the former incurr'd by an unjuſt Invaſion upon the latter; the *Hebrews* will be found not ſo culpable, as ſome wou'd make them: Nor can we ſee, where the pretended ill Tendency of ſuch a *Precedent* can be, ſince it is allow'd on all Hands, that it is, in no Caſe, to be follow'd, unleſs it be evidently commanded by the ſame *divine* Authority.

Miracles indeed, we own, are the *Seals* and *Atteſtations* of God, to evidence the Truth of any Thing, that he is deſirous the World ſhou'd believe; but if *Magicians*, by the Aſſiſtance of evil Spirits, have Power to impoſe upon our Senſes, or to work ſuch Wonders, as ſeem altogether *miraculous*, we are left under a great Uncertainty how to determine our Judgments in this Caſe: And therefore, to give a full Solution to this Part of the Objection, we ſhall firſt premiſe ſomething concerning the Nature of *Magick*, and how far its Power may extend towards the Operation of Miracles; thence proceed to enquire who the particular *Magicians* were, who pretended to oppoſe *Moſes*, and upon what Account it was, that *Pharaoh* ſent for them; thence to conſider whether the Miracles, they *ſeemingly* wrought, were *real* or *fictitious*, or if *real*, why God permitted them to perform them; and thence to examine, whether this Permiſſion tended any Way to prejudice the *Evidence* of *Moſes's Miſſion* from God, or rather not to confirm it, ſeeing the Difference between them and *Moſes*, in this Conteſt of working Miracles, was ſo viſible and conſpicuous.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

Of the ſeveral Kinds of Magick.

Those, who have profeſſedly treated of the *Magick Art*, have generally divided it into three Kinds, ***natural***, ***artificial***, and *diabolical*. *(u)* The firſt of theſe is no other, than *natural Philoſophy*, but highly improv'd and advanc'd, whereby the Perſon, that is well ſkill'd in the Power and Operation of *natural Bodies*, is able to produce many wonderful Effects, miſtaken by the Illiterate for *diabolical* Performances, even tho' they lie perfectly within the *Verge* of *Nature*. *Artificial* Magick is what we call *Legerdemain*, or Slight of Hand, whoſe Effects are far from being what they ſeem. They are Deceptions and Impoſtures, the very Tricks of *Jugglers*

Koſam, who was Advocate for the *Jews*, reply'd, That, before they made this Demand, they muſt prove what they alledg'd, *viz.* That the *Iſraelites* borrow'd any thing of their *Anceſtors*: To which the *Egyptians* thought it ſufficient to ſay, that they found it recorded in their own Books. Well then, *ſays the Advocate*, look into the ſame Books, and ye will find that the Children of *Iſrael* liv'd *four hundred and thirty Years in* Egypt; (Exod. xii. 40.) pay us then, *ſaid he*, for all the Labours and Toils of ſo many thouſand People, as you employ'd us all that Time, and we will reſtore what we borrow'd; to which they had not a Word to anſwer. *Patrick*'s Commentary. It is to be obſerv'd however, that this Paſſage in *Exodus*, which the *Advocate* refers to, had reſpect to all the Pilgrimages of *Abraham* and his Poſterity, from the Time of his ſetting out from *Charran* in *Meſopotamia*, to this their Departure out of *Egypt*, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew very ſoon. Vid. p. 404.

(u) Biſhop *Wilkins*'s Tract of Magick, and *Edwards*'s Body of Divinity, Vol. I.

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Jugglers (as we corrupt the Word *Joculatores)* far from exceeding the Power of Art, and yet what many Times paſs with the Vulgar for *diabolical* likewiſe. *Diabolical* Magick is that, which is done by the Help of the Devil, who, having great Skill in *natural* Cauſes, and a large Command over the *Air*, and other *Elements*, may aſſiſt thoſe, that are in League and Covenant with him (in Scripture call'd *Wizards, Sorcerers, Diviners, Enchanters, Chaldeans, and ſuch as had familiar Spirits)* to do many ſtrange and aſtoniſhing Things.

TO deny that there ever were ſuch Men as theſe, is to ſlight the Authority of all Hiſtory; and, to gueſs at the probable *Riſe* and *Original* of them, we may ſuppoſe it to be this——*(x)* That God, being pleas'd to admit the holy Patriarchs into Conference with him, the Devil endeavour'd to do the ſame; and, to retain Men in their Obedience to him, pretending to make Diſcoveries of ſecret Things; and that, when God was pleas'd to work Miracles for the Truth, he, in like Manner, directed thoſe, who were *familiar* with him, how to invoke his Help, for the Performance of ſuch ſtrange Things, as might confirm the World in their *Error*.

UNDER which of theſe Denominations, *natural, artificial*, or *diabolical*, the Magicians, who ſet themſelves in Oppoſition to the Servants of the Moſt High God, are to be rank'd, we have no Inſtructions from Scripture; but it ſeems highly probable, that neither wou'd *Pharaoh* have call'd together thoſe of the leaſt Capacity and Repute, neither wou'd the *Devil* (as far as his Power extended) have been backward to aſſiſt his *Votaries* upon ſuch a ſolemn and momentous an Occaſion, as this.

WHO the Principal of theſe Magicians were, our *ſacred* Hiſtorian makes no mention: But ſeveral, both *Jewiſh* and *Heathen* Authors from whom *(y)* St *Paul*, without doubt, borrow'd their Names) have inform'd us, that among the *Egyptians* they were call'd *Jannes*, and *Jambres*, which, to give them a *Latin* Termination, wou'd be *Johannes* and *Ambroſius*, of whom *Numenius* (as he is quoted by *Euſebius) (z)* has given us this remarkable Account, *viz.* "That they were the "*Scribes*, in religious Matters, among the "*Egyptians*; that they flouriſh'd in *E*-"*gypt* at the Time, when the *Jews* were "driven from thence; that they did not "give place to any Body in the Science "of *magical Secrets*; and, for this Rea-"ſon, were choſe unanimouſly by all *E*-"*gypt* to oppoſe *Muſeus* (ſo he calls *Moſes)* "a Leader of the *Jews*, and whoſe Pray-"ers were very prevalent with God."

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

NOW ſuppoſing that theſe, and whoever elſe accompany'd them, acted from the higheſt *Principles* in *Magick*; there are two Ways, wherein we may imagine it in the Power of the Devil to be aſſiſtant to ſuch Perſons, as pretend to work Miracles.

The ſeveral Ways, wherein the Devil might aſſiſt them.

THE *firſt* is, by raiſing falſe *Images* and Appearances of Things; which may be done, either by affecting the *Brain*, or confuſing the *optick Nerves*, or altering the *Medium*, which is between us and the Object. That he did ſome ſuch Thing, as this, to our bleſſed Saviour, when, from the Top of an high Mountain, he pretended *(a)* to *ſhew him all the Kingdoms of the World, and the Glory of them, in a Moment of Time*, is very plain from the *Convexity* of the Earth, which bounds the *Horizon*, and admits of no ſuch unlimited Proſpect; ſo that all he cou'd be preſum'd capable of doing in this Caſe (as our Saviour was not inſenſible what he did do) was to make *fictitious Repreſentations* of gay and magnificent Things in the Air.

SECONDLY, The other Way, wherein the Devil may be ſuppos'd able to aſſiſt theſe Magicians, is, by making uſe of the *Laws of Nature*, in producing Effects, which are not above the natural Power

(x) *Patrick*'s Commentary in Locum. *(y)* 2 Tim. iii. 8. *(z)* Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 8.
(a) Matt. iv. 8.

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Power of Things, though they certainly exceed what Man can do. Thus, to tranſport a Body, with inconceivable Rapidity, from one Place to another; to bring together different Productions of Nature, which *ſeparately* have no viſible Effect, but when *united*, work Wonders; to make Images move, walk, ſpeak, and the like; theſe may come within the Compaſs of the Devil's Power, becauſe not tranſcending the *Laws of Nature*, though we cannot diſcern by what Means they are effected.

THIRDLY, There is a farther Suppoſition *(b)* of ſome learned Men, *viz.* that, under the divine Permiſſion, wicked Spirits have a Power to work *real* Miracles, of which they perceive *(c)* ſome Intimations given us in Scripture, and, in the Nature of the Thing, no Reaſons to the contrary; and therefore the Queſtion is, whether, what the Magicians here perform'd, were *real* Miracles, or not?

That their Miracles were real.

SOME learned Writers have imagin'd, that there was not any real Tranſmutation, when the Rods of the *Egyptian* Magicians were pretended to be chang'd into Serpents, nor any real Miracle exhibited, when the Water was turn'd into Blood, and the Frogs produc'd; but that either the *Magicians* play'd their Parts well, as dexterous Jugglers, or that they did it by their Knowledge of ſome ſecret Art; or that ſome *Dæmons* aſſiſted them, who, by their Power over the *Air*, enabled them to * deceive the Sight of the Beholders. It is to be obſerv'd however, that, in the Account, which *Moſes* gives us of the Miracles perform'd by himſelf and *Aaron*, and of what the *Magicians* did by their *Inchantments*, he does not hint any Manner of Difference, as to the *Reality* of the Performances of either of them. In the Caſe of their Rods being turn'd into Serpents, he does not ſay, that they made them to appear to be ſuch, by a Deception of the Sight, but that *(d) they flung down every Man his Rod, and they became Serpents*; and ſo, of the other two Miracles, which *Moſes* exhibited, *that the Magicians did ſo with their Inchantments. (e)* Now, from the Knowledge of *natural Cauſes and Effects*, which, by the Help of *Experiment* and *Philoſophy*, has, of late, been introduc'd, we may venture to ſay, that no Effects, like what theſe Men pretended to accompliſh by Inchantments, can be produc'd by any, or all the *Powers* of *Nature*. No Art, no Study of *occult Sciences*, can enable a Man *really* to change a Rod into a living Serpent. There are no Inchantments, no Rules in Sorcery ſufficient to make a living Frog, or to change Water into real Blood; and to ſuppoſe that the Magicians went about to impoſe upon *Pharaoh*, and the reſt of the Spectators, by mere *Artifice*, and Slight of Hand, was giving *Moſes* and *Aaron* (whom we cannot but ſuppoſe *inquiſitive* upon this Occaſion) the faireſt Opportunity imaginable to detect the Cheat, and expoſe them to the Contempt, and Deriſion of the whole Company.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

THEIR

(b) Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacræ, p. 236. *Le Clerc*'s Comment. *(c)* Deut. xiii. 1. Matt. xxiv. 24. 2 Theſſ. ii. 9.

* The *Mahometans*, in the Account they give us of theſe Tranſactions, ſeem to think them *Legerdemain* Tricks, rather than any *real* Miracles in the Magicians; for they tell us, that *Moſes* having wrought ſome Miracles before the King of *Egypt*, which not a little ſurpris'd him, he was adviſ'd by his Council to amuſe him with fair Hopes, until he had ſent for ſome of his moſt expert Sorcerers from *Thebais*. Accordingly *Sabour* and *Gadour*, two Brothers, renown'd for their *Magick Skill*, were ſent for; but, before they came to *Pharaoh*'s Court, they went to conſult the *Manes* of their Father about the Succeſs of their Journey; acquainting him withal, that the two Magicians, which they were ſent for to oppoſe, had a *Rod*, which they turn'd into a Serpent, and devour'd all that made head againſt it: To which their Father's Ghoſt anſwer'd, that, if that Rod turn'd itſelf into a Serpent, whilſt they were aſleep, they muſt never expect to prevail againſt them. However, this did not hinder them from appearing before *Pharaoh*, at the Head of his other *Magicians*, to the Number (as ſome ſay) of 70,000. All theſe had prepar'd their Rods, and Cords fill'd with *Quickſilver*, which being heated by the Sun, imitated the winding of a Serpent; but *Moſes*'s Serpent ſoon deſtroy'd them, to the great Surprize of all the Spectators: Whereupon *Sabour* and *Gadour* renounc'd their Profeſſion, and embrac'd the Religion of *Moſes*, which gave *Pharaoh* ſuch a Diſguſt, that he had them both put to death, as holding ſecret Correſpondence with *Moſes*. *Herbelot*'s Biblioth. Orient. p. 648, and *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Jannes*.

(d) Exod. vii. 11, 12. *(e) Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 9.

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THEIR only Recourſe, in this Caſe, can be to the Aſſiſtance of *Devils*, deluding the Company with falſe *Appearances* of Serpents, Frogs, and Blood: But let one try to give a ſatisfactory Account, how any *Magician* cou'd, by his Power over the *Air*, either by himſelf, or by the Aſſiſtance of a *Dæmon*, repreſent to the naked View of Beholders, in Oppoſition to a *true* Miracle, Serpents, Frogs, and Water converted into Blood; nay, and ſo repreſent them, as that the *fictitious* Appearances ſhou'd not be diſtinguiſhable from the *real*, but ſhou'd bear to be ſeen with them, at one and the ſame Time, in the ſame Light, in the ſame View (for ſo the Magicians *Rods*, turn'd into *Serpents*, certainly were, when *Aaron*'s Rod ſwallow'd them up): I ſay, let any one try to give a reaſonable Account of this Fancy, and he will quickly ſee, that he may more reaſonably ſuppoſe, the Magicians able to perform a *true* and *real* Tranſmutation, than to aſcribe to them ſuch *imaginary* Powers, as this Suppoſition requires, and which, (if they cou'd be conceiv'd) can tend only to deſtroy the Certainty of all Appearances whatever.

But not of their own *producing.*

IF then the Magicians cou'd have no Knowledge of any *myſtick Arts*, or Powers of Nature, whereby to work Miracles; if they cou'd not deceive the Spectators by any *Sleight of Hand*, nor obtain any Aſſiſtance from *evil Spirits*, ſufficient to impoſe upon them by *falſe Appearances*; the Conſequence ſeems to be, that the Miracles, which they wrought, were equally *true* with thoſe which *Moſes* and *Aaron* did. But then, as the *Magicians* had no Power inherent in themſelves, they cou'd not tell, even when they ſet about imitating *Moſes*, what the Succeſs of their Attempt wou'd be. Their Rods were turn'd into Serpents, they ſaw, but how that was effected, they cou'd not tell. Had they had any certain Rules of Art or Science to work by, or any ſuperior Help and Aſſiſtance to depend on, they wou'd, at once, have known what to attempt, and what not, and not have expos'd themſelves to Scorn, by not being able to produce *Lice*, as well as *Frogs*. If, what they did, was by the Agency of evil Spirits, it is plain, that that Agency was under the divine *Controul*, and cou'd go no farther, than the God of *Iſrael* permitted it; and the Reaſons of his permitting it might be theſe:

Why Pharaoh *ſent for his* Magicians, *and why God* ſuffer'd *them to work Wonders.*

THE Learned in *Egypt* thought, that *Miracles*, *Prodigies*, and *Omens*, were given by the *planetary* and *elementary* Influences; and that Students, deeply vers'd in the *Myſteries* of Nature, cou'd cauſe them by *Art* and *Incantation*. *Pharaoh* might poſſibly be of this Opinion; and therefore, ſeeing *Moſes* do very ſtrange Things, and knowing that his *Magicians* were great *Adepts* in theſe Sciences, he thought proper to ſend for them, in order to know, whether the Wonders, which *Moſes* wrought, were the Effect of the Art of Man, of the Power of Nature, or *of the Finger of God*; for he ſeems to have argu'd thus. —— If his *Magicians* cou'd perform what *Moſes* did, *Moſes* was ſuch an one as they, and endeavour'd to delude him with *artificial* Wonders, inſtead of real Miracles. Fit, therefore, it was, that theſe *Practitioners* ſhou'd be ſuffer'd to exert the utmoſt of their Power againſt *Moſes*, in order to clear him from the Imputation of Magick, or Sorcery, which (conſidering the prevailing Notions of that Age) both *Hebrews* and *Egyptians* might have been apt to entertain, had not this Competition happen'd, and his *Antagoniſts* thereupon acknowledg'd the Superiority of the *Principle*, by which he acted, in Compariſon of which, all their Arts, and Knowledge of *occult Sciences* prevail'd nothing.

THE *Iſraelites*, it muſt be own'd, were a People of a very ſuſpicious, diffident, and deſponding Temper. When *Moſes* came to them with a Meſſage from God, at firſt they ſeem'd to receive him gladly, and to rejoice at their approaching Deliverance; and when he had ſhewn them the

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Credentials, which God appointed him to exhibit, it is ſaid, *(f) that the People believed, and, when they heard that the Lord had looked upon their Affliction, they bowed their Heads, and worſhipped:* But, within the Space of a Day or two, when they ſaw that every *Thing* did not anſwer their Expectation, but that their Petition to an imperious Tyrant was rejected with Scorn; how is their Tone chang'd to their very Deliverers, and the Blame of all their Grievances laid upon them! *(g) The Lord look upon you, and judge, becauſe you have made our Savour to be abhorred in the Eyes of* Pharaoh, *and in the Eyes of his Servants, to put a Sword into their Hands to ſlay us:* And therefore, for the Confirmation of the Faith of theſe wavering and uncertain People, it was highly neceſſary, that this Conteſt between *Moſes* and the *Magicians* ſhou'd be permitted, that the Diſparity of Perſons, acting by the Power of *God*, and by the Power of *Satan*, in ſuch a Contrapoſition, might be more conſpicuous.

And indeed, what cou'd more contribute to raiſe in the *Iſraelites* a Confidence in God's Promiſes, and a joyful Hope of a ſpeedy Deliverance, than to ſee the great Diſparity between the *Oppoſers* and *Maintainers* of their Cauſe? To ſee, I ſay, that tho', by the divine Permiſſion, the *Magicians* cou'd change their Rods into Serpents, yet, as a manifeſt Token of Superiority, *Moſes*'s Rod devour'd all theirs; tho' they cou'd turn Water into *Blood*, yet it was above their Skill to reſtore it to its former Nature; though they made a Shift to produce *Frogs*, yet they were utterly unable to clear the *Egyptian* Palaces and Houſes of them; though they did, in ſhort, ſome Things, which only contributed to the Calamities of *Egypt*, yet they cou'd do no one Thing to redreſs them, nor even to relieve themſelves againſt the Plague of the *Boils?* So true, and ſo ſevere withal, is that Obſervation of the Author of the *Book of Wiſdom: (h) As for the Illuſion of Art Magick, they were put down,* From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii. *and their Vaunting in Wiſdom was reproved with Diſgrace; for they, who promiſed to drive away Terrors, and Troubles from a ſick Soul, were ſick themſelves of Fear, and worthy to be laughed at.*

But now *Moſes* not only does ſuch Miracles, as the *Magicians* never pretend to, (the Storm and Hail, the Thunder and Lightning, and thick Darkneſs, *&c.* they never once attempted to imitate) but (ſuppoſing that *Pharaoh* might be addicted to *Aſtrologers*, who fancy'd that all Things here below might be govern'd by the Motion and Influence of the *Stars)* he very frequently gives him the Liberty to name the Time, when he would have any Plague remov'd, that thereby he might know, that God alone was the Author of them, and that, conſequently, there was no Day or Hour, under ſo ill an *Aſpect*, but that he cou'd prevail with him, at whatever Moment he ſhou'd aſſign, to reſcue and deliver him.

Had *Moſes* met with no Oppoſition in working his Miracles, *Pharaoh* had neither had ſo ſtrong a Conviction, nor cou'd *Moſes* himſelf here have exhibited ſo clear a Teſtimony of his divine Miſſion. *(i)* As the Nature of the *Egyptian* Learning then was, the King might have ſuſpected that the *Prophet*'s Miracles proceeded, if not from *natural* Means and *Inchantments*, at leaſt from the Influence of ſome *planetary* or *elementary* Powers: But when Men, of equal Skill and Abilities in all Points of *abſtruſe* Learning, were brought to conteſt the Matter with him, and acknowledg'd their Inability to proceed in a Conflict, where their Adverſary had a divine Power apparently aſſiſting him; this eſtabliſh'd the Truth of *Moſes*'s Pretenſions, though it made the others *Obſtinacy* and *Infidelity* inexcuſable; and *(k)* a ſignal Inſtance of God's Wiſdom it was, to permit theſe *Sorcerers* to proceed, for ſome Time, in their Conteſt with his Servant, which added Diſgrace to the one's Defeat,

(f) Exod. iv. 31. *(g)* Exod. v. 21. *(h)* Wiſdom xvii. 7, 8. *(i) Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 9. *(k) Stillingfleet*'s Origin. Sacræ.

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Defeat, as it did no ſmall Glory to the other's Conqueſt.

THUS we have endeavour'd to ſatisfy the Objections, which are uſually advanc'd againſt ſome Parts of the *Scripture Hiſtory* compris'd in this *Period*; and, for the farther Satisfaction of our Reader, ſhall conclude with the Teſtimony of ſome Heathen Writers, who, in all Ages, have more or leſs, taken Notice of the Birth, Life, and ſeveral Adventures of *Moſes*, ſo far as we have hitherto advanc'd: *(l)* That his being taken out of the River *Nile*, for Inſtance, is ſung by the Author of the *Orphick* Verſes, under the Title ὑδοϱενὴς, or *born of the Water:* That the Beauty and Gracefulneſs of his Perſon, which *recommended* him to every one's Affection, is remember'd by *Juſtin (m)* out of *Trogus Pompeius*, and that *(n)* the whole Fable of *Venus* falling in Love with *Adonis*, in all Probability, aroſe from the Story of *Moſes* and *Pharaoh*'s Daughter: That the Wonder of the *Burning Buſh* is recorded by *Antipanus*, with a ſmall Variation, as he is cited *(o)* by *Euſebius:* That ſeveral of the Plagues upon *Egypt* are mention'd in the Fragments of *Eupolemus*, preſerv'd *(p)* by the ſame *Euſebius*; and that the Slaughter of their *Firſt-born*, in particular, is commemorated in that mournful Feaſt of *Oſiris*, wherein they riſe at Midnight, light Candles, and go about weeping and groaning: That *Moſes*'s calling the God of Heaven, *Jao*, or *Jehovah*, is mention'd *(q)* by *Diodorus Siculus:* That the Names of *Jannes* and *Jambres*, and the Oppoſition they made againſt him, is preſerv'd *(r)* in *Eumenius*, *(s) Pliny*, and *(t) Apuleius*; and (to go no farther) that the *Iſraelites* Departure out of *Egypt*, and Settling in the Land of *Canaan*, is *(u)* by *Tacitus*, who took it from ſome *Egyptian* Authors, thus related. "The *Hebrews* were de- "ſcended from the *Aſſyrians*, and, poſ- "ſeſſing a great Part of *Egypt*, led the Life "of Shepherds; but afterwards being "burthen'd with hard Labour, they came "out of *Egypt* under the Command of "*Moſes*, with ſome *Egyptians* accompa- "nying them, and went through the "Country of the *Arabians*, into *Paleſtine* "*Syria*, and there ſet up Rites contrary to "thoſe of the *Egyptians*." So fully does the Teſtimony of *Aliens* tend to the Confirmation of thy *Revelations*, O God!

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(*l*) *Euſebius's* Præp. Evang. l. 13. c. 12. (*m*) Lib. 36. c. 2. (*n*) *Huetius*'s Dem. Evang. Prop. 4. c. 3. (*o*) *Euſebius*'s Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 22. (*p*) Ibid. (*q*) Lib. 1. (*r*) *Euſebius*, l. 8. c. 8. (*s*) Lib. 30. c. 1. (*t*) Apolog. 2. (*u*) Lib. 5.

DISSER-

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DISSERTATION V.

Of the ſacred Chronology, and prophane Hiſtory, Learning, Religion, Idolatry, and monumental Works, &c. *but chiefly of the* Egyptians, *during this Period.*

Chronological *Differences ſettled.*

BEFORE we enter upon the *hiſtorical* Matters which are contain'd in this *Period*, between God's Call to *Abraham* out of *Meſopotamia*, and the Children of *Iſrael*'s Departure out of *Egypt*, it may not be improper to ſettle its *Chronology*, and to take Notice of ſome *Exceptions*, that may poſſibly be made to it.

THE Difference, between the *Hebrew*, *Samaritan*, and *Septuagint* Computations, in the former Periods of Time, ran wide; and it was ſome Part of our Care, either to determine which was moſt probably in the right, or to reconcile the ſeeming *Oppoſition* between them: But in *this*, the *Variation* is ſo ſmall, that they ſeem almoſt unanimouſly to agree, that, *(x)* from the Promiſe made to *Abraham*, to his Poſterity's *Exodus* out of *Egypt*, are 430 Years, which (according to the learned *Uſher*) may very properly be divided into two *Halves*.

1. *(y)* FROM the Time of the Promiſe, when *Abraham* was in the 75th Year of his Age, to the Birth of *Iſaac*, are 25 Years; *(z)* from the Birth of *Iſaac*, to the Birth of *Jacob*, 60 Years; from the Birth of *Jacob*, to his Deſcent into *Egypt*, with his whole Family, 130 Years; ſo that the whole of this Diviſion amounts to 215 Years.

2. THE other Part of the *Diviſion* is thus reckon'd up. *Joſeph*, the Son of *Jacob*, was 30 Years old, when he expounded *Pharaoh*'s Dreams: The ſeven Years of *Plenty* were run out, and *(a)* the third Year of *Famine* begun, when his Father came down into *Egypt*: So that by this Time, *Joſeph* was 39. Now 39 Years taken from the 110, which *Joſeph* liv'd, will make the Time, which the *Iſraelites* had continu'd in *Egypt*, before *Joſeph*'s Death, to be 71: And, as *(b)* from the Death of *Joſeph*, to the Birth of *Moſes*, are preciſely 64 Years; ſo, *(c)* from his Birth, to the Time of the *Iſraelites* Departure, are 80 Years. The ſeveral Articles of this Diviſion therefore, being put together, amount, in like Manner, to 215 Years; and the two groſs Sums make exactly 430.

THE Hiſtory indeed tells us, that *(d)* *the Sojourning of the Children of* Iſrael, *who dwelt in* Egypt, *was Four hundred and thirty Years*; but it does not therefore follow, that they dwelt in *Egypt* all that time. They came into *Egypt* with *Jacob*, A. M. 2298, and went out of *Egypt*, A. M. 2513; ſo that they liv'd in it juſt two hundred and fifteen Years. Their *Sojourning* therefore muſt not be limited to their living in *Egypt*, but be taken in a more general Senſe, and extended equally to the Time of their living in *Canaan*, which being added to the Time of their Continuance in *Egypt*, makes exactly the Number of four hundred and thirty Years.

THAT this is the Senſe of the divine Hiſtorian is manifeſt from the Authority of the *Samaritan* Text, which has the whole Verſe thus: *Now the inhabiting of the Children of* Iſrael, *and their Fathers whereby they inhabited in the Land of* Canaan, *and in the Land of* Egypt, *were Four*

(x) Exod. xii. 40. (y) Gen. xii. 4.—xxi. 5. (z) Gen. xxv. 26. (a) Gen. xlvii. 4.
(b) Compare Gen. xli. 46. with xlv. 6. (c) Exod. vii. 7. (d) Exod. xii. 40.

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Four hundred and thirty Years, whereupon the learned Dr *Prideaux (e)* has this Obſervation, "That the Additions herein "do manifeſtly mend the Text; they "make it more clear and intelligible, and "add nothing to the *Hebrew* Copy, but "what muſt be underſtood by the Reader "to make out its Senſe:" And upon this Preſumption it may very reaſonably be ſuppos'd, *(f)* that the antient *Hebrew* Text was, in this Verſe, the ſame with the preſent *Samaritan*, and that the Words, which the *Samaritan* has in this Place, more than the *Hebrew*, have been dropp'd by the Negligence of ſome Tranſcribers.

AGAIN, in the Promiſe, which God makes to *Abraham*, he tells him, *(g) that his Seed ſhou'd be a Stranger in a Land, which was not theirs; that there they ſhould ſerve the* Inhabitants, and they *afflict them for Four hundred Years*; but that, *in the fourth Generation, they ſhould return to* Canaan *again*; whereas *Four hundred Years* are not in the Number ſpecified in the Place juſt now examin'd, nor are *four Generations* equivalent to the Space of Time, wherein the *Hebrews* ſojourn'd in ſtrange Countries. It is to be obſerv'd however, that, both in *ſacred* and *prophane* Authors, a common Thing it is, to mention only the *large* Sum, and drop the leſs, eſpecially when (to preſerve the Exactneſs of Chronology) the preciſe Number is, in other Places, inſerted: And that tho' a *Generation* does uſually denote a Term of an hundred Years; yet taking the Words to relate to the whole Sojourning of the *Hebrews*, from their going into *Canaan*, to their going out of *Egypt*, the odd Number of 30 Years may here be ſuppos'd to be omitted, to make it a *round* Sum, as well as in the former Senſe: But then, taking a Generation to mean no more than one Deſcent, the Matter of Fact is, that from the *Iſraelites* going down into *Egypt*, until the Time of their leaving it, in ſome of the Sons of *Jacob* (particularly in *Levi*, who begat *Cohath*, and *Cohath*, *Amram*, and *Amram*, *Moſes*, who conducted the People out of *Egypt*) there were no more than four Deſcents. From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

WHETHER therefore we take the Word *Generation* to denote an *Age of Years*, or a *Succeſſion of Lives*, there is plainly no Incongruity in the Expreſſion; becauſe (bating the *odd* Number of *Thirty*) *Abraham*, and his Poſterity, ſojourn'd in a *ſtrange* Land for the Space of Four hundred Years; and yet (allowing it to be meant of a *Deſcent* of Lives) at the *Iſraelites* Return towards *Canaan*, from the Time of their going down into *Egypt*, ſeveral Perſons of the *fourth Generation* were not extinct.

EGYPT indeed was the moſt conſiderable Nation, with whom the *Iſraelites* had any Intercourſe during this *Period:* What Dealings they had with the ſeveral Parts of *Canaan*, will beſt be related, when we come to treat of the Hiſtory of that Country. In the mean Time, we cannot but lament our Want of the antient Records of thoſe Times, which forces us, inſtead of a continu'd Hiſtory, to preſent our Reader with Nothing, but a jejune *Catalogue* of the Succeſſion of the *Egyptian* Kings, which, as far as they relate to our preſent Purpoſe, we have thought proper * to ſubjoin at the Bottom of the Page; and ſhall only take *The* Egyptian *Hiſtory.*

(e) Connection, Vol. II. Part i. l. 6. p. 600. *(f) Shuckford's* Connection, Vol. II. l. 9. *(g)* Gen. xv. 13, 16.

* In the Year of the World 1849, reign'd in *Thebais*, or the *Upper Egypt*, *Menes* (whom the Scripture calls *Mizraim*) 62 Years: In the Year 1911, *Athothes*, 59 Years: In the Year 1970, *Athothes* II, 32 Years: In the Year 2002, *Diabies*, 19 Years. In the Year 2021, *Pemphos*, 18 Years: In the Year 2039, *Tegar Amachus*, 79 Years: In the Year 2118, *Stoechus*, 6 Years: In the Year 2124, *Gofermies*, 30 Years: In the Year 2154, *Mares*, 26 Years.

In the Time of theſe, flouriſh'd the *Royal Shepherds* in the *Lower Egypt*; and, in the Year of the World 1920, *Salatis*, the firſt paſtoral King, reign'd 19 Years: In the Year 1939, *Beon*, the ſecond paſtoral King, 44 Years: In the Year 1983, *Apachnas*, the third paſtoral King, 36 Years: In the Year 2020, *Apophis*, the fourth paſtoral King, 61 Years: In the Year 2081, *Janias*, the fifth paſtoral King, 50 Years and one Month; and after theſe *Hercules Aſſyr*, 49 Years, and two Months.

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Notice herein particular, that A. M. 2084, when *Abraham*, and his Nephew *Lot*, went down into *Egypt*, *Tegar Amackus* was then upon the Throne; that A. M. 2260, when *Joſeph* was born, *Biyris* was King, and when he was ſold into *Egypt*, about 17 Years after, *Saophis* had ſucceeded; that this *Saophis* was the Prince, whoſe Dreams he expounded, and by whom he was promoted to great Honour in the Kingdom; that he dy'd however before his Dreams were accompliſh'd, for it was A. M. 2298, that the firſt Year of the Famine began, when *Senſoaphis*, (who was probably his Son, and held *Joſeph* in equal Favour) ſway'd the Sceptre; that this was the Prince, to whom *Jacob* and his Sons, upon their coming down into *Egypt*, in the *third* Year of the *Famine*, were preſented, and with whom *Iſrael* had the Converſation abovemention'd; that A. M. 2369, when *Joſeph* dy'd, *Maſthis* was King, by whom, and ſome of his Succeſſors, the *Iſraelites* were well treated, in Remembrance of the Services, he had done the Publick, until there happen'd a *Revolution* in the Government, which ſome chuſe to place about this Time; that A. M. 2427, the *Iſraelites* began to be oppreſs'd, and ſeverely treated by *Rameſſes Miamun*, in whoſe Reign *Moſes* was born, ſlew the *Egyptian*, and fled into *Midian*; that A. M. 2493, *Amenophis* ſucceeded his Father in his Kingdom, and in his Cruelty to the *Iſraelites*; but that, being compell'd, at laſt, by the mighty Hand of God, to let them go, he, and all his Army, in endeavouring to retake them, were, A. M. 2513, ſwallow'd up in the *Red-Sea*.

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SALATIS, and his Succeſſors, not only oppreſs'd the *Iſraelites*, as we ſaid before, but, by the Violence of their Conqueſts, ſo terrify'd the antient Inhabitants of the Land, that many Perſons of the *firſt Figure* thought it better to leave their native Country, than to endeavour to ſit down under ſuch Calamities, as they ſaw were coming upon them. *Cecrops*, about this Time, departed from *Egypt*; and, after ſome Years Travel in other Places, came, at length, to *Greece*, and liv'd in *Attica*, where he was kindly receiv'd by *Actæus*, the King of the Country; marry'd his Daughter; and, upon his Demiſe, ſucceeded to his Throne; and thereupon he taught the People (who were *vagrant* before) the Uſe of ſettled Habitations; reſtrain'd all licentious Luſt among them; oblig'd each Man to marry one Wife; and, in ſhort, gave them wiſe Rules for the Conduct of their Lives, and the Exerciſe of all *civil* and *religious* Offices. About thirty Years after the Death of *Cecrops*, *Cadmus* * came, either directly from *Egypt* (as ſome think,) or rather from

The Expulſion of ſeveral of the Natives, *and their* Settlements.

Then follow the *Theban* Kings, in this Order: In the Year of the World 2180, *Anoyphes* (who, by Archbiſhop *Uſher*, is nam'd *Tethmoſis*, and is ſaid to have expell'd the *Royal Shepherds*) reign'd 20 Years: In the Year 2200, *Siricius*, 18 Years: In the Year 2218, *Cneubus Cncurus*, 27 Years: In the Year 2245, *Rayoſis* 13 Years: In the Year 2258, *Biyris*, 10 Years: In the Year 2268 *Saophis*, 29 Years: In the Year 2297, *Senſaophis*, 27 Years: In the Year 2324, *Moſcheris*, 31 Years: In the Year 2355, *Maſthis*, 33 Years: In the Year 2388, *Pamnus Archadnes* (whom *Uſher* calls *Ratholis*) 35 Years: In the Year 2423, *Apaxus Maximus*, 100 Years.

After the Expulſion of the Race of the *Royal Paſtors*, in the Year of the World 2205, *Chebron* ſucceeded to the Kingdom of the *Lower Egypt*, and reign'd 13 Years: In the Year 2218 *Amenophis*, 20 Years, and 7 Months: In the Year 2239, *Ameſes*, 21 Years and 9 Months: In the Year 2261 *Mephres*, 12 Years, and 9 Months: In the Year 2273, *Miſphragmuthis*, 25 Years and 10 Months: In the Year 2299, *Thmoſis*, 9 Years, and 8 Months: In the Year 2309 *Amenophis* II, 30 Years and 10 Months: In the Year 2340, *Orus*, 36 Years, and 5 Months: In the Year 2376, *Acencheres*, 12 Years, and 1 Month: In the Year 2410, *Acencheres* II, 12 Years, and 3 Months: In the Year 2422, *Acmais*, 4 Years, and 1 Month: In the Year 2426 *Rameſſes*, 1 Year, and 3 Months: In the Year 2427, *Rameſſes Miamun*, 66 Years, and 2 Months: And in the Year 2493 *Amenophis* III, 19 Years, and 6 Months, who is the laſt we meet with in this Period.

* The true Account of *Cadmus* is, —— That his Father, whoſe Name is unknown, was an *Egyptian*, who left *Egypt* about the Time, that *Cecrops* came from thence, and obtain'd a Kingdom in *Phœnicia*, as *Cecrops* did in *Attica*; and, that his two Sons, *Phœnix* and *Cadmus*, were born after his Settlement in that Country; And hence it came to paſs, that *Cadmus* having had an *Egyptian* Father, was brought up in the Religion, and was well acquainted with the Hiſtory of that Country, which occaſion'd ſeveral Writers of his Life to account him an *Egyptian*; and, at the ſame Time, being born and educated in *Phœnicia*, he became Maſter of the Language and Letters of the Country, and had

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from *Phœnicia*, (as others will have it) and, with ſeveral People, that follow'd his Fortune, († of which ſome Authors give us a *ſtrange* Account) having expell'd the antient Inhabitants, ſettled himſelf in *Beotia*, and built *Thebes*.

DANAUS was another conſiderable Perſon, who, about this Time, left *Egypt*, and came into *Greece*. He was originally deſcended from a *Grecian* Anceſtor, and, being now at *Argos*, when the Crown was vacant, he ſtood *Candidate* for it againſt *Galenor*, the Son of *Sthenelus*, and, † by the Superſtition of the People, who were his Electors, carry'd it. But, of all the *Refugees*, who quitted *Egypt* much about this Time, *Belus*, the Son of *Neptune*, ſeems to be the moſt famous. He, with ſome *Egyptian* Prieſts, went to *Babylon*, and there obtained leave to ſettle, and cultivate their Studies, in the ſame Manner and with the ſame Encouragement, that had been granted them in their own Country.

THE chief Aim of the antient *Aſtronomers* ſeems to have been, to obſerve the Times of the Riſing and Setting of the Stars; and the firſt and moſt proper Places that they cou'd think of for that Purpoſe, were very large and open Plains, where they cou'd have an extenſive View of the Horizon, without Interruption; and ſuch Plains, as theſe, were the *Obſervatories* for many Generations. But the *Egyptians* had, for above three hundred Years before the Time of this *Belus*, invented a Method to improve their Views by the Building of Pyramids, from the Top of which they might take a Proſpect with greater Advantage; and therefore it is no improbable Conjecture, that *Belus* taught the *Babylonians* the Uſe of ſuch Structures, and might poſſibly project for them that lofty Tower, which was afterwards call'd by his Name.

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FOR this Tower ſeems to have been an Improvement of the *Egyptian* Pyramids. It was rais'd to a much greater Height; had a more commodious Space at Top; more uſeful and large Apartments within; and yet was a leſs bulky Building, and rais'd upon a narrower Foundation: So that the Contriver of this ſeems to have been well acquainted with the *Egyptian Pyramid*, and its Defects, and to have herein deſign'd a Structure much more excellent, which can be aſcrib'd to none, with ſo great a Shew of Probability, as to the *Belus*, we are now ſpeaking of.

The Learning *of the* Egyptians.

THAT the *Egyptians*, in the early Ages of the World, were very famous for Wiſdom and Learning, is evident from many antient

had likewiſe a *Phœnician* Name, which has induc'd ſeveral others, that have wrote of him, to conclude, with good Reaſon, that he was a Native of that Country. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 8.

† The Account which *Ovid* (in his *Metamorphoſes*, lib. iii. fab. i.) gives us of this Matter, is, —— That *Cadmus*'s Followers were all devour'd by a *Serpent*, which when *Cadmus* had kill'd, and ſown its Teeth in the Ground, there ſprang up from them a Number of arm'd Men, who, as ſoon as they appear'd above Ground, fell a fighting one another, and were all kill'd, except five, who, ſurviving the Conflict, went with *Cadmus*, and help'd him to build *Thebes*. And the *Mythologick* Senſe of all this Story, according to the Conjecture of a learned Author, is no more than this —— That when *Cadmus* came into *Beotia*, and had conquer'd the Inhabitants of it, it might be recorded of him in the *Phœnician*, or *Hebrew* Language (which anciently was the ſame) that he *Naſhah Chail Chameſh Anoſhim, Noſhekim be Shenei Nachaſh*; but now there being ſeveral Ambiguities in theſe Words, where the Vowels were not originally written, (*Chameſh*, for Inſtance, may ſignify *five*, as well as *warlike*; *Shenei*, Teeth, as well as *Spears*; and *Nachaſh*, a *Serpent*, as well as *Braſs*) a fabulous Tranſlator might ſay, *he rais'd a Force of five Men, arm'd from the Teeth of a Serpent*. Whereas the Words ſhou'd be render'd, *he rais'd a warlike Force of Men, arm'd with Spears of Braſs*; and it is no Wonder that the *Greeks*, who were ſo fond of diſguiſing all their antient Accounts with *Fable* and *Allegory*, ſhou'd give the Hiſtory of *Cadmus* this Turn, when the Words, in which his Actions are recorded, gave them ſo fair an Opportunity. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 8.

† The Diſpute between *Cadmus* and *Galenor*, concerning their Titles to the Crown, was argu'd, on both Sides, for a whole Day; and when *Galenor* was thought to have offer'd as weighty and ſtrong Arguments for his Pretenſions, as *Danaus* cou'd for his, the next Day was appointed for the further hearing and determining their Claims, when an Accident put an End to the Diſpute. For, not far from the Place, where the People were aſſembled, there happen'd a Fight between a *Wolf* and a *Bull*, wherein the *Wolf* got the better. This was thought a Thing not a little *ominous*; and therefore, as the *Wolf* was a Creature they were leſs acquainted with, than the *Bull*, they thought it was the Will of the Gods, declar'd by the Event of this accidental Combat, that he, who was the *Stranger*, ſhou'd rule over them. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 8.

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antient Writers, as well as the Teſtimony of the Scriptures themſelves; for when, among other Things, to the Honour of *Moſes*, it is ſaid, that *(h) he was learned in all the Wiſdom of the* Egyptians; and, to magnify the Knowledge of *Solomon*, we are told, that *(i) he excelled all the Wiſdom of* Egypt; we cannot but infer, that this Nation, above all others, had gain'd a Reputation, even for the Invention of ſeveral uſeful Sciences.

Their Aſtronomy *and* Geometry.

The Tillage of the Ground made the Study of *Aſtronomy* abſolutely neceſſary, in order to their knowing, from the *Lights of Heaven*, the Times and Seaſons for the ſeveral Parts of *Agriculture*; and the Nature of their Country, overflow'd every Year by the *Nile*, and every Year loſing its Land Marks, made it of continual Uſe to them to ſtudy *Geometry*; and (as a neceſſary *Handmaid* to that) to make themſelves expert in *Arithmetick*.

It is not to be ſuppos'd however, that, hitherto they had carry'd the Study either of *Aſtronomy* or *Geography* to any great Height. They obſerv'd the *Places* of the Stars, and the *periodical* Motions of the *Planets*. They kept *Regiſters* of their Obſervations for a long Courſe of Years, and took Account of the Weather and Seaſons, that follow'd their ſeveral Obſervations. They recorded the Times of ſowing and reaping this or that Grain, and, by their long Experience, became able *Prognoſticators* of the Weather, and the Seaſons, and excellent Directors for the Tillage of the Ground: And, in like Manner, by their Knowledge in *Geometry*, they contriv'd very proper Methods of marking out, and deſcribing the ſeveral Parts of their Country, and were very careful, no doubt, in making *Draughts* of the *Flow* and *Ebb* of their River *Nile* every Year; but when it is conſider'd that the *Egyptians* did not as yet apprehend, that the Year conſiſted of more than 360 Days; and that * both *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, many Ages after theſe Times, made great Improvements in *Geometry* beyond what they had learned in *Egypt*; that *Thales* was the firſt, who ventur'd to foretel an *Eclipſe*; and *Eudoxus* and *Ptolemy*, to reduce the heavenly Motions into *Tables*; we can hardly think, that either *Aſtronomy* or *Geometry* were as yet carry'd to any great Perfection.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

Phyſick.

The Science of *Phyſick* is generally imputed to *Æſculapius*, which Name was given to *Sethorthrus* (a King of *Memphis*, who ſtands ſecond in the third *Dynaſty* of *Manetho*) for his great Skill in that Art: And, tho' no great Credit is to be given to † their boaſted Proficiency in *Chymiſtry*, yet it is reaſonable to believe, from their conſtant Practice of *Diſſections*, that they cou'd not well fail of a competent Knowledge in *Anatomy*.

Magick.

The Science however, for which they were moſt famous, and for which indeed they valu'd themſelves moſt, was *Magick*, though the whole Structure of it had no other Foundation, than a ſuperſtitious Belief

(h) Acts vii. 22. *(i)* 1 Kings iv. 30.

* *Thales*, who travell'd into *Egypt* for the Sake of their Learning, after his Return home, ſacrific'd an Ox to the Gods, for Joy, that he had hit on the Method of inſcribing a *rectangle Triangle* within a Circle; and *Pythagoras*, no leſs than a whole *Hecatomb*, for his finding out the Proportion of the longeſt Side of a *Right-angled Triangle* to the other two, which is no more than a common Propoſition of the firſt Book of *Euclid*; and yet theſe two Philoſophers cou'd not have the Invention of theſe Things from the *Egyptians*, unleſs we ſuppoſe, either that the *Egyptians* did not teach them all that they knew, or that the Diſciples conceal'd the Thing, and vainly arrogated to themſelves what in ſtrict Truth, they had borrow'd from their Maſters. *Diog. Laërt.* in *Pythag.* & *Thalete.*

† Some modern Aſſertors of the great Antiquity of *Chymiſtry*, tell us of a Medicine us'd only by the *Egyptian* Prieſts, and kept ſecret, even from moſt of the *Natives*, that is of Efficacy almoſt to do any Thing, but reſtore the Dead to Life again. This, *ſay they*, was the grand *Elixir*, or chymical Preparation, made with the *Philoſophers Stone*, the Invention of *Hermes*; by the Help of which, the *Egyptian* Kings were enabled to build the *Pyramids*, with the Treaſures, which their *Furnaces* afforded them: But theſe Fables are ſufficiently confuted by the profound Silence of all Antiquity in this Matter. They are indeed built upon ſuſpicious Authorities, uncertain Conjectures, and *allegorical* Interpretations of the fabulous Stories of the *Greeks*, which theſe Men will have to be *chymical* Secrets in Diſguiſe; inſomuch that they fancy, that the *golden Fleece*, which *Jaſon* fetch'd from *Colchis*, was only a Receipt to make the *Philoſophers-Stone*; and that *Medea* reſtor'd *Æſon*'s Father to his Youth again, by the *Grand Elixir*. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 3. and *Wotton*'s Reflections on antient and modern Learning, c. 9.

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lief of the great Influence, which *heavenly* Bodies are ſuppos'd to have upon this *inferior* World. To this Purpoſe they imagin'd, that the ſeven *Planets* govern'd the ſeven *Days* of the Week; and pretended, that, by a long Obſervation of the Motion of the celeſtial Bodies, they had obtain'd the Art of foreſeeing future Events. They believ'd, in ſhort, that the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Elements, were endu'd with *Intelligence*, and appointed by the ſupreme Deity to govern the World; and, though they acknowledg'd that God might, upon extraordinary Occaſions, work Miracles, reveal his Will by audible Voices, Viſions, Dreams, Prophecies, &c. yet they imagin'd alſo, that, generally ſpeaking, Prodigies were caus'd, Oracles given, and Viſions occaſion'd in a *natural* Way, by the Obſervation, or Influence of the Courſes of the Heavenly Bodies, or by the Operations of the *Powers* of Nature; and therefore they conceiv'd, that their learned *Profeſſors* cou'd work Miracles, obtain Omens, and interpret Dreams, merely by their Skill in natural Knowledge, which, though ſtrange and unaccountable to the *Vulgar*, was very obvious to Perſons of Science and Philoſophy.

IN later Ages indeed, and when the *Egyptians* began to worſhip their departed Princes, a Notion prevail'd, that *Spirits* or *Dæmons*, of a Nature ſuperior to Men, were employ'd in the Government of the World, and had their ſeveral Provinces appointed them by God. To this Honour they imagin'd that the Souls of departed *Heroes*, and extraordinary Perſons, were admitted; and, for this Reaſon, they ſuppos'd, that they were not only endow'd with Powers far exceeding thoſe of mortal Men, but had likewiſe Miracles, Viſions, Oracles, and Omens, ſubmitted to their Miniſtry and Direction; and, conſequently, in all their Demands or Exigencies of this Kind, made them the Objects of their *Incantations* and *Prayers*.

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THESE were ſome of the chief Arts and Sciences (for their Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, and Mechanicks of all Kinds, for which they were ſo juſtly famous, we have but juſt Room to mention) that flouriſh'd, at this Time, among the *Egyptians:* And we come now to obſerve a little, by what *Means* it was, that this Learning of theirs came to be preſerv'd, and tranſmitted to Poſterity.

How they preſerv'd their Learning.

THE *Egyptian* Language was certainly one of the moſt antient in the World: For, conſidering its *Structure* and *Conſtitution*, (* wherein it widely differs from all *Oriental* and *European* Languages) it muſt needs be an *Original*, or Mother-Tongue, form'd at the Confuſion of *Babel*. Their moſt antient Way of Writing was by *Hieroglyphical* Figures * of various Animals, and Plants, the Parts of human Bodies,

* For the *Copts* neither decline their *Nouns*, nor conjugate their *Verbs* (not even thoſe of foreign Extract) otherwiſe than by prefixing *Particles*, ſometimes of one or more Syllables, and ſometimes of a ſingle Letter, which denote *Caſe*, *Gender*, *Number*, and *Perſon*, ſeveral of which are often join'd together in one Word, and the *primitive* Word uſually plac'd laſt: So that the Difficulty of this Language conſiſts in the incredible Combination of the Words and Particles, in the Change of the Vowels, in tranſpoſing the middle Part of the Word, and adding ſuperfluous Letters, which it requires no ſmall Labour and Skill to diſtinguiſh. *Wilkins*'s Diſſert. de Linguâ Coptica, p. 120.

* Of theſe there were three Kinds among the *Egyptians*, which ſeem to have more or leſs Art in them, according to the Period of their Invention. The 1ſt was, *To make the principal Circumſtance of the Subject ſtand for the whole.* Thus, when they wou'd deſcribe a *Battle*, or *two Armies in Array*, they parted two *Hands, one holding a Shield, and the other a Bow*: When a *Tumult*, or *popular Inſurrection* —— *an armed Man caſting Arrows*, &c. When a *Siege* —— *a ſcaling Ladder*. The ſecond was, To *put the Inſtrument of the Thing (whether real, or metaphorical) for the Thing itſelf*. Thus an *Eye*, eminently plac'd, was deſign'd to repreſent *God's Omniſcience: An Eye and Sceptre* —— *a Monarch*; and a *Ship and Pilot*—— the *Governor of the Univerſe*. The Third was, *To make one repreſent another, where there was perceiv'd any quaint Analogy, or Similitude, between the Repreſentative and the Thing properly intended.* Thus, the *Univerſe* was deſign'd by *a Serpent in a Circle*, whoſe variegated *Spots*, ſignify'd *the Stars*; and the *riſing of the Sun*, by the *two Eyes of a Crocodile*, becauſe they ſeem to emerge from his Head; a *tyrannical King*, was repreſented by an *Eagle*; and a cruel, or *improvident Parent*, by *an Hawk*. Thus, from the Nature of the Things themſelves, or their Reſemblance to ſomething elſe, from the principal Circumſtance of any Action, or the chief Inſtrument employ'd in doing it, *Hieroglyphics* at firſt ſeem to have been invented. But whether their Invention was *prior* to that of *Letters*, has been Matter of ſome Debate among the Learned; tho' one can hardly forbear thinking, that a Picture Character

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Bodies, and *mechanical* Inſtruments, for in theſe Things did the *Hieroglyphicks* both of the *Ethiopians* and *Egyptians* (whereof *Hermes* is ſaid to have been the Inventor) moſt certainly conſiſt: But, beſides theſe, they made uſe likewiſe of *literal* Characters, whereof they had two Kinds, calling the one the *ſacred Letters*, in which their publick Regiſters, and all Matters of an higher Nature were written; and the other, *the Vulgar*, which every one made uſe of in their common Buſineſs. But both theſe Characters are at preſent loſt, unleſs they remain in ſome old *Inſcriptions*, that are unintelligible, and cannot be decypher'd.

Not only the *Egyptians*, but ſeveral other Nations us'd to preſerve the Memory of Things by *Inſcriptions* on Pillars. The *Columns of Hermes*, upon which he is ſaid to have wrote all his Learning, are mention'd by ſeveral Writers of good Note; and from them, both the *Grecian* Philoſophers, and *Egyptian* Hiſtorians are ſuppos'd to have taken many valuable Hints: But to theſe Inſcriptions ſucceeded *the ſacred Books*, which contain'd not only what related to the Worſhip of the Gods, and the Laws of the Kingdom; but *hiſtorical* Collections likewiſe, yea, and all Kind of *miſcellaneous* and *philoſophical* Matters of any Moment, which the Prieſts, or *ſacred Scribes* were oblig'd to inſert in theſe publick *Regiſters*, in order to be tranſmitted to Poſterity.

Their Religion, *and* Idolatry.

A Nation ſo renown'd for their Knowledge and Learning, and who had ſuch certain Methods of preſerving the Traditions of their Anceſtors, might have kept the *original* Religion, one wou'd think, with more than ordinary *Purity*; at leaſt, wou'd not have run into the ſame Exceſs of Idolatry and *Polytheiſm*, that other People, at this Time, were ſo ſtrangely addicted to: And yet, if we look a little into their Hiſtory, we ſhall ſoon find more Corruption of this Kind among them, than in any other Nation. Some of their wiſer Sort indeed, are ſaid to have acknowledg'd one *ſupreme* God, the Maker and Ruler of the World, whom they ſometimes call'd by the Name of *Oſiris*, or *Seraphis*; ſometimes by that of *Iſis*; and, at other Times, by that of *Neith*, on whoſe Temple at *Sais* was the following remarkable Inſcription, *I am all that has been, is, or ſhall be, and my Vail hath no Mortal yet uncover'd.* But tho' ſome Parts of *Egypt* might, at firſt, be free from all idolatrous Worſhip; yet, when the Humour once began to ſpread, it ſoon over-ran the whole Kingdom. The heavenly *Luminaries* were the firſt Objects of profane Adoration; and, in *Egypt*, the Sun and the Moon went under the Denomination of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*. After theſe, the Elements, and other Parts of Nature (ſuch as *Vulcan*, meaning thereby the *Fire*; *Ceres*, the *Earth*; *Oceanus*, the *Water*; and *Minerva*, the *Air*;) were admitted into the Number of their *Deities*.

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But, beſides the *celeſtial*, they had terreſtrial Gods likewiſe; for moſt of their Princes, who had merited well of the People, were, after their Death, *canoniz'd*, and invocated under the Names of *Sol*, *Saturnus*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Vulcanus*, *Veſta*, and *Mercurius*, which, according to *Diodorus*, were the eight firſt Hero-Gods, which the *Egyptians* worſhipp'd. Nay (and what is ſcarce credible) they came at laſt to give divine Honours to ſeveral Animals, and that with ſo great a Variety, and Diſagreement among themſelves, that, except ſome of

Character (as *Hieroglyphics* are) wou'd ſcarce be intelligible, unleſs Men cou'd be ſuppos'd to delineate the Forms and Pictures of Things more accurately, than can well be imagin'd: But even if that were granted, they wou'd at beſt have been but a very imperfect Character, ſince they cou'd only hit off the Idea of Things *viſible*, and muſt therefore be defective in a Multitude of Signs, to expreſs the full Meaning of a Man's Mind: For which Reaſon ſome have ſuppos'd, that even the *Egyptians* themſelves were wont to intermingle Letters with *Hieroglyphics*, to fill up and connect Sentences, and to expreſs Actions more fully, than Pictures were found to do. Theſe *Hieroglyphics* were at firſt in common Uſe, but in Proceſs of Time, were appropriated to ſacred and religious Matters, and wrote and underſtood by the Prieſts only. *Warburton*'s Divine Legation, Lib. iv. and *Shuckford*'s Connection, Lib. viii.

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of the principal Deities, which were honour'd all the Kingdom over, there was, almoſt in every Town or Village, a different God, held in Veneration in one Place, and deteſted in the next, which often occaſion'd bitter Animoſities, and ſometimes inveterate Quarrels, and dangerous Wars.

The Reaſons given for it.

NOW the Reaſon, why the *Egyptians* adopted ſuch a Variety of Animals into the Number of their Gods, was not ſo much from any Conſideration of their *Subſerviency* to human Life, as from a certain Similitude, they perceiv'd between them, and the Deity to whom they were devoted. Thus the *Hawk* was made ſacred to *Oſiris*, as an Emblem of the ſupreme Deity, by Reaſon of its piercing Sight and Swiftneſs; the *Crocodile*, and *Sea-Horſe*, were ſacred to *Typho*; *Anubis* was ſaid to be the Dog-ſtar, and the Dog was ſacred to him; the *Serpent* or *Dragon* was conſecrated to *Nephthe*; and other ſuitable Animals, to their reſpective Gods: Nor is the Conjecture * of our learned Countryman *(a)* at all to be rejected, *viz.* That the Uſe of the *hieroglyphical* Figures of Animals might introduce this ſtrange Worſhip, which the *Egyptians*, in Proceſs of Time, came to pay them. For, as thoſe *Figures* were made choice of, according to the reſpective Properties of each Animal, to expreſs the *Qualities* and *Dignities* of the Perſons, they repreſented, which were generally their Gods, Princes, and great Men; the People became *gradually* accuſtom'd to theſe Figures, which they us'd to place in their Temples, as the Images of their Deities; and from hence, it is not abſurd to imagine, that they came at length to pay a ſuperſtitious Veneration to the living Animals themſelves.

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And the Abſurdity thereof.

BUT whatever might be the Reaſon or Inducements to this Kind of *Idolatry*, Nothing was ſo remarkable in the *Egyptian* Religion, as the prepoſterous Worſhip, which that Nation paid to Animals, ſuch as the Cat, the Dog, the Ibis, the Wolf, the Crocodile, and ſeveral others, which they had in high Veneration, not when they were alive only, but even after they were dead.

WHILST they were living, they had Lands ſet apart for the Maintenance of each Kind, and both Men and Women were employ'd in feeding and attending them. The Children ſucceeded their Parents in the Office, which was ſo far from being declin'd, or thought deſpicable among the *Egyptians*, that they glory'd in it as an high Honour; and, wearing certain *Badges*, to diſtinguiſh them at a Diſtance, were ſaluted by bending the Knee, and other Demonſtrations of Reſpect.

IF any Perſon kill'd any of theſe ſacred Animals *deſignedly*, he was puniſh'd with immediate Death; if *involuntarily*, his Puniſhment was referr'd to the Diſcretion of the Prieſts; but if the Creature ſlain was a *Cat*, an *Hawk*, or an *Ibis*, (whether the Thing was done with Deſign or no) † the Perſon was to die without Mercy, and ſome-

* This Conjecture the learned Author *of the Divine Legation of Moſes* abundantly confirms: For, having enumerated the ſeveral Things, that might give Occaſion to *Brute-Worſhip* among the *Egyptians*; ſuch as, 1. A grateful Senſe of the Benefits receiv'd from Animals: 2. The conſidering theſe Animals as *Symbols* of the Divine Nature: 3. The Notion of God's pervading, and being preſent in all Things: 4. The *Egyptian* Uſe of *Aſteriſms*, or denoting Conſtellations by the Name of Animals: 5. The Doctrine of *Metempſychoſis*, or human Souls tranſmigrating into the Bodies of Animals: And 6. The Invention of ſome *Egyptian* King or other, for his private Ends of Policy. All theſe Cauſes or Occaſions, I ſay, our Author having examin'd and refuted, carries the Point ſomewhat farther than the learned *Marſham*, and concludes, that *the true Original of Brute-Worſhip among the* Egyptians, *was their Uſe of ſymbolical Writing*; for which he aſſigns a further Reaſon, *viz.* That when the Uſe of writing by *Letters* (as much more commodious than the other) came generally to prevail, the Prieſts ſtill continu'd the *hieroglyphic Characters* in their Works of Science and Religion; and, as the other grew abſtruſe and obſolete to the Vulgar, to make them more ſacred, the Prieſts, in a ſhort Time, were the only Perſons that cou'd read them, and then, to make them more ſacred and myſterious, gave it out, that the Gods themſelves were the Inventors of them, which might eaſily induce a deluded People to worſhip the very Creatures (as having ſomething extraordinary in them) which their Gods had thought proper to delineate. Lib. iv.

(k) Sir *John Marſham*, Can. Chron. p. 38.

† *Herodotus* gives us an Inſtance of this in a *Roman*, who happening accidentally to kill a *Cat*, the Mob immediately gather'd about the Houſe, where he was, and cou'd neither, by the Entreaties of ſome principal Men ſent by the King, nor by the Fear of the *Romans*, with whom they were then negotiating a Peace, be prevail'd on to ſpare his

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ſometimes without any formal Trial or Proceſs. The extravagant Worſhip which they paid to ſome of theſe Animal Deities, (as to the Bull, at *Memphis*; the Goat, at *Mandes*; the Lion, at *Leontapolis*; † the Crocodile, at the Lake *Moëris*; and to many others, at different Places) exceeds all Belief. For, they were kept in conſecrated Encloſures, and well attended on by Men of high Rank, who, at great Expence, provided Victuals for them, which conſiſted of the greateſt Dainties. Nor was this all: For theſe Creatures were waſh'd in hot Baths, anointed with moſt precious Ointments, and perfum'd with the moſt odoriferous Scents. They lay on the richeſt Carpets, and other coſtly Furniture; and, (that they might want Nothing to make their Lives as happy as poſſible) they had the moſt beautiful Females of their ſeveral Kinds (to which they gave the Name of *Concubines)* provided for them.

When any of theſe Animals dy'd, the *Egyptians* lamented them, as if they had been their deareſt Children, and frequently laid out more than they were worth in their Burials. If a *Cat* dy'd in any Houſe, all the Family ſhav'd their Eye-brows; and if a Dog, their whole Body: And thus, putting themſelves in Mourning, they wrapp'd the dead Body up in fine Linnen, and carry'd it to be embalm'd; where, being anointed with Oil of Cedar, and other *aromatick* Preparations to keep it from Putrefaction, it was bury'd with great Solemnity in a ſacred Coffin. So true is that Reflection *(l)* of the Apoſtle, and with Regard to theſe *Egyptians* certainly it was made, that *though they knew God, yet they glorified him not as God; but changed the Glory of God into the Image of four-footed Beaſts, and his Truth into a Lye; and worſhipped and ſerved the Creature, more than the Creator, who is bleſſed for ever.* Amen. From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

Before we leave *Egypt*, the ſacred Hiſtorian ſeems to remind us to take a View of ſome of the monumental Works, that are found there, and which, having been built within the Compaſs of the Period, we are now upon, may well be preſum'd to be the Product of ſome of the *Burthens* and hard Labour, which the *Egyptian* Kings laid upon the *Iſraelites*. *Their* monumental *Works, and Structures.*

† The *Pyramids* were juſtly reckon'd one of the *Wonders* of the World, and there is more of them now remaining, than of all the other *Six*, which have been ſo much celebrated. Not far from the Place, where *Memphis* once ſtood, there are three of theſe Structures at no great Diſtance from each other; *two* of which are ſhut up, but the *Third*, which is the largeſt, and ſtands open for the Inſpection of Travellers, we ſhall here deſcribe, as a probable *Specimen* of all the reſt. *The* Pyramids.

It is ſituate on a rocky Hill (which, in a gentle and eaſy Aſcent, riſes 100 Feet) in the ſandy Deſart of *Lybia*, about a Quarter of a Mile from the Plains of *Egypt*. Its *Baſis* is generally ſuppos'd to be an exact *Square*,

Life. And (what may ſeem ſtill more incredible) it is reported, that, at a Time, when there was a Famine in *Egypt*, which drove the Inhabitants to ſuch Extremity, that they were forc'd to feed on one another, there was no one Perſon accus'd of having taſted of any of theſe *ſacred* Animals. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 3.

† The *Crocodile* ſeems to be the laſt Animal, to which Mankind cou'd be tempted to pay divine Adoration: But that this might be done with more Safety, one of theſe Creatures was train'd up to be tame, and familiar for the Purpoſe, and had his Ears adorn'd with Strings of Jewels and Gold, and his Forefeet with Chains. He was fed with conſecrated Proviſions at the Public Charge: And when Strangers went to ſee him, (which often happen'd out of Curioſity) they alſo carry'd him a preſent of a Cake, dreſs'd Meat, and Wine, or a Drink made with Honey, which was offer'd to him by the Prieſts; and, when he died, his Body was embalm'd, and buried in a ſacred Coffin, at *Arſinoë*. *Herodotus*, l. 2. and *Strabo*, l. 17.

(l) Rom. i. 21, 23, 25.

† It is a common Opinion, that the Word *Pyramid* is deriv'd from the *Greek*, *Pyr*, or *Pur*, *Fire*; and that theſe Structures were ſo call'd from their Shape, which aſcended from a broad Baſis, and ended in a Point, like a Flame of Fire. Others, whoſe Opinion *Voſſius* ſeems to approve, ſay, that the Name comes from the Word *Pyros*, which, in the ſame Language, ſignifies *Wheat*, becauſe they ſuppoſe them to have been the *Granaries* of the antient *Egyptian* Kings. But a late Writer, vers'd in the *Coptick* Tongue, has given us another *Etymology* from that Language, wherein *Pouro* ſignifies a *King*, and *Miſi*, a *Race* or *Generation*; and the Reaſon, why the *Pyramids* had this Name given them, was, as he tells us, becauſe they were erected to preſerve the Memory of the Princes (who were their Founders) and their Families. *Wilkins*'s Diſſert. de Ling. Copt. p. 108.

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Square, and every Side (according to thoſe that have been as careful, as poſſible, in its Menſuration) about 693 *Engliſh* Feet: So that the whole *Area* of it contains 480,249 ſquare Feet, or ſomething more than *eleven Acres* of Ground. Its *Altitude*, if meaſur'd by its *Perpendicular*, is 481 Feet, but, if taken according to the *Inclination* of the Pyramid, as it aſcends, it is exactly equal to a Side of its *Baſis*.

THE Aſcent to the Top of this Structure is by Degrees, or *Steps*, which run round the whole Pyramid in a *Level*, and, if the Stones were entire on every Side, wou'd make a narrow Walk. The firſt of theſe Steps is near four Feet in Height, and three in Breadth; but the higher one aſcends, they proportionably diminiſh. They are made of maſſy and poliſh'd Stone, ſo very large, that the Breadth and Depth of every Step is one ſingle Stone; but, as the Weather has, in many Places, worn theſe Steps, this Pyramid cannot be aſcended without ſome Difficulty. According to the Computation of moſt modern Travellers, the Steps are 207 or 208 in Number, which end, * on the Top, in an handſome *Platform*, cover'd with nine Stones (beſides two, that are wanting at the Corners) of 16 or 17 Feet ſquare, from whence you have a pleaſant Proſpect of *Old-Cairo*, and the adjacent Country.

ON the 16th Step, from the Bottom of this *Pyramid*, there is a Door, or Entry, of three Feet and an Half in Height, and a little leſs in Breadth, thro' which you deſcend inſenſibly, much about 76 Feet, and then come to another Paſſage, which very probably is of the ſame Dimenſions with the firſt Entrance, but is ſo choak'd up with the Sand, which the Wind blows in, that it is no eaſy Matter for a Man of any Bulk to ſqueeze himſelf through it. Having paſs'd this *Streight* however you meet with Nothing deſerving Obſervation, 'till, on the left Hand, you enter a Paſſage, which leads into a Gallery 16 Feet high, and 162 Feet long; a very ſtately Piece of Work indeed, and not inferior, either in Curioſity of Art, or Richneſs of Materials, to the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent Buildings! The Stone, of which this Gallery is built, is a white poliſh'd Marble, very evenly cut into large Tables, and jointed ſo cloſe, as hardly to be perceiv'd by the moſt curious Eye: But what adds a Grace to the whole Structure, though it makes the Paſſage the more ſlippery and difficult, is the Acclivity, or Riſing of the Aſcent, which, however, is not a little facilitated by certain Holes, made in the Floor, about ſix Hands Breadth from one another, into which a Man may ſet his Feet, whilſt he holds by a Bench of Marble, which runs all along the *Gallery*, with one Hand, and carries his Light in the other.

From Exod. i to Chap. xiii.

AS ſoon as you come to the End of this Gallery, you enter another ſquare *Hole*, much of the ſame Dimenſions with the former, which brings you into two little Rooms lin'd with a rich Kind of ſpeckled Marble; and thence you proceed into the *Chambers of the Tombs*, or Sepulchres, which is very large and ſpacious, 32 Feet long, 16 Feet wide, and 19 Feet high. This Room ſtands, as it were, in the Heart and Center of the *Pyramid*, equidiſtant from all the Sides, and almoſt in the Midſt between the *Baſis* and the Top. The Floor, the Sides, and the Roof of it are all made of vaſt and exquiſite Tables of *Thebaick* Marble, which, if they were not ſully'd with the Steam of Torches, wou'd certainly appear very bright and ſhining. From the Top to the Bottom of the Chamber, there are about ſix Ranges of this Stone, which, being all ſiz'd to an equal Height, run very gracefully round it. The Roof is flat, and conſiſts but of nine Stones, whereof ſeven, in the Middle, are each four Feet wide, and 16 Feet long, but the other two, which are at each End, appear not above 2 Feet broad a-piece, becauſe

* On this Platform *Proclus* ſuppos'd that the *Egyptian* Prieſts made their *Aſtronomical* Obſervations: But it is far from being probable, that theſe Structures were deſign'd for *Obſervatories*, and it is ſcarce to be conceiv'd, that the Prieſts wou'd take the Pains to aſcend ſo *high*, when they might make the ſame Obſervations with more Eaſe, and as much Certainty *below*, having as free and open a Proſpect of the Heavens, and over the Plains of *Egypt*, from the Rock, whereon it was built, as from the Pyramid itſelf. *Univerſal Hiſtory*.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1571, &c.

the other Half of them is built into the Wall. The Stones lie a-thwart, over the Breadth of the Chamber, with their Ends reſting upon the Walls on each Side.

At the End of this glorious Room ſtands an empty Tomb, 3 Feet and an Inch wide, and 7 Feet 2 Inches long; the Stone, which it is made of, is the ſame with the Lining of the Room, a beauteous ſpeckled Marble, above 5 Inches thick, and yet, being hollow within, and uncover'd at the Top, whenever it is ſtruck, it ſounds like a great Bell: Which is juſt ſuch a Wonder, as the ſurpriſing *Echo*, that is heard in this Place, and, (as ſome Travellers tell us) will repeat the ſame Sound ſome ten or twelve Times together. The Figure of this Tomb is like an Altar, or two *Cubes* finely ſet together. It is cut ſmooth and plain, exquiſitely finely poliſh'd, but without any Sculpture or Engraving. It is not to be doubted, but that the Tomb was plac'd here, before the Pyramid was finiſh'd; and one Reaſon for its Want of Ornaments may be what the Inhabitants of the Country tell us, *viz.* That it was built for the Sepulchre of a King, who was never bury'd in it; and the common Opinion is, that it was the ſame *Pharaoh*, who, by the juſt Judgment of God, was drown'd in the *Red-Sea*.

These are the principal Things, that have been obſerv'd of this *Pyramid*; only, (to give us a ſtill fuller Idea of the Vaſtneſs of its Structure) *Pliny* has taken Care to inform us, that it was 20 Years in building; that 37,000 Men were, every Day, employ'd in the Work; and that 1800 Talents were expended upon them merely for Radiſhes and Onions. Which laſt Article may ſeem incredible perhaps to thoſe, that were never in the Country; but when it is conſider'd, that this is the ordinary Food of the common People, and that almoſt all thoſe, who were employ'd in raiſing theſe great Piles, were Slaves and *Mercenaries*, who, beſides Bread and Water, had Nothing but Radiſhes and Onions, there will be no Occaſion, for any Surprize or Wonder at the ſuppos'd Largeneſs of this Account.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

A Building of the like Date, and not of inferior Grandeur, was the *Labyrinth*, which ſtood in the *Heracleotick Nome*, or Province, near the City of *Arſinoë*, and not far from the Lake *Mœris*. The Deſign of this Structure ſeems to have been both for a *Pantheon*, or univerſal Temple for all the Gods, that were worſhipp'd in the ſeveral Places of *Egypt*; and alſo for a general *Convention-Houſe*, for the States of the whole Nation to meet, and enact Laws and determine Cauſes of great Importance: And therefore it is ſaid by ſome, to have been built at the common Charge of the twelve Kings, who, in thoſe Days, reign'd all at once, in *Egypt*, as a Monument of their Magnificence, and a Place for their Sepulture.

The Laby. rinth.

To this Purpoſe *Herodotus (m)* tells us, that each Province or *Nome* had, in this Building, a diſtinct *Hall*, where its principal Magiſtrates us'd to meet; that theſe Halls were vaulted, were ſurrounded with Pillars of white Stone finely poliſh'd, and had an equal Number of Doors, oppoſite to one another, *ſix* opening to the *North*, and *ſix* to the *South*, all encompaſs'd by the ſame Wall; that there were three thouſand Chambers in this Edifice, fifteen hundred in the upper Part, and as many under Ground; and that he view'd every Room in the upper Part, but was not permitted by thoſe, who kept the Palace, to go into the ſubterraneous Part, becauſe the Sepulchres of the holy *Crocodiles*, and of the Kings, who built the *Labyrinth*, were there. What he ſaw there, *as he reports*, ſeem'd to ſurpaſs the Art of Man: So many Ways out, by various Paſſages, and infinite Returns, afforded a thouſand Occaſions of Wonder, as he paſs'd from a ſpacious Hall to a Chamber, from thence to a private Cloſet, then again into other Paſſages out of the Cloſet, and, out of the Chambers, into more ſpacious Rooms; where all the Walls and Roofs were not only encruſted with Marble, but richly adorn'd likewiſe with Figures of Sculpture.

To

(m) Lib. ii.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1571, &c.

To this Deſcription of *Herodotus* others add, that this Edifice ſtood in the Midſt of an immenſe Square, ſurrounded with Buildings at a great Diſtance; that the Porch was of *Parian* Marble, and all the other Pillars of the Marble of *Syene*; that within it were the Temples of the ſeveral Deities, and Galleries, to which one aſcended by 90 Steps, adorn'd with many Columns of *Porphyry*, Images of their Gods, and Statues of their Kings, of a monſtrous Size; that the whole Edifice conſiſted of Stone, the Floors were laid with vaſt Tables, and the Roof look'd like one continu'd Field of Stone; that the Paſſages met and croſs'd one another, with ſo much Intricacy, that it was impoſſible for a Stranger to find his Way, either in or out, without a Guide; and that ſeveral of the Apartments were ſo contriv'd, that, upon opening the Doors, there was heard within a terrible Noiſe of Thunder.

SUCH was the Strength of this wonderful Building, that it withſtood, for many Ages, not only the Rage of Time, but that of the Inhabitants of *Heracleopolis*, who, worſhipping the *Ichneumon*, or *Water-Rat*, the mortal Enemy of the *Crocodile*, (which was a peculiar Deity of *Arſinoë*) bore an inconceivable Hatred to the *Labyrinth*, which was the Sepulchre, *as we ſaid*, of the ſacred *Crocodiles*, and therefore aſſaulted and demoliſh'd it, tho' * there are ſome *Remains* of it ſtill to be ſeen, which retain manifeſt Marks of its antient Splendor.

ONE Building more, ſuppos'd to be the Work of this Period, though, according to modern Accounts, it ſtill ſtands firm and entire, is the *Well* of the Patriarch *Joſeph*. It is entirely hewn out of a Rock, in a kind of an *oval*, or *oblong* Form, being eighteen Feet wide, twenty-four long, and, in the Whole, two hundred and ſeventy-ſix deep. The Depth is properly divided into two Parts, which we may call the *upper* and the *lower* Well; and to each of theſe there is a Wheel, which being turn'd round by two Oxen in each Place, draws up the Water by a long Chain, to which are faſten'd ſeveral leathern Veſſels, that fill and empty themſelves *alternately*, as the Wheel goes round.

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Joſeph's *Well*.

To go down to the *ſecond* Well, (as we call it) which is but 15 Feet long, and nine wide, there is a Stair-Caſe, of ſo eaſy a Deſcent, that, ſome ſay, the Oxen, which draw the Water below, are, every Day, drove down and up it; tho' others report, that they are let down, and drawn up upon a Platform. However this be, it is certain that the Stair-Caſe turns twelve Times round the Well, for which Reaſon the *Arabs* call it *the Well of the winding Stair-Caſe)* and of theſe Turnings ſix have eighteen Steps each, and the other ſix have nineteen, which make two hundred and twenty-two Steps in all: And to ſecure you from falling, as you go down, you have, on the Left-Hand, the *main* Rock, and on the *Right*, ſome of the ſame Rock left,

* The Remains of this noble Structure are thus deſcrib'd by our Author. "The firſt Thing you ſee, is a large "*Portico* of Marble, facing the riſing-Sun, and ſuſtain'd by four great Marble Pillars, but compos'd of ſeveral Pieces. "Three of theſe Pillars are ſtill ſtanding, but one of the middle ones is half fallen. In the Middle is a Door, whoſe "Sides and *Entablature* are very maſſy; and above is a Frize, whereon is repreſented an Head with Wings, ſtretch'd "out along the Frize, and ſeveral *Hieroglyphics* underneath. ——— Paſſing through this Portico, you enter into "a fine large Hall, above 40 Feet high, all of Marble. The Roof conſiſts of twelve Tables of Marble, exquiſitely "join'd, each 25 Feet long, and three broad, which croſs the Room from one End to the other; and, as the Room "is not arch'd, but flat, you cannot but be ſtruck with Admiration at the Boldneſs of its *Architecture*, ſince it is ſcarce "conceivable, how it cou'd continue, ſo many Ages, in a Poſition ſo improper to ſupport ſo prodigious a Weight. "At the End of this *Hall*, over againſt the firſt Door, there is a ſecond *Portico*, with the ſame Ornaments as the "firſt, but leſs, by which you enter into a ſecond Hall, not ſo big as the firſt, but cover'd with eight Stones. At "the End of this Room, ſtrait forwards, there is a third *Portico*, ſtill leſs than the ſecond, as well as the Hall, into "which it leads, though it has ſixteen Stones to roof it; and, at the End of this third Hall, there is a fourth *Portico* "ſet againſt the Wall, and plac'd there for *Symmetry* only, and to anſwer the reſt. The Length of theſe three Halls "is the whole Depth of the Building, in its preſent Condition. It was on the two Sides, and eſpecially under Ground, "that the prodigious Number of Rooms and Avenues, mention'd by the *Antients*, were built. ——— What is now "remaining of it ſeems to be no more than a fourth Part of the *inner* Edifice, which, in all Probability, had four "Fronts, and twelve Halls, anſwering to them: The reſt are decay'd by Time, or demoliſh'd by Deſign, as appears "from the prodigious Ruins, which are to be ſeen all around it." *Lucas*'s Voyages, T. II. p. 18, *&c.*

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1571, &c.

leſt, which ſerves both as a Wall to the Well on the inſide, and on the other Side, as a Wall to the Stair-Caſe, which, at convenient Diſtances, has Windows cut in it that convey the Light down from the Mouth of the Well.

When you go down to the lower Well (which has likewiſe a Stair-Caſe, but neither ſo wide, nor ſo deep as the other, and no *Parapet* on the Side of the Well, which makes the deſcent dangerous) it is here that you ſee the Oxen at work, turning the Wheel and drawing the Water from a Spring at the Bottom, about eight or nine Feet deep, which Water paſſing through a Pipe into a large Ciſtern, is from thence drawn up again by two other Oxen, which turn the Wheel above; and ſo, from a *Reſervoir* at the Top of the Well, the Water is convey'd into all the Apartments of the Caſtle of *Grand Cairo*, which (by the bye) as *Thevenot* tells us, both for Strength and Beauty, is one of the fineſt Palaces he ever ſaw; a Work not unworthy the antient *Pharaohs* and *Ptolemys*, who built it, and what comes not behind the Pomp and Magnificence of the *Pyramids*.

There are ſome other Buildings in this Place, ſuch as *Joſeph*'s Hall, *Joſeph*'s Priſon, *Joſeph*'s Granaries, *&c.* which the Inhabitants aſcribe to that Patriarch, as they do indeed every fine Piece of Antiquity: But, as there is little or no Probability, that any of theſe came under the *Period*, we are now upon, we muſt refer the Reader, who is minded to ſatisfy his Curioſity in this Matter, *(n)* to the Authors, who have purpoſely treated of them; and ſhall only take notice farther, that the great *Selden*, in his *Arundel Marbles*, reckons the fabulous Stories of *Greece*, ſuch as the Flood of *Deucalion*, the Burning of *Phaëton*, the Rape of *Proſerpine*, the Myſteries of *Ceres*, the Story of *Europa*, the Birth of *Apollo*, and the Building of *Thebes* by *Cadmus*, together with the Fables of *Bacchus*, *Minos*, *Perſeus*, *Æſculapius*, *Mercury*, and *Hercules*, to have fallen out under this Period; and it is certain that *(o)* the learned *Spanheim* makes ſeveral ancient Kingdoms, as that of the *Argives*, the *Cretans*, the *Phrygians*, the *Ethiopians*, the *Phœnicians*, the *Midianites*, *Canaanites*, *Idumæans*, and *Nabatheans*, either to have been founded or to have flouriſh'd in this Time. But as theſe, and other Heathen Nations, had no *Hiſtorian*, or *Chronologer* of their own, and the *Greeks*, who undertook to write for them, for Want of a certain Knowledge of their Affairs, have ſtuff'd their Accounts with the Rapes and Robberies of their Gods; we thought it more proper to *ſtop* here, than to enter into a *barren* Land, where the Country, for a long Way, lies waſte and uncultivated; or, if perchance any *Fruit* is to be ſeen, like the fam'd fictitious *Apples* about the Banks of the *Dead-Sea*, it *crumbles*, at the very firſt Touch, into *Duſt* and *Aſhes*.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

(n) Vide, *Della Valle*, *Thevenot*, *Le Bruyn*, *Lucas*, *Marco Grimani*, &c. Travels; and *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II. *(o)* Vid. Hiſt. Vet. Teſt. Col. 310.

The End of the Third Book.

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